

R. C. Mughliston.

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THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE demand for a Second Edition has given the opportunity for correcting such slips and misprints as I have been able to discover, as well as for adding references to the more recent literature on some of the subjects treated of. But except for such emendations, and a few slight additions here and there made in consequence of the suggestions of friends, this edition is substantially a reprint of the former one. It is now issued in a single volume, and at a reduced price, in the hope that it may thereby be rendered more suitable as a textbook for theological students.

E. C. S. G.

April 22, 1893

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

FOR some years there has been a widely-spread feeling, among those whose work called them to lecture on the XXXIX. Articles, that there is room for another treatise on the subject. Archdeacon Hardwick's invaluable work is purely historical, and attempts no interpretation or Scriptural proof of the Articles themselves. Bishop Forbes' *Explanation* is excellent as a theological treatise, but, in spite of its title, it is scarcely an "explanation" of the Articles. Dr. Boulton's *Theology of the Church of England* is clear and business-like, but it is written from a party point of view. Of Bishop Harold Browne's well-known *Exposition* it is sufficient to say that the first edition was published in 1850, and that a good deal of fresh light has been thrown upon the Articles during the last forty-six years. But since the Bishop was content to issue edition after edition without making any change in it, or subjecting it to a much-needed revision, the book, which has in the past been of so much service to the Church, has become in many parts (*e.g.* in all that concerns the history of the Creeds) antiquated and out of date. Since the present work was sent to the press, two other volumes on the same subject have appeared, namely, an *Introduction to the XXXIX. Articles*, by Dr. Maclear and Mr. Williams, and *The Thirty-nine Articles and the Age of the Reforma-*

tion, by the Rev. E. Tyrrell Green,—a fact which affords striking evidence of the feeling alluded to above, that the text-books at present in use are not altogether adequate. Mr. Green's work contains much illustrative matter from contemporary documents, and that by Dr. Maclear and Mr. Williams is excellent as a short text-book. My own work is on a somewhat larger scale, and may perhaps appear to be more ambitious, in aiming at completeness as a commentary upon the Articles; and I trust that it may be found that there is room for it as well as for these others. My object throughout has been to make the work correspond as closely as possible to the title. It is not in any way intended to be a complete system of theology. The subjects discussed are strictly limited to those which are fairly suggested by the text of the Articles. Nor is it a history of doctrine. I have simply endeavoured to explain the teaching of the Articles, assuming a general knowledge of ecclesiastical history on the part of the reader, and only tracing out the history of doctrine where it seemed to be absolutely necessary in order to enable him to understand the meaning of the text of the Articles and the expressions used in it. My aim has always been to discover and elucidate the "plain, literal, and grammatical sense" of the document on which I have undertaken to comment. I can honestly say that I have striven to be perfectly fair, and to avoid the temptation to "read in" to the Articles meanings which I am not convinced to be really there. How far I have succeeded my readers must judge for themselves.

One possible criticism I should like to meet beforehand. It may perhaps be said that there is a lack of proportion in the treatment of the Articles, since far more space has been devoted to the first eight than to

the remaining thirty-one. My reply must be that the fault, if it be a fault, has been deliberately committed,—and for this reason. The first eight Articles practically re-state, in an enlarged form, the rule of faith as contained in the Church's Creed, and therefore stand on a different footing from the others. In some works on the Articles this seems to be regarded as a reason for devoting but little space to them, it being presumably taken for granted that the student will have previously mastered Pearson's great work, or some other treatise on the Creed. It has seemed to me wiser to adopt the opposite course, and to make the commentary upon them fuller than that on the remaining Articles, in order to emphasize their importance, and to give them their proper position. I trust, however, that the lack of proportion is not really so great as might at first sight appear. Many of the later Articles admit of very slight treatment, and I hope that it will be found that adequate attention has been paid to the really important ones among them, especially to those on the Church, the Sacraments, and the Ministry.

It only remains for me to express my thanks to those who have assisted me in the work, especially to the Rev. A. Robertson, D.D., Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham, who has kindly looked through the proof sheets, and helped me by making many valuable suggestions.

E. C. S. G.

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THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES



INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTORY

It has been pointed out¹ that in the course of the Church's history there are two special eras of what is sometimes called "Symbolism," *i.e.* Creed-Making, or the composition of formularies of faith,—the fourth and fifth centuries, and the sixteenth. The reason for this is obvious. Each age was emphatically an age of religious controversy. After the victory of Constantine over Maxentius and the publication of the Edict of Milan by the joint Emperors Constantine and Licinius (A.D. 313), religious questions and discussions attained a publicity which had hitherto been impossible. There followed, of necessity, a period of definition of the Church's faith. The great Arian controversy had already begun when Constantine found himself sole ruler of the Roman Empire; and now questions were asked as to the meaning of the Church's creed which, when once formally raised, required a clear answer. Thus the terminology of philosophy was pressed into the service of the Christian faith, in order to interpret to thoughtful minds in their own language the belief

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. vii. p. 134.

which had been implicitly held by Christians from the beginning. In this way, in the "Nicene" Creed and the doctrinal decisions of the first four General Councils, the fundamental articles of the faith were once for all defined, and since then the Church has never varied in her expression of them.

The formularies of faith belonging to the sixteenth century are of a very different character. Instead of the crisp, short summaries of the main articles of Christian belief, drawn up in the form of creeds, we are confronted with verbose and lengthy "Confessions," in the form of Articles, bristling with controversial points, and often negative rather than positive, denouncing and protesting against some supposed error, but failing to set forth in any systematic form the definite positive truth to be held on the subject. The religious upheaval of the time had let loose a spirit of universal questioning. "Authority" was widely discarded; and while the fundamental articles of the faith were once more passed in review men did not rest content with the consideration of these, but examined afresh the whole circle of Christian doctrine, and threw doubts on matters only remotely bearing upon the faith once for all committed to the saints. Moreover, fresh complications arose from the confusion in which the question of the duties and rights of the civil power was entangled. In an age when the foundations of the system on which society had rested for centuries were seriously shaken, such subjects as the right of the magistrate to interfere with the belief of the individual, and the limits of his authority over conscience, naturally assumed a prominence hitherto unknown. Thus it became necessary for all bodies of Christians to state their position on topics which might otherwise have remained undefined; and there sprang into existence that bewildering mass of elaborate confessions of faith, ex-

tending to subjects which belong to the borderland between religion and politics, which forms one of the special characteristics of this century. If the fourth century was the age of CREEDS, the sixteenth is the age of ARTICLES.

It will be seen, then, that the Thirty-Nine Articles do not stand alone; nor can they be rightly interpreted without reference to various other documents belonging to the same age, or without some knowledge of their history. Not only are they the last of a series of formularies of faith, issued with more or less authority by the English Church during the course of the Reformation, but also, in order to be rightly understood, they require comparison with other, not altogether dissimilar, forms put forth elsewhere.

The earlier formularies put forth in the Church of England are the following:—

1. The Ten Articles of 1536. This document is noteworthy as being the first confession issued by the English Church in this period of transition. As might be expected from a consideration of the date at which it appeared, it “bore the character of a compromise between the old and new learning.”¹ It was the work of the Convocation, Cromwell having conveyed to that body the King’s wish that controversies should be put an end to “through the determination of you and of his whole parliament.” The Articles were ten in number, and were divided into two parts, the first five on doctrine: I. The principal Articles concerning our Faith. II. The Sacrament of Baptism. III. The Sacrament of Penance. IV. The Sacrament of the Altar. V. Justification. In the second part there followed five “concerning the laudable ceremonies used in the Church.” VI. Of Images. VII. Of Honouring of Saints. VIII. Of Pray-

¹ Dixon’s *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 415.

ing to Saints. IX. Of Rites and Ceremonies. X. Of Purgatory.¹

As evidence of their *transitional* character the following facts may be noted:—

(a) Penance is spoken of as a sacrament necessary for man's salvation, but is the only rite to which the name of a sacrament is applied, besides Baptism and the Eucharist.

(b) While the doctrine of the Real Presence is strongly asserted no mention is made of Transubstantiation.

(c) Images are to be retained as representers of virtue and good example, but superstitious worshipping of them is to be abolished. Saints are to be honoured, and held in reverence, and their prayers are to be asked for by us, "so that it be done without any vain superstition, so as to think that any saint is more merciful or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than other, or is patron of the same."

(d) Many medieval ceremonies are retained as useful, though having no power to remit sins.

(e) Prayers for the departed are to be continued, but abuses connected with the doctrine of purgatory are abolished.

The Articles, when signed by Convocation and approved by the King, were published with the following title:—

"Articles devised by the Kinges highness majestie, to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonge us, and to avoid contentious opinions, which articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the hole clergie of this realm.—Anno MDXXXVI."

Thus, although the initiative was claimed for the "supreme head," care was taken to assert the approval of the clergy, as represented in Convocation.

¹ The Articles are given in full in Hardwick's *History of the Articles*, Appendix i., and in Bishop Lloyd's *Formularies of Faith in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, p. 1.

2. In the following year, 1537, this formulary was superseded by **The Institution of a Christian Man**, or, as it is commonly called, "The Bishops' Book." This document contained "the exposition or interpretation of the Common Creed, of the Seven Sacraments, of the Ten Commandments, and of the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory." The articles on Justification and Purgatory are copied verbatim from those in the Ten Articles, and in general the character of the teaching contained in the two documents is very similar. The "Seven Sacraments" are retained, but abuses connected with extreme unction are carefully restrained, and a marked distinction is drawn between Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance, and all other sacraments. The book was prepared by a Commission, which sat at Lambeth, under the presidency of Cranmer, and it was published in the name of the two archbishops, "and all other the bishops, prelates, and archdeacons of this realm," with the signatures of the archbishops, all the diocesan bishops, and twenty-five doctors. "But as it was neither passed by Convocation nor by Parliament, it had no other authority than could be given by the names of those who had signed it, and being printed at the King's Press."¹

3. In 1543 there appeared a revised edition of this work, under the title of **The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man**. Unlike its predecessor this work received the authority of Convocation, although the title-page contained a declaration that it was "set forth by the king's majesty of England," and the preface was from the pen of the "supreme head," whence the volume was commonly known as the King's Book. While much of the earlier is embodied in it, yet

¹ Dixon's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 529. The Bishops' Book may be seen in *Formularies of Faith*, p. 21.

on a comparison of the two, the *reactionary* character of the King's Book is very clear. In many points a return to the old system of things is evident, as might be expected from a publication belonging to the later years of Henry's reign, when the Statute of the Six Articles (the "whip with six strings") was in force. The section exalting the Eucharist and Penance over the other sacraments is omitted. The doctrine of Transubstantiation is definitely maintained, although the word itself is avoided.¹ The section on extreme unction is rewritten, and the celibacy of the clergy is enforced.

Important as these three formularies of faith are, as marking the transitional character of the reign of Henry VIII., and the hesitating, gradual course of the doctrinal changes introduced, yet, for our present purpose, their importance is less than that of another document which was prepared in 1538, but never published nor in any way imposed upon the Church. While the works just considered enable us to see something of the *practical* system which our reformers had before them, and with which they were called upon to deal, yet it must be

¹ The Eucharist "among all the sacraments is of incomparable dignity and virtue, forasmuch as in the other sacraments the outward kind of the thing which is used in them remaineth still in their own nature and substance unchanged; but in this most high sacrament of the altar, the creatures which be taken to the use thereof, as bread and wine, do not remain still in their own substance, but, by the virtue of Christ's word in the consecration, be changed and turned to be the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. So that, although there appear the form of bread and wine, after the consecration, as did before, and to the outward senses nothing seemeth to be changed, yet must we, forsaking and renouncing the persuasion of our senses in this behalf, give our assent only to faith, and to the plain word of Christ, which affirmeth that substance there offered, exhibited, and received, to be the very precious body and blood of our Lord, as is plainly written by the evangelists and also by St. Paul."—*Formularies of Faith*, p. 262. The corresponding passage in the Bishops' Book is very different in tone and character (see p. 100).

noticed that no trace of their language can be found in our present series of Articles. For the source of these we must turn to a different quarter. In 1538 a small number of Lutheran divines from Germany were invited to this country by Henry, in order to confer with a committee of Anglican divines, and, if possible, draw up a joint Confession of Faith, with a view to the comprehension of both Anglicans and Lutherans in one communion. The invitation was accepted. A mixed committee met, under the presidency of Cranmer, to consider the subject. So long as the discussion was confined to matters of faith, agreement was arrived at with comparative ease. By the use of general terms, and (in some cases) designedly ambiguous formularies, it was found possible to compile a number of propositions which proved satisfactory to both parties. Thirteen Articles were thus prepared on the following subjects:—I. De unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum. II. De Peccato Originali. III. De duabus Christi Naturis. IV. De Justificatione. V. De Ecclesia. VI. De Baptismo. VII. De Eucharistia. VIII. De Pœnitentia. IX. De Sacramentorum usu. X. De Ministris Ecclesiæ. XI. De Ritibus Ecclesiæ. XII. De Rebus Civilibus. XIII. De Corporum resurrectione et judicio extremo. Of these the first three are taken almost word for word from the Confession of Augsburg, the influence of which may be traced in other parts of the Articles as well. But it is noteworthy that the sections on Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance are either entirely new or largely rewritten, while in that on the Use of Sacraments the language of the Lutheran Confession has been considerably strengthened, in order to emphasise the character of sacraments as channels of grace—apparently in order to satisfy the Anglican divines.

But, while agreement on the subjects mentioned was

secured with comparative ease, divergence of opinion was at once manifested when the committee passed from the consideration of doctrine to the discussion of questions connected with discipline. The summer was wasted in fruitless negotiations. The approach of winter led to the return of the Germans to their own land. Although a second mission was sent by them in the following year, nothing was done, and the scheme for a joint Confession of Faith seems to have been quietly allowed to drop. The Articles were not made public. They were not even submitted to Convocation, nor did they ever receive any sanction or authority whatever. Their importance however, historically, is very great, for they form the link between the Confession of Augsburg and our own Articles. A comparison of the three documents makes it perfectly clear that it was only through the medium of the Book of the Thirteen Articles that the Lutheran formulary influenced the Forty-Two Articles of 1553, from which our own are descended. "The expressions in Edward VI.'s formulary, usually adduced to prove its connection with the Confession of Augsburg, are also found in the Book of Articles, while it contains others which can be traced as far as the Book of Articles, but which will be sought for in vain in the Confession of Augsburg."¹

Before proceeding to the consideration of the Edwardian Series of Articles (the immediate predecessor of our own), it will be well to give a very brief notice of some of the doctrinal formularies issued on the Continent, a comparison with which may sometimes tend to throw light on the meaning of the Anglican statements.

The position of the Lutherans is shown by the **Con-**

¹ Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, I. xxiv., quoted in Hardwick's *History of the Articles*, p. 61. The Thirteen Articles may be seen in Hardwick, Appendix ii.

fession of Augsburg. This document contains an apologetic statement of their position, as distinct from that of both Romans and Zwinglians, on the special points of doctrine and practice at that time actually in controversy. It was originally drawn up by Melancthon, revised by Luther and others, and presented to the Emperor Charles v. at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530. It contains twenty-eight articles, and is divided into two parts: (1) On doctrine, comprising twenty-one articles; and (2) on ecclesiastical abuses, seven articles. As we have just seen, it was used by the framers of the Thirteen Articles of 1538, and has through them influenced the English Articles. But since its influence on the Anglican formulary was only indirect, there is no necessity to give a fuller account of it here.¹

A second Lutheran document to be noticed is **the Confession of Würtemberg.** This contains thirty-five articles. It was framed on the model of the Confession of Augsburg, and presented to the Council of Trent by the ambassadors of the State of Würtemberg, in 1552. It is mentioned here, because, as will be shown further on, it proved of considerable use to Archbishop Parker in the preparation of the Elizabethan Articles of 1563.²

Meantime, while the Lutherans were thus formulating their views, the Swiss and French reformers, who sympathised with the teaching of Zwingli and Calvin, were busy with the preparation of a number of documents expressing their views. Of these, it will be sufficient to mention the following:—The **Confessio Basiliensis**

¹ The Confession of Augsburg is contained in *Sylloge Confessionum*. For some account of it, see Schaff's *History of the (Lutheran) Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 706.

² For the Confession of Würtemberg (which is not given in the *Sylloge Confessionum*), see Le Plat, *Monumenta*, iv. 420.

(1534) and the **Confessio Helvetica I.** (1536), both of which are Zwinglian. The **Confessio Helvetica II.** (1564), which is largely influenced by Calvin. Still more strongly Calvinistic is the **Confessio Fidei Gallicana**, containing forty articles. This was apparently drawn up in 1559, and presented in the following year to Francis II. of France, and in 1561 to Charles IX. On the same lines is the **Confessio Belgica** of 1562 (containing thirty-seven articles), which obtained wide acceptance among the congregations of the "Reformed" in the Netherlands.¹ These documents, just enumerated, closely resemble each other, and are of a somewhat ambitious character, for they appear to be intended as complete schemes of theology, embracing the whole circle of Christian doctrine. It is needless to say that none of these compilations have the slightest connection with our own Articles. They are only mentioned here, because a comparison with them not seldom serves to bring out the marked contrast that there is between the unguarded and extravagant positions taken up by some of the foreign reformers, and the judicious moderation and wise avoidance of dogmatic assertions on points of small practical importance which may be observed in the English Articles.

The formal positions to which the Church of Rome committed herself at this period will be found in the **Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent.** The Council first met in December 1545 in the pontificate of Paul III. By July 1547 ten sessions had been held. Shortly afterwards the Council was

¹ These Zwinglian and Calvinistic Confessions will all be found in Niemeyer's *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum*. For some account of the Swiss formularies, see Schaff's *History of the Swiss Reformation*, vol. i., p. 217 *seq.* No mention is made in the text of the Westminster Confession (1643), as it belongs to a somewhat different period.

suspended for some years. Its sittings were resumed by order of Julius III. in 1551, and between September 1551 and April 1553 six more sessions (xi.-xvi.) were held. The Council was then once more suspended, nor did it meet again until the Papacy of Pius IV.; sessions xvii.-xxv. being held in the course of the years 1562, 1563, and the final confirmation of the Council being dated January 26, 1564. It will appear from this enumeration of dates that Rome was stereotyping her doctrine just at the same time that the Church of England was revising her expression of it. Many of the same subjects were considered at Trent as in England. In some cases priority of treatment belongs to Rome, in others to England. It becomes, therefore, a matter of importance to ascertain in each case whether our reformers were confronted with the authoritative statements to which Rome was formally committed by her representatives at Trent, or whether they had before them merely the popular doctrine and the current practices. Thus, in regard to the number and authority of the canonical books, the subject was discussed at Trent during the fourth session of the Council in 1546. So also, in the earlier sessions held during 1546 and 1547, such subjects as original sin, justification, and the sacraments generally were considered, and canons concerning them were drawn up. On all these matters, therefore, it is obvious that the compilers of the Edwardian as well as of the Elizabethan Articles had the formal decisions of the Council before them. The Eucharist, Penance, and extreme unction were discussed in sessions xiii. and xiv., held in October and November 1551; thus, in this case, the decrees were issued while the Forty-Two Articles were in course of preparation but before their actual publication in 1553. The question of communion in both kinds was not considered by the Council till

session xxi. (July 1562), the sacrifice of the Mass in session xxii. (September 1562), and the doctrine of Purgatory, invocation of saints, adoration of images and relics not till the very last session of the Council held in December 1563, some months after the publication of the Elizabethan Articles. On all these matters, therefore, priority of treatment belongs to the Anglican formulary, and it is impossible to take its statements as intended to refer directly to the formal decrees of the Council of Trent. The so-called "Creed of Pope Pius iv." is of still later date, as it was only published in a bull dated November 13, 1564.

2. THE FORTY-TWO ARTICLES OF 1553.

The subjects to be considered in this section may be divided thus:

(a) The history and authority of **the Forty-Two Articles**.

(b) Their object and contents.

(c) Their sources.

(a) *The history and authority of the Forty-Two Articles.*

The first draft of these was certainly the work of Archbishop Cranmer, the impress of whose mind they bear throughout. Edward vi. had come to the throne in 1547, but, though the liturgical reforms moved rapidly,¹ some time was suffered to elapse before the publication of any doctrinal as distinct from liturgical or homiletical² formulary. According to Strype,³ in the year 1553 the King and his Privy Council ordered the archbishop to

¹ In 1548 was published the "Order of the Communion," an English form for communicating the people in both kinds. The first complete English Prayer Book followed in 1549, the English Ordinal was published in 1550, and in 1552 the first Prayer Book was superseded by "the Second Prayer Book of Edward vi."

² The first Book of the Homilies was published in 1547.

³ *Cranmer*, bk. ii. ch. xxvii.

frame a book of Articles of religion for the preserving and maintaining peace and unity of doctrine in this Church, that being finished they might be set forth by public authority. But at a still earlier date we find indications that a series of Articles had been framed by the archbishop and used by him as a test of orthodoxy.¹ This was in all probability "an early draft of the great formulary afterwards issued as the Forty-Two Articles."² By Cranmer they were submitted to other bishops for their revision and approval. In May 1552 they were laid before the Council. In September of the same year they were returned to the archbishop, who added the titles upon every matter, and sent them to Sir William Cecil and Sir John Cheke, the King's secretary and tutor. Shortly after this they were submitted to the six royal chaplains, "to make report of their opinions touching the same."³ The MS. signed by the chaplains is happily

¹ On December 27, 1549, Hooper writes to Bullinger as follows :—"The Archbishop of Canterbury entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper, and is now very friendly towards myself. He has some articles of religion, to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe, or else a licence for teaching is not granted them ; and in these his sentiments respecting the eucharist are pure and religious, and similar to yours in Switzerland."—See *Original Letters* (Parker Society), p. 71. The letter is wrongly dated "February 27" in Hardwick's *History of the Articles*, p. 72. Again, on February 5, 1550, Hooper writes to the same correspondent in almost identical terms : "The Archbishop of Canterbury, who is at the head of the King's Council, gives to all lecturers and preachers their licence to read and preach ; every one of them, however, must previously subscribe to certain Articles, which if possible I will send you ; one of which respecting the Eucharist is plainly the true one, and that which you maintain in Switzerland."—*Original Letters*, p. 76.

² Hardwick, p. 72. Hooper apparently took these Articles, and after modifying them in an arbitrary fashion to bring them more into harmony with his own opinions, offered them as a test to the clergy of his diocese at his visitations in 1551 and 1552.—See Dixon's *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 463.

³ See Strype's *Cranmer*, bk. ii. ch. xxvii., and Hardwick, p. 73 *seq.*

still in existence, and enables us to see exactly the form which the documents had by this time reached.¹ The Articles are forty-five in number, that on the Eucharist, which afterwards appeared as XXIX., being broken up into four separate Articles; and besides this difference of enumeration and division they differ in various other not unimportant particulars from the series as finally published. In November they were remitted to the archbishop, for "the last corrections of his pen and judgment." A few days later the document was returned to the Council, and on June 19, 1553, a mandate was issued in the King's name to the officials of the province of Canterbury, requiring subscription from all clergy, schoolmasters, and members of the university on admission to degrees.² This is really all that is known, for certain, of their history. But we find that the Articles thus offered for subscription in June 1553 had been issued to the public in English in the previous month. They were published at the press of R. Grafton, and bore the following title:—

"Articles agreed on by the bishops and other learned men in the Synod at London, in the year of our Lord God MDLII., for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a Godly concord in certain matters of religion."

¹ See Lemon's *Calendar of State Papers*, "Domestic," 1547-1580, p. 46. The Articles signed by the chaplains are printed in the last edition of Hardwick, Appendix iii. Mr. Dixon (*Reformation*, iii. p. 481 *seq.*) shows (after Dr. Lorimer) that the Article on "The Book of Prayers and Ceremonies of the Church of England" (No. XXXV. in the published series, XXXVIII. in the original draft) was considerably modified after the Articles had been submitted to the chaplains, probably owing to the remonstrances of John Knox. "All that had appeared in the first draft on the subject of the ceremonies of the Prayer Book was cancelled, and nothing remained save what referred to the doctrine of the book, to which Knox had taken no exception."—Lorimer's *Knox in England*, p. 126.

² The mandate is given in Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 79; cf. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, bk. ii. ch. xxii.

Two other editions were published shortly afterwards, in which the Articles were appended to a catechism that had previously been prepared.

1. An English edition, published by Day: "A short catechism or plain instruction, containing the sum of Christian learning, set forth by the king's majesty's authority, for all schoolmasters to teache. To this catechism are adjoined the articles agreed upon by the bishops and other learned and godly men, in the last convocation at London, in the year of our Lord MDLII., for to root out the discord of opinions and establish the agreement of true religion. Likewise published by the king's majesty's authority, 1553."

2. A Latin edition, published by Wolfe: "Catechismus Brevis Christianæ disciplinæ summam continens omnibus ludimagistris autoritate regia commendatus. Huic Catechismo adjuncti sunt articuli, de quibus in ultima Synodo Londinensi Anno Domini MDLII. ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem et consensum vere religionis firmandum inter Episcopos et alios eruditos atque pios viros convenerat: Regia similiter autoritate promulgati, 1553."

We now come to the consideration of the *authority* by which these Articles were imposed upon the Church. Had they really received the sanction of Convocation? The records of Convocation unfortunately perished in the great fire of London, and it is therefore impossible to appeal to them; but, even were they forthcoming, it is doubtful whether a reference to them would decide the question, for Fuller, who had the opportunity of examining them before their destruction, tells us that they were "but one degree above blanks, scarce affording the names of the clerks assembled therein."¹ To the same effect Heylin writes: "The Acts of this Convocation

¹ *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 400 (Ed. Nichols).

were so ill kept that there remains nothing on record touching their proceedings, except it be the names of such of the bishops as came thither to adjourn the house."¹ In the face of these statements it would appear that the acts of the Synod must either have been kept with culpable negligence, or that there was deliberate mutilation in the following reign. Whichever be the true explanation of the blank character of the records, it would appear that no help would be obtained from them were they still existing, for the solution of the question before us. We are left, then, to search for any evidence from other quarters which may throw light upon it.

On the one hand, it will be noticed that the authority of Convocation was claimed for the Articles in each of the three editions published, and that, where they are appended to the catechism, this authority is claimed for them alone, and not for the catechism. This latter is said, in the King's injunction prefixed to it, to have been "written by a certain godly and learned man," and committed to the examination of "certain bishops and other learned men, whose judgments we have in great estimation";² but not a word is said concerning its submission to the Synod, whereas, in each edition of the Articles, they are said to have been agreed upon in the Synod of 1552 (*i.e.* according to modern reckoning, 1553, as the year was then considered to begin on 25th March). At first sight, this fact might seem to be conclusive. But, on the other hand, there is no mention of the authority of Convocation in the royal letter requiring subscription, and grave doubts are thrown on the truth of the statement made in the title by what happened in the following reign. Early in the reign of

¹ *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 256.

² See the *Liturgies of Edward VI.* (Parker Society), p. 485, where the Catechism and Articles will be found, both in Latin and in English.

Mary (October 1553), complaints were raised in Convocation, that the Catechism "bore the name of the honourable Synod, although put forth without their consent." The explanation given by Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, was that, though the house had no notice of "the articles of the Catechism, yet they might well bear the title of the Synod of London, since the house had given authority to certain persons to make ecclesiastical laws, and what was done by their authority was done by them." This must refer to the Commission which drew up the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* (on which see below, § 2, c.), and, as Mr. Dixon says, "Certainly the appointing of that Commission had been asked for several times by Convocation, and it is probable that it was the working part of that Commission that made the Articles. But it was a stretch to argue from this as Philpot did."¹

Still more startling is the explanation offered by Cranmer, at his disputation at Oxford in April 1554, when the charge was brought up against him, that he had "set forth a Catechism, in the name of the Synod of London, and yet there be fifty which, witnessing that they were of the number of the Convocation, never heard of this Catechism." In his reply to this, Cranmer disclaimed all responsibility for the title. "I was ignorant of the setting to of that title, and, as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it; therefore, when I complained thereof to the Council, it was answered me that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth in the time of the Convocation."² A more unsatisfactory explanation it is hard to conceive. But what makes it more remarkable is that, as we have seen, the Catechism, as distinct from the Articles, had never claimed the

¹ *Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 514.

² *Cranmer's Works*, vol. iv. pp. 64, 65 (Ed. Jenkyns).

authority of Convocation at all. And yet, in each case in which complaint is made in the reign of Mary, the terms of the complaint mention the Catechism, not the Articles; and the defenders of the title never deny, as we might have expected them to do, that the Catechism claimed synodal authority. The only possible explanation of this appears to be, that the whole book, containing the Articles as well as the Catechism, was known as "The Catechism,"¹ and that the objection really had reference to the Articles rather than the Catechism proper. If so, Philpot's expression, *the Articles of the Catechism*, was strictly accurate, and was intended to describe the Articles contained in the publication called and known as "The Catechism." If Cranmer's language may also be taken as referring to the Articles, then we are driven to the conclusion that, in spite of their title, they had never been submitted to Convocation at all, and that the title prefixed to them rested solely on the authority of the Privy Council, who must bear the blame of having set them forth with 'a deceitful title to impose upon the unwary vulgar.'²

This appears to be the most probable solution of the difficulty. But, at the same time, it cannot be denied that there is a certain amount of counter-evidence in support of the claim raised by the title, which prevents us from acquiescing in the explanation just given as *certain*.

¹ This view obtains some slight confirmation from the fact that the colophon at the close of the book, after the Articles and a few prayers, says "*These Catechisms* are to be sold, etc." It is also worth noticing that, in Elizabeth's reign, the Puritans were anxious to have a Catechism united to the Articles, "joined in one book, and by common consent to be authorised."—Strype, *Annals*, ii. p. 317 (Ed. 1725).

² Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 370. Mr. Dixon throws doubt on the statement that the book had been set forth in the time of the Convocation, and thinks that even this was untrue.—*Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 517.

1. "They are publicly recited as possessing such authority on their subsequent revival and enactment in the Convocation of 1563, and it appears almost incredible that these assumptions should have been allowed to pass unchallenged, more especially by prelates like Archbishop Parker,¹ in a critical Synod, if the document had not really been invested with the sanction which it claims."²

2. In a communication from the visitors to the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of Cambridge, dated 1st June 1553, the Articles are spoken of as having been prepared by good and learned men, and agreed upon *in the Synod of London*.

3. A letter from Sir John Cheke to Bullinger (June 7, 1553), mentions that *the Articles of the Synod at London* were published by royal mandate.

4. During the controversy on vestments, in the reign of Elizabeth, it was, says Archdeacon Hardwick, urged against the recalcitrant clergy, by an advocate of the party of order, that "many of their party had actually subscribed to the Edwardian formulary in the Convocation of 1553, and were accordingly bent on violating their own pledge, by breaking the traditions and ceremonies of the Church. The answer of the Puritan makes no attempt to throw discredit on this statement. He concedes that many of the disaffected clergy set their hands to the thirty-third of the Forty-Two Articles in common with the rest, but argued that they did so with the reservation that nothing was or ought to be commanded by the Church in contradiction to the word of God."³

¹ Parker had been appointed Dean of Lincoln in 1552, and was therefore himself a member of the Convocation of 1552-3.

² *Hardwick*, p. 109.

³ *Ibid. loc. cit.* It does not appear quite certain that the subscription admitted is supposed to have taken place in the Synod. Subscription

The reader has now the evidence of both sides before him, and will see that the question is really a puzzling one, and cannot be decided offhand. On the whole, it appears to the present writer that the balance of evidence is *against* the correctness of the assertion made in the title. But he is free to confess that he cannot speak without some hesitation. It is possible that further evidence may yet be discovered, which will set the question at rest. In the meantime, we must be content with the statement that the Articles, as published in 1553, claimed the authority of Convocation, but that it is highly probable that the claim was not justified by facts.

(b) *The object and contents of the Forty-Two Articles.*

It is perfectly clear that these Articles—unlike some of the foreign Confessions—were never meant to form a complete system of theology, but were merely intended to treat of such points as were actually in dispute at the time. The title prefixed to the English edition speaks of them as agreed upon, “for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord in *certain* matters of religion,” and the title is so far entirely justified by their contents.¹ Their limitations and omissions are fatal to the view that they were designed to cover the whole field of Christian doctrine. Beyond the general statement of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in Article I., there is nothing in them on the Divinity of our Lord, nor is there any Article on

was required from all the clergy by royal mandate, and it is possible that the reference is to this. If so, although the passage would still testify to a belief, common to both parties in the controversy, that the Articles had actually passed Convocation, the value of its evidence would be considerably lessened, as there would be no admission by the disaffected clergy that they had actually subscribed *in the Convocation of 1553*.

¹ The Articles are printed in Latin and English at the close of this Introduction (see p. 70).

the Holy Spirit.¹ While the sufficiency of Holy Scripture is asserted in Article V., there is no account of the Canon of Holy Scripture, nor any enumeration of the canonical books.² Not a word is said of Confirmation or of Penance; and in many other matters there is a reticence which would be inexplicable, on any view except that which regards their range and extent as conditioned by present emergencies. They may be regarded as a two-edged sword, intended to smite with equal impartiality the errors to be found in two different directions—(1) those of the Medievalists, and (2) those of the Anabaptists.

1. Roman or medieval errors are expressly condemned in Article XII. (The teaching of the "school authors" on congruous merit), XIII. (Works of supererogation), XXIII. ("The doctrine of school-authors concerning purgatory, etc."), XXVI. (The doctrine of grace *ex opere operato*), XXIX. (Transubstantiation), XXX. (The sacrifices of masses); while Roman claims are rejected, or the position of the English Church in claiming liberty of independent action is defended, in such articles as XX. ("The Church of Rome hath erred, etc."), XXI. (It ought not to enforce anything beside Holy Scripture to be believed as an article of faith, cf. also Art. V.), XXII. (General Councils may err and have erred), XXV. ("It is most seemly and most agreeable to the word of God that in the congregation nothing be openly read or spoken in a tongue unknown to the people"), XXXI. ("Bishops, priests, and deacons are not commanded to vow the state of single life without marriage, neither by

¹ These omissions were supplied in 1563.

² Remedied in 1563. The omission in the Edwardian series of any account of the Canon, or of the position of the Apocrypha, is all the more remarkable as the Tridentine Decree on the Canon had been already drawn up

God's law are they compelled to abstain from matrimony"), XXXIII. (On "Traditions of the Church"), XXXV. ("Of the Book of Prayers and ceremonies of the Church of England"), XXXVI. ("The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England")

2. On the other hand it is probable that to a still greater extent the Articles were conditioned by the errors of the *Anabaptists*, who were rapidly bringing the whole Reformation movement into serious discredit by their wild extravagances and the utter defiance and repudiation of all authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical, of which they were guilty. These fanatics took their name from their practice of *re-baptizing* those who joined them, having been previously baptized in infancy. But their errors were far from being confined to the single point of the rejection of infant baptism. Indeed, it is hard to find a heresy or erroneous opinion which may not be laid to the charge of some among them. How serious was the danger, and what was the character of the false teaching which they were propagating in this country, may be seen from a letter written by Bishop Hooper shortly before the preparation of the Forty-Two Articles:—

"The Anabaptists flock to the place, and give me much trouble with their opinions respecting the incarnation of our Lord; for they deny altogether that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, according to the flesh. They contend that a man who is reconciled to God is without sin, and free from all stain of concupiscence, and that nothing of the old Adam remains in his nature; and a man, they say, who is thus regenerate cannot sin. They add that all hope of pardon is taken away from those who, after having received the Holy Ghost, fall into sin. They maintain a fatal necessity, and that beyond and beside that will of His, which He has revealed to us in the Scriptures, God hath another will, by

which he altogether acts under some kind of necessity. Although I am unable to satisfy their obstinacy, yet the Lord by His word shuts their mouths, and their heresies are more and more detested by the people. How dangerously our England is afflicted by heresies of this kind, God only knows; I am unable indeed from sorrow of heart to express to your piety. There are some who deny that man is endued with a soul different from that of a beast, and subject to decay. Alas, not only are these heresies reviving among us, which were formerly dead and buried, but new ones are springing up every day. There are such libertines and wretches, who are daring enough in their conventicles not only to deny that Christ is the Messiah and Saviour of the world, but also to call that blessed seed a mischievous fellow, and deceiver of the world. On the other hand, a great portion of the kingdom so adheres to the popish faction, as altogether to set at nought God and the lawful authority of the magistrates; so that I am greatly afraid of a rebellion and civil discord.”¹

To the same effect another of Bullinger’s correspondents, Martin Micronius, writes on August 14, 1551:—

“We have not only to contend with the Papists, who are almost everywhere ashamed of their errors, but much more with the Sectaries and Epicureans and pseudo-Evangelicals. In addition to the ancient errors respecting pædo-baptism, the incarnation of Christ, the authority of the magistrate, the lawfulness of an oath, the property and community of goods, and the like, new ones are rising up every day, with which we have to contend. The chief opponents, however, of Christ’s divinity are the Arians, who are now beginning to shake our churches with greater violence than ever

¹ Original letters (Parker Society), p. 65. The letter is dated June 25, 1549.

as they deny the conception of Christ by the Virgin.”¹

As a safeguard against the errors of fanatics, such as those thus described, even more perhaps than against the errors of medievalists, it was found necessary to issue the Articles. Although the Anabaptists are actually mentioned by name in but two of the Articles, namely, VIII. (On original sin), and XXXVII. (“Christian men’s goods are not common”), they are undoubtedly the persons alluded to in Article VI (“They are not to be heard which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises”), XIV., XV. (“They are to be condemned which say they can no more sin as long as they live here, etc.”), XVIII. (“They also are to be had accursed and abhorred that presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, etc.”), XIX. (“They are not to be hearkened unto, who affirm that Holy Scripture is given only to the weak, etc.”). In each of these articles there is evidently a definite set of persons contemplated who were propagating the views condemned; and in each case we find that the objectionable tenet was one which was maintained by some among the Anabaptists. Further, Anabaptist opinions account for the language of Article XXIV. (“It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same”), XXVII. (“The wickedness of the ministers doeth not away the effectual operation of God’s ordinances”), XXVIII. (“The custom of the Church to christen young children is to be commended, and in any wise to be retained in the Church”), XXXII. (“Excommunicate persons are to be avoided”), XXXIII. (“Whosoever through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 574. Both letters are quoted in Hardwick, p. 88 *seq.*

word of God, and be ordained, and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like), as one that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of weak brethren”), XXXVI. (“The civil magistrate is ordained and allowed of God; wherefore we must obey him, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience sake. The civil laws may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences. It is lawful for Christians, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons, and to serve in lawful wars”), XXXVIII. (“Christian men may take an oath”), XXXIX. (“The resurrection of the dead is not yet brought to pass”), XL. (“The souls of them that depart this life do neither die with their bodies, nor sleep idly”), XLI. (“Heretics called Millenarii”) XLII. (“All men shall not be saved at the length”). And even in those articles which might be thought to be less directly polemical, such as I. to IV., and VII. (On the Creeds), there can really be no doubt that the danger of Anabaptism was present to the compilers. It was owing to the spread of the errors of these fanatics that it became absolutely necessary to re-state the fundamental articles of the faith, and the Church’s adherence to the traditional Creeds of Christendom, for many of the Anabaptists “abandoned every semblance of belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and so passed over to the Arian and Socinian schools, then rising up in Switzerland, in Italy, and in Poland.”¹

This brief review of the object and contents of the Forty-Two Articles will be sufficient to show that in the first instance the document must have been merely intended to be a provisional and temporary one. Every line of it bears witness to this. The idea that

¹ Hardwick, p. 86.

it would be maintained as a permanent test of orthodoxy cannot have ever occurred to its authors. For such a purpose it is singularly ill-suited. Many of the articles are purely negative, condemning in trenchant terms some existing error, but not attempting to define the positive truth opposed to it. Our review will also indicate how utterly mistaken is the notion that the Articles were mainly, if not exclusively, designed as a safeguard against Rome, for we have seen that, although a considerable number of the Articles do condemn Roman and medieval errors, yet a far larger number are directed against the teaching of the Anabaptists, and denounce false doctrines in terms to which the most ardent Romanist could not take exception.

(c.) *The Sources of the Forty-two Articles.*

When the Anglican formulary of 1553 is compared with the Confession of Augsburg (1530), it is immediately apparent that the later document is indebted to the earlier one. The similarity between some of the Articles is so marked that the Lutheran Confession may be unhesitatingly set down as their ultimate source. But it is tolerably certain that the debt is only *indirect*, nor is there any reason to think that the Augsburg Confession itself was actually used by Cranmer and his colleagues in the preparation of the English Articles. The clauses common to both are *all* found also in the Thirteen Articles of 1538, and other language in the Forty-Two Articles is also traced to this document, and not to Augsburg. Even so, the debt to Lutheranism is but a limited one. The correspondence of language is confined almost entirely to Articles I., II., XXIII., XXVI., XXVII., XXXII., *i.e.* to the Articles on the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the Ministry, the Sacraments, and Traditions of the Church. On the burning question of justification and all kindred subjects, where correspondence might well be looked for,

it is remarkable that it is sought in vain. On all these topics, which were among the principal subjects of debate in the early days of the Reformation—questions which concern the condition of man, and the means of his salvation—our reformers took an independent line of their own, which differs in a very marked way from the line taken at Augsburg. Nor should it be forgotten that in some of the matters in which indebtedness to the Lutheran formulary cannot be denied, the Anglican statements are far stronger and more precise than those to which the Lutherans were called on to subscribe, *e.g.* on the Sacraments, the Confession of Augsburg said that they were instituted, “not only to be marks of profession among men, but rather to be signs and witnesses of God’s goodwill towards us, offered to quicken and confirm faith in those who use them.” In the Thirteen Articles of 1538 this was altered into the statement “that sacraments instituted by the word of God are not only marks of profession among Christians, but rather *certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace* and God’s goodwill towards us, *by which God works invisibly in us . . .* and through them faith is quickened and confirmed in those who use them.”¹

¹ “De usu Sacramentorum docent quod Sacramenta instituta sint, non modo ut sint notæ professionis inter homines, sed magis ut sint signa et testimonia voluntatis Dei erga nos ad excitandam et confirmandam fidem in his qui utuntur proposita.”—*Conf. August.* xiii.

“Docemus quod Sacramenta quæ per verbum Dei instituta sunt, non tantum sint notæ professionis inter Christianos, sed magis certa quædam testimonia et efficacia signa gratiæ et bonæ voluntatis Dei erga nos, per quæ Deus invisibiliter operatur in nobis et suam gratiam in nos invisibiliter diffundit, siquidem ea rite susceperimus; quodque per ea excitatur et confirmatur fides in his qui eis utuntur.”—Thirteen Articles of 1538, No. IX.

“Sacramenta per verbum Dei instituta non tantum sunt notæ professionis Christianorum, sed certa quædam potius testimonia et efficacia signa gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei, per quæ invisibiliter ipse in nobis operatur, nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat.”—Forty-Two Articles of 1553, No. XXV.

This is much more emphatic than the language of Augsburg, and it is remarkable that it was retained by Cranmer in 1553, when his views on the sacraments had considerably changed from what they were fifteen years previously. The result of the retention of these words is to bring Article XXVI., in which they occur, into rather startling contrast with Article XXIX. The two Articles really belong to different dates, and harmonise ill together, for whereas the earlier passage taken from the Thirteen Articles of 1538 describes the position of sacraments of the gospel as channels of grace in terms which leave nothing to be desired, the Twenty-Ninth Article of 1553 reflects the opinion to which Cranmer was committed at a later date when he had fallen under the influence of John a Lasco, and its teaching on the presence in the Eucharist, if not actually Zwinglianism, is perilously near to it. Happily, as will be pointed out further on in the introduction, the changes made in this Article in Elizabeth's reign have altered its character, and by the removal of the objectionable clause, and the substitution of another for it, have brought it into harmony with the teaching of Article XXV. (= XXVI. of 1553).

During the years in which the Forty-Two Articles were being shaped, another work was also in course of preparation (probably by the very same men to whom the Articles are due), viz. the **Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum**. The exact relation of this to the Articles is hard to determine. That a relation of some sort exists is perfectly clear, the wording of many passages being identical, or nearly so. But it is not easy to decide which document can claim priority. As early as 1532 mention is made of a design for the reform of the ecclesiastical laws, but it is uncertain whether anything was actually done before the reign of Edward VI. In 1549 an Act of Parliament was passed empowering the King,

by the advice of his Council, to appoint thirty-two persons "to compile such ecclesiastical laws as should be thought by him, his Council, and them, convenient to be practised in all the spiritual courts of the realm." Two years elapsed before any such persons were nominated. But in 1551 two commissions were issued, the one to thirty-two persons, as provided in the Act of 1549, the other to a smaller number of divines, by whom the actual work was to be done, as the full commission of thirty-two was apparently considered too large. The authors of the code, as it finally appeared, were Cranmer, Goodrich, Cox, Peter Martyr, May, Rowland Taylor, John Lucas, and Richard Goodrick. The work was completed early in 1553. Cranmer was, however, unable to obtain the sanction of Parliament for it before the death of the King in the summer of the same year. Thus the scheme fell to the ground, and although the volume was subsequently printed during the reign of Elizabeth, the revised code of ecclesiastical law was never imposed upon the Church by any authority whatsoever. Its interest, then, is purely historical. But, regarded as a contemporary exposition of the Articles, and as either furnishing one of the sources from which they were drawn, or as containing an expanded version of some of them, parts of the work are of the highest value. The first two sections are headed, "De summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica," and "De Hæresibus." In these the passages corresponding with the Articles occur, and it will frequently be found that, being in a fuller and more amplified form, they supply exactly what is wanting to enable us to determine the exact drift of the more condensed statements of the Articles, or they indicate precisely the quarter from which the errors condemned in the Articles were proceeding.¹

¹ For the history of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, see Dixon, vol. iii. 350 *seq.*

3. THE ELIZABETHAN ARTICLES.

It will be convenient once more to subdivide the subject before us, and distribute it under the following headings:—

(a) The history of the revision of 1563.

(b) The character of the revision, and comparison of the Elizabethan with the Edwardian Articles.

(c) The final revision in 1571.

(a) *The history of the revision of 1563.*—It would appear that during the reign of Mary (1553–1558) no notice whatever was taken of the Forty-Two Articles. As they had never been enjoined by Parliament, there was no necessity for an Act to repeal them. Consequently they were quietly dropped. Nor were they immediately revived on the accession of Elizabeth. For some time after this Archbishop Parker provided, on his own authority, an independent test, consisting of eleven Articles, which all the clergy were required to read publicly, not only on entry into any cure, but also twice in the course of every year.¹ But when Convocation met, at the beginning of 1563, one of the first works undertaken by it was a revision of the Edwardian Articles, with a view to their revival in a modified form. This resulted in the publication of the **Thirty-Eight Articles of 1563**. Even before the meeting of the Synod, Archbishop Parker, aided probably by Guest, Bishop of Rochester, had been at work on the Articles; and there still exists among the MSS. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, a copy of the Latin Articles as presented by him to the Synod, with the signatures of the bishops who subscribed this document on January 29, after further alterations had been introduced by them.² By the

¹ See Strype, *Eccl. Annals*, vol. i. p. 218.

² A copy of this, with a facsimile of the signatures, is printed in Lamb's *Historical Account of the Thirty-Nine Articles*. Among those whose sig-

help of this paper it is possible to discover exactly which of the changes were made by Parker in his preparatory revision, and which are to be assigned to the bishops during the passage of the Articles through Convocation. From the Upper House they passed on February 5 to the Lower, and were signed by the members of that house. They were then laid before the Queen in Council, and published in Latin by Wolfe, the royal printer, under the direct authority of the Queen herself. But it is remarkable that this published copy differs in two important particulars from the MS. as signed by the bishops on January 29th.

- (1) It prefixes to Article XX. the affirmative clause ;
 “*Habet ecclesia ritus statuendi jus et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem,*” which now makes its appearance for the first time.
- (2) It omits Article XXIX.: “*De manducatione Corporis Christi, et impios illud non manducare.*” This article, to which there is nothing corresponding in the Edwardian series, had been added by Parker, and apparently accepted by the Synod, as it is in the MS. copy to which the signatures of the bishops are attached.

The detailed examination of the questions that arise in connection with these changes is reserved for the commentary on the Articles in question. It will be sufficient to say here that both alterations were probably due to the Queen herself, and that they were made after

natures are attached to this document are the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Durham and Chester. “Though the Northern Convocation as a body had no direct influence in the compiling of the Articles, its concurrence was, to some extent, implied in the signature of the Archbishop of York and his two suffragans. In 1605 all doubts and scruples on this question were set at rest by the formal acceptance of the Articles in the Convocation of York.”—Hardwick, p. 140.

the Articles had passed the Lower as well as the Upper House of Convocation. They were therefore wanting in synodical authority, and rested simply on the authority of the Sovereign, as "supreme governor." The object of the addition of the affirmative clause to Article XX. was to assert in strong terms the rights and powers of the Church, with an eye to the position taken up by the Puritan party, who were denying to her the power to decree any rites and ceremonies, save such as could claim direct support from Holy Scripture. The omission of Article XXIX. was probably due to tenderness to the Roman party, and a desire, if possible, to embrace them within the limits of the National Church.

(b) *The character of the revision and comparison of the Articles of 1563 with those of 1553.*

The following conspectus of the principal changes introduced in 1563 will enable the reader to see without difficulty the importance of the revision, and the very real difference in tone and character that exists between the Elizabethan Articles and those of Edward's reign. Italics are used to denote the alterations made by Archbishop Parker in his preliminary work before he submitted the Articles to the Synod. Those made by the bishops are indicated by ordinary roman type; thick black letters being used for the two subsequent changes mentioned above as probably due to the Queen herself.

1. ADDITIONS.

A. Four New Articles, viz.—

Art. V. *Of the Holy Ghost.*

„ XII. *Of good works.*

„ XXIX. *Of the wicked, which do not eat the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper.* [**Omitted before publication**; restored in 1571.]

„ XXX. *Of both kinds.*

B. Clauses in other Articles.

- Art. II. "*Begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father.*"
- „ VI. *The clauses on the Canon of Scripture with the list of the canonical books of the Old Testament, and specimens of the Apocrypha.*
- „ VII. *The clause on the Ceremonial and the Moral Law. ("Although the law given from God by Moses the commandments which are called moral." This clause was drawn from the Nineteenth Article of 1553.)*
- „ VIII. "*And believed.*"
- „ X. "*The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God.*
- „ XVII. "*In Christ.*"
- „ XX. "**The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies and authority in controversies of faith.**"
- „ XXV. *The two clauses on the number of the sacraments, and the five rites, commonly called Sacraments.*
- „ XXVII. "*Overthroweth the nature of a sacrament.*"

"The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner : and the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper is faith."

Art. XXXIII. *"Every particular or National Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."*

„ XXXVII. *The explanation of the royal supremacy. ("Where we attribute to the Queen's majesty restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.")*

2. OMISSIONS.

A. Seven complete Articles, viz. :—

Art. X. *Of grace.*

„ XVI. *Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.*

„ XIX. *All men are bound to keep the commandments of the Moral Law.* (Though this was omitted as a separate article, part of it was embodied in Article VII. of the revised series. See above.)

„ XXXIX. *The resurrection of the dead is not yet brought to pass.*

„ XL. *The souls of them that depart this life do not die with the bodies nor sleep idly.*

Art. XLI. *Heretics called Millenarii.*

„ XLII. All men shall not be saved at length.

B. Clauses in other Articles.

Art. III. “For the body lay in the sepulchre until the resurrection, but his ghost departing from him was with the ghosts that were in prison, or in hell, and did preach to the same, as the place of St. Peter doth testify.

„ VI. “*Although it be sometimes received of the faithful as godly and profitable for an order and comeliness.*”

„ IX. “*Which also the Anabaptists do nowadays renew.*”

„ XVII. “*Though the decrees of predestination are unknown to us.*”

„ XXV. “*Our Lord Jesus Christ hath knit together a company of new people with sacraments, most few in number, most easy to be kept, most excellent in signification, as is Baptism and the Lord's Supper.*”

“*And yet that not of the work wrought [ex opere operato], as some men speak, which word, as it is strange and unknown to Holy Scripture, so it engendereth no godly but a very superstitious sense.*”

Art. XXVIII. "*Forasmuch as the truth of man's nature requireth that the body of one and the self-same man cannot be at one time in diverse places, but must needs be in some one certain place: therefore the body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and diverse places. And because (as Holy Scripture doth teach) Christ was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe or openly to confess the real and bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*"¹

„ XXXVII. "*The Civil Magistrate is ordained and allowed of God: wherefore we must obey him, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience' sake.*"

¹ Parker, in his preliminary revision, omitted this clause, but substituted for it the following, which was rejected by the Synod: "Christus in cœlum ascendens, corpori suo immortalitatem dedit, Naturam non abstulit; humanæ enim naturæ veritatem (juxta Scripturas) perpetuo retinet, quam uno et definito loco esse, et non in multa, vel omnia simul loca diffundi oportet. Quum igitur Christus in cœlum sublatus, ibi usque ad finem seculi sit permansurus, atque inde, non aliunde (ut loquitur Augustinus) venturus sit, ad judicandum vivos et mortuos, non debet quisquam fidelium, carnis ejus, et sanguinis, realem et corporalem (ut loquuntur) presentiam in Eucharistia vel credere, vel profiteri."

3. SUBSTITUTIONS AND OTHER CHANGES.

A. Articles rewritten.

- Art. XI. *Of the justification of man.*
" XXIV. *Of speaking in the congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth.*
" XXXII. *Of the marriage of priests.*
" XXXV. *Of homilies.*
" XXXVI. *Of consecration of bishops and ministers.*

B. Other Changes.

- Art. XXII. "*The Romish doctrine*" (*doctrina Romanensium*) was substituted for "the doctrine of school authors."
" XXV. *The order of the clauses was reversed.*
" XXVII. *The clause on Infant Baptism was rewritten.*
" XXXVII. *The first paragraph was rewritten.* ("The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her Dominions, and unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes, doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction," was substituted for "The King of England is supreme head in earth, next under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland.")

Of several of the additions made by Parker the source is to be found in the Confession of Württemberg. From this is taken verbatim the clause in Article II. concerning the Divine Nature of the Son; the Fifth Article ("Of the Holy Ghost"), and the statement concerning the canonical books of the Old and New Testament in Article VI.; while the additional clause in Article X., the re-written Article XI., and the new Article XII. ("On good works"), as well as the affirmative clause in Article XX., are obviously suggested by it.

We are now in a position to consider the significance and object of the changes thus introduced.

1. *A character of greater completeness, as regards "fundamentals," was given to the formulary, and some changes were introduced, seemingly in order to make the document suitable for a permanent test of doctrinal orthodoxy.*

It was probably for this reason that the clause on the Divinity of the Son in Article II. was introduced, as well as the new Fifth Article on the Holy Spirit. To the same cause we may trace the excision of the reference to the Anabaptists in Article IX., and the total omission of Articles XXXIX.-XLII., on speculative points which had been raised by some among the Anabaptists. Apparently, the erroneous teaching had either disappeared or was regarded as less formidable, and therefore, in a document designed for permanent use, it was thought well to remove the reference to it. Under the same head notice may be taken of the omission of the reference to 1 Pet. iii. 18 in Article III., and of the Sixteenth Article, defining the nature of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. These omissions may have been due to the desire for comprehension, and willingness to allow room for divergence of opinion in regard to difficult and disputed texts. But, although the Elizabethan Articles were thus rendered

more complete than those issued in 1553, it remains true that even so they cannot be regarded as a complete scheme of doctrine. Many important matters of faith are omitted in them; and, in order to arrive at the mature judgment of the Church of England it is frequently necessary to have recourse to the Prayer-Book, and to supplement the partial and fragmentary teaching of the Articles by it. The statement already made in reference to the Edwardian Articles holds good of these also. Many of them are purely negative, condemning some erroneous view, and telling us what not to hold, but stopping short without any expression of the true doctrine on the subject, as opposed to the error rejected. Bishop Pearson's words, quoted in this connection by Archdeacon Hardwick, are substantially true. The Book of the Articles "is not, nor is pretended to be, a complete body of divinity, or a comprehension and explication of all Christian doctrines necessary to be taught, but an enumeration of some truths, which upon and since the Reformation have been denied by some persons; who upon their denial are thought unfit to have any cure of souls in this Church or realm, because they might, by their opinions, infect their flock with error, or else disturb the Church with schism, or the realm with sedition."¹

2. *The Catholic position of the Church of England, and her determination to adhere to the general teaching of the Church was made clearer.*

This is seen in the alterations made in Article XI., and the introduction of Article XII. ("On good works"), which render the teaching on the justification of man less open to objection. Still more is it evidenced by the alterations introduced into the sacramental Articles. Especially noteworthy is the omission of the clause in Article XXVIII., which denied the "real and bodily

¹ *Minor Works*, vol. ii. p. 215, quoted in Hardwick, p. 158.

presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament." In place of this was introduced the clause stating that the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, intended, according to Bishop Guest who says that it was "of mine own penning," "not to deny the reality of the presence of the body of Christ in the Supper, but only the grossness and sensibleness in the receiving thereof."¹ It will also be noticed that the clause denying the theory of grace *ex opere operato*, was omitted from Article XXV., and that the language on infant baptism in Article XXVII. was strengthened, while that in XXXVII. ("On the royal supremacy") is of a much more sober and guarded character than the bald statement of the corresponding Article in the Edwardian series.

3. *On the other hand, the independent line taken by the Church of England in the matters of dispute with Rome was adhered to, and in some respects more sharply defined than had been the case in the earlier Articles.*

As instances of this, reference may be made to the additions to Article VI. (On the canonical books, and the position of the Apocrypha), the addition to XXV. (On the number of sacraments ordained of Christ, and the rejection of the claim of the "five rites" to be regarded as having the like nature of sacraments with Baptism and the Eucharist), the addition of XXX. (On the denial of the cup to the laity), the vindication of the rights of National Churches in XXXIII., and of the character of the English ordinal in XXXVI. The substitution of "Romanensium"

¹ See further in the commentary on Article XXVIII. It will not be forgotten that a few years earlier (in 1559) the Elizabethan divines had struck out from the Prayer-Book the "black rubric" which appeared to deny the "real and spiritual presence" of Christ's body and blood, and had restored the use of the first clause ("the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.") in the administration of the elements, as well as of the eucharistic vestments.

for "Scholasticorum" in XXII. marked the intention of the Article to condemn a present current form of teaching rather than the more formal statements of scholastic divines. And while the withdrawal of Article XXIX. before publication, as well as the excision of the clause referred to above on grace *ex opere operato*, betrays a desire not to create unnecessary differences with Rome on matters of doctrine, where there might be room for difference of opinion, the rewriting of Articles XXIV. and XXXII. manifested a determination to speak out plainly on practical matters, where it was considered that plain speaking was necessary.

4. *Changes affecting the position of the Puritan*¹ *party.*

There is no doubt that the change in Article XXVIII., involving the omission of the clause denying the real presence was most distasteful to them,² nor can the addition of the affirmative clause to Article XX. have been altogether agreeable, though their objections to it were not raised till later. They were not altogether satisfied with Article XXXIII., as a considerable number of members of the Lower House of Convocation were anxious that these words in it might be mitigated. "Is

¹ The name of Puritan may well be given to them, though, as a matter of history, it was not used till the following year. Fuller (*Ch. Hist.* ii. p. 540) notes, under the year 1564, that the name first began in this year, and characteristically adds that "the grief had not been great, if it had ended in the same."

² Humphrey and Sampson sent to Bullinger in July 1566 a list of "some blemishes which still attach to the Church of England," and among them they note the following:—"The free liberty of preaching is taken away from the ministers of Christ, those who now are willing to preach are forbidden to recommend any innovation with regard to rites, but all are obliged to give their assent to ceremonies by subscribing their hands. Lastly, the article composed in the time of Edward the Sixth respecting the spiritual eating, which expressly oppugned and took away the real presence in the Eucharist, and contained a most clear explanation of the truth, is now set forth among us mutilated and imperfect."—*Zurich Letters* (Parker Society), vol. i. p. 165.

ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem ecclesiæ, quique lædit auctoritatem magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut cæteri timeantur, arguendus est.”¹ The clause had stood without question in the Edwardian Articles, and, in spite of the request of the Puritan party, was left intact. On the other hand it is possible that the tenth of the series of 1553 was omitted out of tenderness to the rising Calvinism of the party, and that for the same reason the first clause was added to our present Article X.

5. There remain a limited number of changes which cannot well be classified under any of the foregoing heads. Of these some were made in order to bring the English into closer conformity with the Latin.² For others it is not easy to state the precise reason which called for them. None of them, however, are of any great importance.

(c) *The final revision of 1571.*—The Articles passed by Convocation and approved by the Crown in 1563 underwent a further revision in 1571. Up till this date, although the Articles had been signed by members of Convocation, subscription was not required from the clergy of the Church in general; and the Queen steadily resisted every attempt made to submit them to Parliament. When, however, the Anglo-Roman schism had been brought about by the publication of the papal bull, excommunicating the Queen in 1570, it would seem that her reluctance to call in the aid of Parliament in enforcing subscription

¹ Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 336.

² The Parker MS., signed by the bishops, is, it will be remembered, in Latin, as is also the authoritative edition published by Wolfe. But English MSS. of the Articles dating from 1563 still remain among the Elizabethan *State Papers* (“Domestic,” vol. xxvii. §§ 40, 41), one of which is endorsed “Articles of Religion agreed on, 1562, in the Convocation House,” and at least two English editions of the Articles were printed by Jugge and Cawood.

was somewhat relaxed, and in the session of 1571 an Act was passed requiring all clergy, who had been ordained by any form except that in the English Prayer-Book of Edward VI. or Elizabeth, to subscribe to "all the Articles of religion which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted, entituled, *Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562, according to the computation of the Church of England, for the avoiding the diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion; put forth by the Queen's authority.*" The Act was evidently due to the Anglo-Roman schism, and was intended primarily to enforce subscription on those who had been ordained during the reign of Mary. But it also provided that, for the future, "the said Articles" were to be subscribed by all candidates for ordination, and by every person admitted to any benefice with cure of souls.¹

Thus, for the first time, subscription to the Articles was required by statute law, and until quite recent times this Act of the 13th of Elizabeth was the only one that could be quoted as enforcing it on all the clergy.² This is the more remarkable when it is considered—(1) that the edition of the Articles contemplated in the Act was the English edition, printed in 1563, by Jugge and Cawood, which contained neither the

¹ 13 Elizab. c. xii., "An Act to reform certain disorders touching ministers of the Church." See Strype, *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 71, and Prothero's *Statutes and Constitutional Documents*, p. 64.

² The Act of Uniformity of 1662 was concerned with the Prayer-Book and not the Articles—only incidentally requiring subscription to the latter from all *lecturers*. The Articles, it must be remembered, form no part of the Book of Common Prayer, though in modern times generally bound up with it.

Twenty-ninth Article nor the affirmative clause of Article XX; (2) that the terms of the Act were ingeniously drawn, so as to enforce subscription to *some* only of the Articles, for it is clear that the restrictive word, "only," was inserted in the interests of the Puritan party, and intended to relieve them from the necessity of subscribing to those Articles which were concerned with discipline as distinct from doctrine; and (3) that, without any reference whatever to the action of Parliament, the Articles were revised by Convocation, and that, from that day to this, subscription has been required on the authority of the Church to *all* the Articles, and to that form of them which was finally accepted by Convocation. Such facts are very significant, and those who maintain that the Church of England is an "Act of Parliament Church" would do well to ponder them.

The Bill referred to above was introduced into the Commons on 7th April, transmitted to the Lords on 3rd May, passed its third reading on the 21st, and obtained the royal assent on the 29th of the same month. On the very day on which it was read the first time in the House of Commons, we find Parker requiring subscription from all members of the Lower House of Convocation, who had not formerly subscribed; and early in May there are signs that a revision of the Articles was taken in hand, and that some alterations and emendations were in contemplation. On 4th May the bishops were secretly considering the Articles, and came to the conclusion "that when the Book of Articles touching doctrine shall be fully agreed upon, that then the same shall be put in print by the appointment of my Lord of Sarum [Jewel], and a price rated for the same to be sold." On 11th May the bishops were again deliberating, and on that day Parker and ten other bishops

(including Guest of Rochester) signed an English MS. containing the Twenty-ninth Article, but omitting the affirmative clause of Article XX.¹ After this, further deliberations must have taken place, although no record of them is now forthcoming. We only know that the bishops gave up the Book of the Articles to the Queen's Majesty "to peruse them and judge them,"² and that **the Thirty-Nine Articles** were finally published in Latin and English with the royal ratification attached to them, which plainly declared the assent of Convocation to them.

"This Book of the Articles before rehearsed is again approved and allowed to be holden and executed within the realm, by the assent and consent of our Sovereign Lady ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, etc. Which Articles were deliberately read and confirmed

¹ See Hardwick, p. 150 *seq.*

² Among the *State Papers* ("Domestic," Elizabeth, vol. lxxviii. No. 37) is an (unsigned) document addressed to Cecil, in Bishop Guest's handwriting, suggesting the introduction of various alterations in the Articles before their final ratification. The Articles which he wished to have modified were the seventeenth, in which he suggests the omission of the words "by His counsel secret to us," on the ground that Ephesians i. really reveals God's counsel. Further, he would have the last paragraph of this article altered, because part of it is not clearly expressed, and part might be thought to countenance the notion of a secret will of God opposed to His revealed one. In Article XXV. he criticises the paragraph on the "five rites commonly called Sacraments," which he wishes to have altered. In XXVIII. he suggests—(1) the omission of the word "only" in the clause, "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner," and (2) the addition of "profitably" to the following clause, "the mean whereby the body of Christ is received, etc."; while he urges very strongly that Article XXIX. should not be confirmed and authorised. The paper was quite ineffectual, as none of the changes suggested by him were made. The latter part of the document is quoted in Mr. G. F. Hodge's *Bishop Guest—Articles XXVIII. and XXIX.* where, however, a wrong reference to the volume of *State Papers* is given. It should be not lxxv. 36, but (as above) lxxviii. 37,

again by the subscription of the hands of the archbishops and bishops of the Upper House, and by the subscription of the whole clergy of the Nether House in their Convocation, in the year of our Lord 1571.”¹

The changes introduced before the Articles were thus ratified and published include the restoration of Article XXIX., and the addition of the *complete* list of the books of the Apocrypha in Article VI. The affirmative clause of Article XX. was apparently ratified by the Synod, and various other minor alterations were introduced. “They are either emendations in the wording of thirteen titles, or corrections introduced into the English form of the older Latin copy, or occasional explanations of phraseology believed to have been capable of misconstruction,” but they “left the character impressed upon the Articles of 1563 entirely unaffected.”² The fact that the Articles, as thus revised, were published in both Latin and English, with the royal ratification attached to them, suggests the inquiry, which of the two versions is to be considered the most authoritative; and in answer to this we cannot do better than follow the example of Archdeacon Hardwick in quoting some words of Daniel Waterland, which sum up in a convenient form all that there is to be said on the subject.

“As to the Articles, English and Latin, I may just observe, for the sake of such readers as are less acquainted with these things—*First*, That the Articles were passed, recorded, and ratified in the year 1562, and *in Latin only*. *Secondly*, That those Latin Articles were revised and corrected by the Convocation of 1571. *Thirdly*, That an authentic English translation was then made of the Latin Articles by the same Convocation,

¹ The ratification still stands at the close of the Articles as they are printed in modern Prayer-Books.

² Hardwick, p. 155.

and the Latin and English adjusted as nearly as possible. *Fourthly*, That the Articles thus prepared *in both languages* were published the same year, and by the royal authority. *Fifthly*, Subscription was required the same year to the English Articles, called the Articles of 1562, by the famous Act of the 13th of Elizabeth.

These things considered, I might justly say, with Bishop Burnet, that the Latin and English are both *equally authentic*. Thus much, however, I may certainly infer, that if in any places the English version be ambiguous, where the Latin original is clear and determinate, the Latin ought to fix the more doubtful sense of the other (as also *vice versa*), it being evident that the Convocation, Queen, and Parliament, intended the same sense in both."¹

4. THE ROYAL DECLARATION.

Since 1571 no change whatever has been made in the text of the Thirty-Nine Articles. But, as they stand in modern prayer-books, there is prefixed to them a document entitled "**His Majesty's Declaration**," of which some account must now be given.

By the time of the accession of Charles the First (1625), the school of churchmen, of which Bishop Andrewes is the best and most famous representative,² had begun to rise into power. The publication of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* of Richard Hooker³ may be

¹ "Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription Considered," *Works*, vol. ii. p. 316; quoted in Hardwick, p. 156.

² On the position of Andrewes and his school, see Dean Church's essay on Andrewes, in *Masters in English Theology*, p. 88 *seq.*

³ The first four books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* were published in 1593, and the fifth came out by itself in 1597; the three remaining books were published posthumously, as they were incomplete when Hooker died in 1600.

said to mark the beginnings of the reaction against the dominant Calvinism of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. Since then the position of the "Arminian"¹ party had become much more definite. Instead of merely standing upon the defensive, they were beginning to carry the war into the enemy's country, and attack the interpretation which the Calvinistic party, with an entire disregard of history, had fastened upon the Articles and formularies of the Church. The attention of the country in general was called to the subject by the appearance of Richard Montague's *New Gag for an Old Goose* in 1622. Montague was at this time a simple parish priest, and his work was intended as a reply to a Roman attack upon the Church of England, entitled *The Gag for the New Gospel*, which assumed that the popular Calvinistic theology of the day truly represented the accepted doctrine of the Church of England. To this position Montague offered an uncompromising opposition, and, "as far as the matter of his volume is concerned," it may be described as "a temperate exposition of the reasons which were leading an increasing body of scholars to reject the doctrines of Rome and Geneva alike."² Complaints of the book were raised in the House of Commons, and the matter was referred to Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Montague was summoned to Lambeth, and admonished; but instead of yielding to the primate's advice, returned home to follow up his first work by a second, the famous *Appello Casarem*, in which he "indicated more fiercely than before his claim to be the true exponent of the doctrine

¹ It is difficult to know by what term to describe the party. "High Churchmen" is an anachronism, as the word had not yet come into use. "Arminian" was the term (most unfairly) applied to them by their opponents. It is therefore employed in the text.

² S. R. Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. v. p. 352.

of the Church.”¹ The book was scarcely completed before James I. died, and thus it appeared in 1625 with a dedication to his successor. Once more complaints were raised in the House of Commons, and for a time Montague was committed to custody. Shortly after his release, however, he was appointed Bishop of Chichester (August 1628), and now, though the Puritan Abbot was still Archbishop of Canterbury, yet with Laud already Bishop of London, and daily rising in the royal favour, it was manifest to all that the supremacy of the Calvinistic party was seriously endangered. While the storm raised by the publication of the *Appello Cæsarem* was still raging, Cosin, Prebendary (and afterwards Bishop) of Durham, had in 1627 published his *Devotions*. This was a manual of prayer, containing offices for the Hours, which had been prepared, probably at the request of the King himself, for the use of members of the English Church. It was at once made the subject of a violent attack by William Prynne, who boldly demanded that, for the future, no man should be allowed to speak or write against the Calvinistic doctrines, and that the conclusions of the (Calvinistic) Synod of Dort should be offered as a test to every clergyman in England. Those who refused to subscribe were to be at once excluded from holding any ecclesiastical office. This was a definite challenge to the Church party, and was immediately accepted by them as such. Two years before, in 1626, a royal proclamation for the peace of the Church had been drawn up, in the hope of putting an end to the unseemly controversies which were raging. In some of the towns where this was distributed, it seems to have had some effect.² Accordingly Laud now advised Charles to follow it up by a second proclamation, which should

¹ S. R. Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. v. p. 354.

² Cf. Hardwick, p. 200.

be prefixed to a reprint of the Thirty-Nine Articles. This was at once done,¹ and the document thus issued, which is probably from the pen of Laud himself, has kept its place prefixed to the Articles to the present day. Its object was to allay the violent disputes by which the Church was torn asunder. And in order to effect this, his Majesty was made to express his will, that "in these both curious and unhappy differences, which have for so many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ . . . all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the Holy Scripture, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either print or preach to draw the article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof; and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense."

Simultaneously with the publication of this declaration a proclamation was issued, calling in Montague's *Appello Cæsarem*, in order that men might "no more trouble themselves with these unnecessary questions, the first occasion being taken away." But, in spite of this proof of earnestness and good faith, the indignation of the Puritan and Calvinistic party among the clergy and in the House of Commons knew no bounds. Some of the clergy at once addressed a petition to the King, complaining that he had placed them in a grave dilemma, for they must either disobey him by attacking the *Pelagian and Arminian heresies*, or else, on the other hand, "provoke the heavier indignation of the King of kings Himself by failing to make known the whole counsel

¹ See the history in Gardiner, vol. vii. p. 21 *seq.*

of God," while the House of Commons, turned for the time into a theological debating society, solemnly adopted the following resolution:—

"We, the Commons now in Parliament assembled, do claim, profess, and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of religion which were established in Parliament in the reign of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by public acts of the Church of England, and by the general and concurrent exposition of the writers of our Church, have been delivered to us; and we do reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians."¹

Into the later history of the controversy there is no necessity to enter here. It is sufficient to point out how true is the remark of Archdeacon Hardwick that such protestations are utterly inconsistent with the pretext that the Articles were framed on a Calvinistic hypothesis, "for as the 'Declaration' aimed at nothing more than to confine the teaching of the clergy to those points which were suggested by a plain and literal exposition of the public formulary, the wild outcry raised against such principles of exegesis seemed to justify the argument which Montague and others were adopting, when they urged that 'Calvinism' is not accordant with the letter of the Articles, and cannot be deduced from them by any of the rules which judges commonly apply to the interpretation of a legal document."²

5. PURITAN ATTEMPTS TO AMEND OR SUPPLEMENT THE ARTICLES.

The observation just quoted is very just, and, in order to confirm it, it will be well to pass briefly in review the attempts to supplement or amend the Articles which at various times proceeded from the Calvinistic party, who

¹ Gardiner, vol. vii. p. 41.

² Hardwick, p. 203.

thus by their own acts have again and again testified to their conviction that the natural interpretation of the authoritative formularies of the Church of England is not favourable to their tenets. Pitt's saying that the Church of England has a Popish liturgy and a Calvinistic set of Articles is well known, and probably represents an opinion which is widely held. It is, however, seriously inaccurate. It must be admitted that there is a difference between the Articles and the Prayer-Book. The Articles, dating as they do from the early years of Elizabeth's reign, are, as has been already implied, the product of a time when churchmen were still standing on the defensive, and had not yet fully worked out their true position. For example, exposed as they were to the violent attacks of the party of the exiles on the whole system of Church government, they were concerned mainly to defend Episcopacy as an allowable form of Church government rather than as a system of divine origin. In other matters, too, their position was more or less tentative, and often negative rather than positive. The Articles naturally reflect the character of the time to which they belong, and speak at times in hesitating and indecisive tones. The Prayer-Book has twice undergone revision since the Articles assumed their present form. The revision of 1604 gave us the latter part of the Catechism with its clear teaching on the sacraments, and the presence in the Eucharist; while the impress of the Caroline divines was stamped upon the book in 1662; and the numerous changes then introduced bear witness to the determination of those who were responsible for them to make the book more adequate to express the mind of the Church catholic. In order, therefore, to arrive at the full teaching and mature judgment of the Church of England, the Articles must be supplemented by the Prayer-Book. Thus much

is frankly admitted. What is *not* admitted is that the Articles were framed on a definite Calvinistic hypothesis, and that the interpretation fastened upon them by Calvinists is true. On such an hypothesis they are, to say the least, seriously defective; and so much was admitted by the party, even as early as 1571. We have already seen that the Parliament of that year hesitated to enforce subscription to those Articles which concern the discipline and polity of the Church. In spite of this it would appear that some of the Puritans were unable to subscribe, and consequently suffered deprivation, under the terms of the Act;¹ and that the doctrinal Articles were not altogether satisfactory to them is proved by the *Admonitions to Parliament* which emanated from the Puritan party shortly afterwards. In the first of these (1572) the Puritans ingenuously admit that some reservation was requisite on their part, if they were to accept the Articles, for they write as follows:—"For the articles concerning the substance of doctrine, using a godly interpretation in a point or two, which are either too sparsely or else too darkly set down, we were and are ready, according to duty, to subscribe unto them." In the "Second Admonition" some months later they say boldly, "The Book of the Articles of Christian Religion speaketh very dangerously of falling from grace, which is to be reformed, because it too much inclineth to error."

Again, the whole controversy, which resulted in the preparation of the Lambeth Articles in 1595, is a witness to the same fact. This is not the place to enter into the history of that controversy.² The Articles themselves

¹See the complaint raised in the "first admonition," quoted in Prothero's *Statutes and Constitutional Documents*, p. 198.

²On the controversy, see Perry's *English Church History*, vol. ii. p. 351 *seq.* and Hardwick, p. 159 *seq.*

will be given in the commentary on Article XVII. It will be sufficient to point out here that in order to crush at the outset the revolt against the dominant Calvinism at Cambridge Archbishop Whitgift was persuaded to send down to the university a series of nine Articles prepared by Whitaker, the Regius Professor of Divinity, and revised and approved by the archbishop himself and a few other divines assembled at Lambeth. These Articles set forth, in the harshest and narrowest fashion, the main points of the Calvinistic system, and we have only to place them side by side with our own Seventeenth Article to feel convinced that, whatever it means, it does not mean to teach the doctrine of Calvin. Happily the Queen intervened, and the attempt to force the Lambeth Articles upon the Church was dropped. They were not even presented to Convocation, nor have they ever received any authority of any kind in this country.

Once more, at the beginning of the reign of James I., the Puritans confessed that from their point of view the Articles were defective and inadequate. At the Hampton Court Conference, in 1604, various objections were raised to them by Reynolds, the Puritan spokesman, who "moved his majesty that the Book of Articles of Religion, concluded 1562, might be explained in places obscure, and enlarged where some things were defective. For example, whereas Article 16, the words are these: "After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace"; notwithstanding the meaning be sound, yet he desired that, because they may seem to be contrary to the doctrine of God's predestination and election in the Seventeenth Article, both those words might be explained with this, or the like addition, "yet neither totally nor finally"; and also that the nine assertions orthodoxal, as he termed them, concluded upon at

Lambeth, might be inserted into that "Book of Articles."¹ Towards the close of the same year an "apology for those ministers who are troubled for refusing of subscription and conformity" was drawn up by the Lincolnshire Nonconformists and presented to the King (December 1, 1604), in which complaint is made that they are unable to subscribe, because they are "persuaded that both the Book of Common Prayer and the other book (*i.e.* the Articles) contain in them sundry things which are not agreeable but *contrary to the word of God*."² Again, when, during the Civil War, the Puritan party had obtained the upper hand, one of the first things undertaken by them was a revision of the Articles, "in order to render their sense more express and determinate in favour of Calvinism." Acting under directions received from the Parliament the Westminster Assembly of Divines, in 1643, appointed a committee, "to consider what amendments were proper to be made in the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, and report them to the assembly, who were ten weeks in debating upon the first fifteen." At a later date the divines were "very busy upon Article XVI. and upon that clause of it which mentioneth departing from grace," when their work was altogether suspended, by order of the Parliament. The first fifteen Articles, as amended by this body, have been printed by Neal the Puritan historian,³ and a singular composition it is. The first Article is the only one that was allowed to remain untouched. The changes in Articles IV., V., XIV., and XV. are of little or no consequence. Very significant, however, is the change in Article II., where

¹ "The Sum and Substance of the Conference, etc." in Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, p. 178.

² Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 56.

³ *Op. cit.* vol. iii. Appendix i.

in the clause on the Atonement, which states that Christ died "to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men," the word "all" is deliberately expunged, in order to bring the article into harmony with the tenet of "particular redemption." The eighth ("On the creeds") was at first omitted altogether, but the divines were content to let it remain, on condition that the creeds were re-translated and annotated. In the remaining Articles changes of more or less importance will be found, which are duly noted in the commentary,¹ and which give in some cases an entirely different complexion to the teaching of the Articles. But even so we learn from the report of divines to the House of Commons that they were not completely satisfied with the result of their labours, for they felt themselves constrained to acknowledge that, in spite of their efforts, very many things continued to be "defective," and "other expressions also were fit to be changed."²

Still later, we find that the Puritan objections to the Articles were repeated after the Restoration, and so late as 1689 Richard Baxter, in his *English Nonconformity*, admits that "the words of the Articles in their obvious sense are many times liable to exception, and that there are many things in them that good men may scruple."³

The facts here collected together are suggestive. Of themselves they are sufficient to show how utterly false is the popular misconception to which Pitt gave expression in the remark quoted above; and when contrasted with the readiness of Laud and his party to appeal to the "literal and grammatical sense of the Articles," they indicate not obscurely that the interpretation placed upon the Articles by the Laudian school of divines and their successors is historically correct.

¹ See especially the notes on Article IX.

² See Hardwick, p. 212.

³ Ch. xxiv.

6. HISTORY OF SUBSCRIPTION TO THE ARTICLES.

When the Forty-Two Articles of 1553 were first issued, the intention of the authorities was that they should be offered for signature to all the clergy of the Church of England, and a royal mandate to this effect was accordingly issued in June 1553. The death of the King in the following month prevented it from being enforced, and when the Articles were revived and revised in 1563, no attempt to require general subscription was made by the Church. The Act of 1571, as has been already shown, was so drawn as to require the acceptance of the doctrinal Articles alone, as distinct from those which concern discipline. But the Convocation that met at the same time proceeded boldly to insist in its canons that every minister before entering on his duties should subscribe to *all* the Articles agreed upon in the Synod,¹ and that all public preachers should signify their assent in the same way,² and although these canons were not subscribed by the Lower House, and were left without any formal ratification by the Sovereign, the Court of High Commission proceeded to enforce subscription to *all* the Articles without distinction. This rigour was considerably relaxed during the later years of Grindal's

¹ "Quivis minister ecclesiæ, antequam in sacram functionem ingreditur, subscribet *omnibus* articulis de religione Christiana, in quos consensus est in Synodo; et publice ad populum, ubicunque episcopus jusserit, patefaciet conscientiam suam, quid de illis articulis, et universa doctrina sentiat." —Cardwell's *Synodalia*, vol. i. p. 120.

² Quoniam articuli illi religionis Christianæ, in quos consensus est ab episcopis in legitima et sancta Synodo, jussu atque auctoritate serenissimæ principis Elizabethæ convocata et celebrata, haud dubie collecti sunt ex sacris libris Veteris et Novi Testamenti, et cum cælesti doctrina, quæ in illis continetur, per omnia congruunt; quoniam etiam liber publicarum precum, et liber de inauguratione archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, presbyterorum et diaconorum nihil continent ab illa ipsa doctrina alienum; quicunque mittentur ad docendum populum, illorum articulorum auctoritatem et fidem, non tantum concionibus suis, sed etiam subscriptione confirmabunt." —*Synodalia*, vol. i. p. 127.

primacy, in consequence of which, upon Whitgift's elevation to the see of Canterbury, one of his earliest acts was to put forth his famous "Three Articles" in 1583. Neither the Parliament nor the Convocation had ordered any precise form of subscription, an omission which Whitgift now proceeded to supply, requiring, "That none be permitted to preach, read, catechise, minister the sacraments, or execute any ecclesiastical function, by what authority soever he be admitted thereunto, unless he first consent and subscribe to these Articles following, before the ordinary of the diocese, viz. :—

"1. That Her Majesty under God hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her realms, and dominions, and countries, of what estate, ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be; and that none other foreign power, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or temporal, within Her Majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.

"2. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God, and that the same may lawfully be used, and that he himself will use the form of the said book prescribed in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, and none other.

"3. That he alloweth the Book of the Articles of Religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord 1562, and set forth by Her Majesty's authority, and that he believeth all the articles therein contained to be agreeable to the Word of God."¹

In conformity with this document, subscription was once

¹ Strype's *Whitgift*, bk. iii. ch. iii; cf. Perry, *History of the English Church*, vol. ii. p. 318 seq.

more rigorously enforced, and at the beginning of the following century the "Three Articles" received synodal authority, being adopted almost verbatim as the Thirty-sixth Canon in the series put forth and ratified by the Sovereign in 1604.

Canon XXXVI.

"Subscription to be required of such as are to be made ministers."

No person shall hereafter be received into the ministry, nor either by institution or collation admitted to any ecclesiastical living, nor suffered to preach, to catechise, or to be a lecturer or reader of divinity, in either university, or in any cathedral or collegiate church, city, or market town, parish church, chapel, or in any other place in this realm, except he be licensed either by the archbishop, or by the bishop of the diocese where he is to be placed, under their hands and seals, or by one of the two universities under their seal likewise; and except he shall first subscribe to these three articles following, in such manner and sort as we have here appointed:—

"I. That the King's Majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other his Highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within His Majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.

"II. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God, and that it may lawfully so be used; and that he himself will use the form in the said Book prescribed, in public prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and none other.

"III. That he alloweth the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and by the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562; and that he acknowledgeth all and every the Articles therein contained, being in number nine and thirty, besides the ratification, to be agreeable to the word of God.

"To these three Articles, whosoever will subscribe he shall, for the avoiding of all ambiguities, subscribe in this order and form of words, setting down both his Christian and surname, viz. :—

"I, N. N., do willingly and ex animo subscribe to these three articles above mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them.

And if any bishop shall ordain, admit, or license any, as is aforesaid, except he first have subscribed in manner and form as here we have appointed, he shall be suspended from giving of orders and licences to preach for the space of twelve months. But if either of the universities shall offend therein, we leave them to the danger of the law, and His Majesty's censure."¹

The Act of Uniformity of 1662 required a still more stringent declaration of assent to the Book of Common Prayer, to be read publicly in church, by every person instituted or collated to a benefice with cure,² but the

¹ Cardwell's *Synodalia*, vol. i. p. 267. The canons were passed by both Houses, and ratified by letters patent, in *Latin*, but an English translation was at once made, and printed by "Robert Barker, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, anno 1604."

² "I, *A. B.*, do hereby declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book intituled, The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland: together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches; and the Form or Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons' (13 & 14 Chas. II., ch. 4, § 6)."

subject of subscription to the Articles did not come within its province,¹ and, therefore, the form ordered by the Thirty-sixth Canon remained in force.

After the revolution of 1688 an attempt was made to get rid of the various forms of subscriptions and declarations required from the clergy, and the abortive Comprehension Bill of 1689 proposed that "No other subscriptions or declarations shall from henceforward be required of any person, but only the declaration mentioned in a statute made in the thirtieth year of the reign of the late King Charles the Second, intituled, 'An Act for the more effectual preserving the King's person and government by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament,'" and also this declaration following:—

"I, *A. B.*, do submit to the present constitution of the Church of England. I acknowledge that the doctrine of it contains in it all things necessary to salvation, and that I will conform myself to the worship and the government thereof, as established by law. And I solemnly promise, in the exercise of my ministry, to preach and practice according thereunto."²

The Bill was introduced into the House of Lords, without any reference whatever to Convocation, and though it passed the Lords the House of Commons declined altogether to discuss it. "They were much offended with the Bill of Comprehension, as containing matters relating to the Church, in which the representative body of the clergy had not been so much as advised with."³ Accordingly, the somewhat ambitious scheme "for uniting their

¹ Except so far as *lecturers* were concerned (13 & 14 Chas. II., c. 4, § 19).

² See the report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to consider the subscriptions, declarations, and oaths required to be made and taken by the clergy of the United Church of England and Ireland, 1865 (p. 53), where the form finally agreed upon by the House of Lords is given.

³ For the history of the bill see *Perry*, vol. ii. p. 543 *seq.*, and Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. xi.

Majestics' Protestant subjects " was hastily dropped, and the agitation in favour of a change in the forms of subscription died away. In practice, the subscriptions required by the terms of the 13th Act of Elizabeth and the Thirty-sixth Canon were combined, the form generally used being as follows :—

" I, *A. B.*, do willingly and from my heart subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion of the United Church of England and Ireland, and to the three Articles in the Thirty-sixth Canon, and to all things therein contained."

In spite of the stringency of the tests required it was found early in the last century that a considerable number of clergy of Arian and Socinian opinions had crept into the ministry of the Church. These men, when confronted with the terms of the declaration to which they had set their hands, boldly declared that it was "an avowed principle among them that these Articles (*viz.* the Thirty-Nine) may lawfully and conscientiously be subscribed in any sense in which they themselves, by their own interpretation, can reconcile them to Scripture, without regard to the meaning and intention, either of the persons who first compiled them, or who now impose them."¹ They were thus ready to evade their plain meaning and make short work of their "literal and grammatical sense." This dishonest and disingenuous manner of subscribing was denounced with great energy by Daniel Waterland in his "Case of Arian Subscription Considered,"² and other works, and its advocates soon found that their position was an

¹ See Waterland's "Case of Arian Subscription Considered," *Works*, vol. ii. p. 264. Dr. S. Clarke in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, published in 1712, had laid it down as a maxim that "every person may reasonably agree to such forms, whenever he can, *in any sense at all*, reconcile them with Scripture."

² Published in 1726.

utterly untenable one. Then began an agitation for the removal of all tests, headed by Archdeacon Blackburne, the author of the notorious *Confessional*, a work in which "he denies that churches have any right to make confessions of faith, and asserts that the inalienable privilege of every one to believe as he pleases ought not to be interfered with. That these objectionable confessions, every one of which, according to Blackburne, contains "very material decisions from which an intelligent Christian may reasonably dissent," should be imposed as terms of qualification for office, and formal subscription required to them, is contended to be an abominable injustice and tyranny."¹ A petition was, accordingly, prepared, setting forth the views of the Latitudinarian party, and introduced into the House of Commons on February 6th, 1772. Its rejection was moved by the member for Oxford, Sir Roger Newdigate. Edmund Burke spoke strongly against it, and in the end the proposal to receive and consider the petition was rejected by 217 to 71. After this decisive defeat a considerable time elapsed before any further attempt was made to alter the terms of the declaration required from the clergy, and the forms of assent given above remained unchanged until the year 1865. A few years previously an abortive bill had been introduced into the House of Lords, for the purpose of abolishing the oaths and declarations required. Shortly after this a royal commission was appointed to consider the whole subject. Their report showed that the forms in use were unnecessarily numerous and complicated, and the commissioners were unanimous in recommending the substitution of a single declaration of assent to the Prayer-Book and Articles together, in place of the cumbrous forms till then in use. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1865 to give legal

¹ Perry's *English Church History*, vol. iii. p. 101.

effect to their recommendations, and, at the same time, Convocation obtained leave from the Crown to revise the Canons so far as was necessary. An amended version of Canon XXXVI. was made and published by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and confirmed by royal letters patent,¹ and since that time the declaration of assent made by all candidates for orders, as well as by all persons admitted to any benefice or licensed to preach has run as follows:—

“I, *A. B.*, do solemnly make the following declaration. I assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; I believe the doctrine of the [United] Church of England [and Ireland], as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the word of God: and in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments, I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority.”²

Thus it is from the clergy and the clergy only that the Church demands subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles. It is, of course, well known that at one time laymen were also required to subscribe them in the universities,—at the time of matriculation at Oxford, and before proceeding to a degree at both Oxford and Cambridge. This was first required at Oxford by the Puritan Chancellor Leicester, in the sixteenth century, in order to exclude Romanists from the university. Cambridge followed during the reign of James I. But the legislation of 1854 and 1871 has entirely removed any such

¹ The history of the agitation that led to the appointment of the commission is told in the *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. i. p. 487 *seq.* See also the report of the Commissioners themselves.

² The words in brackets were of course disused after the Irish Church was disestablished in 1869.

requirement. Nor can the Church fairly be held responsible for it while it lasted. It was really due to the authorities of the universities as such, and to the Crown.¹ The Thirty-sixth Canon of 1604, it is true, stated that no person should be suffered to preach, to catechise, or to be a lecturer or reader of divinity in either university without subscribing the "Three Articles." But as if those who were responsible for it were conscious that in making this demand they were exceeding the rightful limits of their jurisdiction, they added that "if either of the universities shall offend therein, we leave them to the danger of the law and His Majesty's censure."

But though the Church of England has never asked for any formal act of subscription to the Articles from the lay members of her communion, it cannot be denied that the Fifth Canon of 1604 makes some approach towards regarding them as terms of communion.

¹ The following are the material facts in the history of subscription to the Articles at the universities. It was first required from candidates for degrees at Oxford by authority of the university in Convocation assembled, in October 1576. A few years later (Nov. 1581) in consequence of a suggestion from the Chancellor, Leicester, it was also required by the university from all persons at *matriculation*. In 1587, during the Chancellorship of Hatton, a declaration of assent to the Prayer-Book, as well as subscription to the Articles, was demanded from candidates for degrees; and in the reign of James I., in consequence of an edict of the King (dated Jan. 18, 1616), a decree of the university (March 31, 1617) required from all candidates for degrees (except in music) subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, the "Three Articles" of the Thirty-sixth Canon, and the Oath of Supremacy.

At Cambridge subscription to the "Three Articles" was for the first time required from candidates for all degrees by edict of James I., dated December 4, 1616, confirmed by decree of the heads of houses in 1623.

In 1772 for the degree of B.A., and in 1779 for B.C.L., M.B., and M.D., there was substituted by a grace of the senate a simple declaration of membership of the Church of England: "I, *A. B.*, do declare that I am, *bonâ fide*, a member of the Church of England, as by law established." But at Oxford the old forms of subscription were still required, though we learn from the report of the Oxford University Commission of 1852 that different interpretations were usually given, though without authority, by

“Impugners of the Articles of Religion, established in the Church of England, censured.

“Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, That any of the Nine-and-Thirty Articles agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the Convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixty-two, for avoiding diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe to, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but only by the archbishop, after his repentance, and public revocation of such his wicked errors.”

The Canon, however, strong as its language is, was apparently intended to prohibit the laity from impugning and attacking the Articles rather than to require a

different vice-chancellors or pro-vice-chancellors at the time of subscription for matriculation. “Sometimes the person matriculated is told that ‘he hereby expresses his assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles, so far as he knows them’; sometimes that ‘he probably has not read them, but that he has no objection to them’; sometimes that ‘he thereby declares himself to be a member of the Church of England.’ Sometimes, however, no observation is made.”—*Report*, p. 55. Further, there was much justice in the following remark of the commissioners: “It certainly is singular that a lay corporation should require from laymen, simply as a condition of membership, that which the Church of England does not require for participation in its most sacred ordinance.”—*Report*, p. 55. Accordingly, the Oxford University Act of 1854 (17 & 18 Vict. c. lxxxi.) made unnecessary any declaration or oath in regard to religion at matriculation. It also enjoined that it should be unnecessary for any person taking the degrees of B.A., B.C.L., B.M., or B.Mus., to make or subscribe any declaration or take any oath. But such degree was not to constitute a qualification for holding any office formerly held by members of the Church of England, unless the person had taken the oaths and declarations required. Finally, the Universities Test Act of 1871 (34 Vict. c. xxvi.) laid down definitely that no person on taking any degree other than a degree in divinity, or holding lay, academical, or collegiate offices should be required to subscribe any formulary of faith

definite and formal assent to them. Certainly it was so regarded by Archbishop Laud, who in his conference with Fisher the Jesuit, writes of it as follows:—

“A. C. will prove ‘the Church of England a shrew, and such a shrew. For in her Book of Canons, she excommunicates every man, who shall hold anything contrary to any part of the said Articles.’ So A. C. But surely these are not the very words of the Canon, nor perhaps the sense. Not the words, for they are: ‘Whosoever shall affirm that the Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, etc.’; and perhaps not the sense. For it is one thing for a man to hold an opinion privately within himself, and another thing boldly and publicly to affirm it. And, again, it is one thing to hold contrary to some part of an Article, which perhaps may be but in the manner of expression; and another thing positively to affirm, that the Articles in any part of them are superstitious and erroneous. But this is not the main of the business; for though the Church of England denounce excommunication, as is before expressed, yet she comes far short of the Church of Rome’s severity, whose anathemas are not only for Thirty-Nine Articles, but for very many more, above one hundred in matter of doctrine, and that in many points as far remote from the foundation; though, to the far greater rack of men’s consciences, they must be all made fundamental, if that Church have once determined them; whereas the Church of England never declared that every one of her Articles are fundamental in the faith. For it is one thing to say, no one of them is superstitious or erroneous; and quite another to say, every one of them is fundamental, and that in every part of it, to all men’s belief. Besides, the Church of England prescribes only to her own children, and by those Articles provides but for her own peaceable consent in those doctrines of truth. But the Church of

Rome severely imposes her doctrine upon the whole world, under pain of damnation.”¹

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the only formulary to which a layman is *directly* required to assent is the Apostles' Creed. It is this which is set before him at his baptism, and again in the visitation of the sick, as containing the Articles of the faith. The position which the Nicene Creed occupies in the Church's eucharistic office, where it is appointed to be sung or said before the worshippers are invited to join in the greatest act of fellowship and communion possible, practically *interprets* for us the sense in which the briefer form is to be understood. But it remains true of the Apostles' Creed that for the layman, “that, and that alone, is required at his baptismal admission within the Church; that, and that alone, is asked for at the deathbed, as a sufficient proof that the man retains what he originally began with—the Christian's confession of a true faith.”²

The Articles, on the other hand, are at least primarily for *the clergy*. The loyal and faithful laity of the Church will naturally regard them with respect, and will in accordance with the terms of the Fifth Canon abstain from impugning them. But the Church never requires from them a formal act of assent to them. “Their proper usage is as a *τύπος διδασχῆς*, a sketch or framework of sound doctrine, by which the Church takes engagements from her clergy and other teaching officers, that—while occupying her pulpits and teaching in her name—they will not be disloyal; but will teach in her spirit, and present her time-honoured doctrine, albeit in sundry forms and divers manners to her people.”³

¹ *Works* (Anglo-Catholic Library), vol. ii. p. 60.

² Curteis, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 309 (Ed. 1).

³ *Ibid.* The whole passage is worth consulting, but it is not entirely free from exaggeration, as there is no reference in it either to the

7. THE CHIEF DIVISIONS OF THE ARTICLES.

It only remains to mark out the chief groups or divisions into which the Articles fall, before proceeding to the commentary upon them. The most natural and convenient division of them, in accordance with their subject-matter, appears to be the following:—

I. The Catholic Faith and where it may be found (Articles I.—VIII.).

(a) The Faith (Articles I.—V.).

(b) Scripture and the Creeds (Articles VI.—VIII.).

II. Personal Religion, or Man and his Salvation (Articles IX.—XVIII.).

III. Corporate Religion, or the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments (Articles XIX.—XXXI.).

IV. Miscellaneous Articles, relating to the discipline of the Church of England, its relation to the civil power, etc. (Article XXXII.—XXXIX.).

Fifth Canon, or to the position of the Nicene Creed in the Communion Service.

THE FORTY-TWO ARTICLES OF 1553.

1553.

Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, *Anno Dom. MDLII.* ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem et consensum veræ religionis firmandum, inter Episcopos et alios Eruditos Viros convenerat.

I.

*De fide in Sacrosanctam
Trinitatem.*

Unus est vivus et verus Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, impassibilis, immensæ potentiae, sapientiae, ac bonitatis, creator et conservator omnium, tum visibilibus, tum invisibilibus. Et in unitate hujus divinæ naturæ tres sunt personæ, ejusdem essentiae, potentiae, ac æternitatis, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.

II.

*Verbum Dei verum hominem
esse factum.*

Filius qui est verbum patris in utero beatæ Virginis, ex illius substantiâ naturam humanam assumpsit, ita ut duæ naturæ, divina et humana, integre atque perfecte in unitate personæ, fuerint inseparabiliter conjunctæ, ex quibus est unus *Christus*, verus Deus et verus homo, qui vere passus est, crucifixus, mor-

1553.

Articles agreed on by the Bishoppes, and other learned menne in the Synode at London, in the yere of our Lorde Godde, MDLII., for the auoiding of controuersie in opinions, and the establishing of a godlie concorde, in certeine matiers of Religion.

I.

*Of faith in the holie
Trinitie.*

There is but one liuing and true God, and he is euerlasting, with out bodie, partes, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker, and preseruer of all thinges bothe visible and inuisible, and in vnitie of this Godhead there bee three persones of one substance, power, and eternitie, the Father, the Soone, and the holie Ghoste.

II.

*That the worde, or Sonne of God,
was made a very man.*

The sonne whiche is the woorde of the father tooke mannes nature in the wombe of the blessed virgine Marie, of her Substance, so that two hole and perfecte natures, that is to saie, the Godhead, and manhode were ioined together into one persone, neuer to be diuided, whereof is one Christe very God, and very

tuus et sepultus, ut patrem nobis reconciliaret, essetque hostia non tantum pro culpa originis, verum etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis.

III.

De descensu Christi ad Inferos.

Quemadmodum *Christus* pro nobis mortuus est et sepultus, ita est etiam credendus ad inferos descendisse. Nam corpus usque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro jacuit, Spiritus ab illo emissus, cum spiritibus qui in carcere sive in inferno detinebantur, fuit, illisque prædicavit, quemadmodum testatur Petri locus.

IV.

Resurrectio Christi.

Christus vere a mortuis resurrexit, suumque corpus cum carne, ossibus, omnibusque ad integritatem humanæ naturæ pertinentibus, recepit, cum quibus in celum ascendit, ibique residet, quoad extremo die ad iudicandos homines revertatur.

V.

Divinæ Scripturæ doctrina sufficit ad salutem.

Scriptura sacra continet omnia quæ sunt ad salutem necessaria, ita ut quicquid in ea nec legitur neque inde probari potest, licet interdum a fidelibus, ut pium et conducibile ad ordinem et decorum admittatur, attamen a quoquam non exigendum

manne, who truely suffred, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his father to vs, and to be a Sacrifice for all sinne of manne, bothe originall, and actuall.

III.

Of the goyng downe of Christe into Helle.

As Christ died and was buried for vs : so also it is to be belened, that he went downe into hell. For the bodie laie in the Sepulchre, untill the resurrection : but his Ghoste departing from him, was with the Ghostes that were in prison, or in helle, and didde preache to the same, as the place of S. Peter dooeth testifie.

IV.

The Resurrection of Christe.

Christe didde truelie rise againe from deathe and tooke again his bodie with flesh, bones, and all thinges apperteining to the perfection of mannes nature, wherewith he ascended into Heauen, and there sitteth, untill he retourne to iudge men at the last daie.

V.

The doctrine of holie Scripture is sufficient to Saluation.

Holie Scripture containeth all thinges necessarie to Saluation : So that whatsoeuer is neither read therein, nor maie be proued thereby, although it be sometime receiued of the faithful, as Godlie, and profitable for an ordre, and comeli-

est ut tanquam articulus fidei credatur, et ad salutis necessitatem requiri putetur.

nesse: Yeat no manne ought to bee constreigned to beleue it, as an article of faith, or repute it requisite to the necessitie of Saluation.

VI.

Vetus Testamentum non est rejiciendum.

Testamentum Vetus, quasi Novo contrarium sit, non est repudiandum, sed retinendum, quandoquidem tam in veteri quàm in novo per *Christum* qui unicus est Mediator Dei et hominum, Deus et homo, æterna vita humano generi est proposita. Quare non sunt audiendi, qui veteres tantum in promissiones temporarias sperasse confingunt.

VI.

The olde Testamente is not to be refused.

The olde Testament is not to bee put awaie as through it were contrarie to the newe, but to be kept still: for bothe in the olde, and newe Testaments, euerlasting life is offred to mankinde by Christ, who is the onelie mediatour betwene Godde and manne, being bothe Godde and manne. Wherefore thei are not to be hearde, whiche feigne that the olde Fathers didde looke onely for transitorie promises.

VII.

Symbola tria.

Symbola tria, Niceni, Athanasii, et quod vulgo Apostolicum appellatur, omnino recipienda sunt. Nam firmissimis divinarum Scripturarum testimoniis probari possunt.

VII.

The three Credes.

The three credes, Nicene Crede, Athanasius Crede, and that whiche is commonlie called the Apostles Crede, ought thoroughly to be received; for thei maie be proued by most certeine warrauntes of holie Scripture.

VIII.

Peccatum Originale.

Peccatum originis non est (ut fabulantur Pelagiani, et hodie Anabaptistæ repetunt) in imitatione Adami situm, sed est vitium et depravatio naturæ cujuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati: qua fit ut ab originali justitia quam

VIII.

Of originall or birthe sinne.

Originall sinne standeth not in the folowing of Adam, as the Pellagians doe vainelie talke, whiche also the Anabaptistes doe now a daies renue, but it is the fault, and corruption of the nature of every manne, that naturallie is

longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat et caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat: unde in unoquoque nascentium, iram Dei atque damnationem meretur. Manet etiam in renatis hæc naturæ depravatio, qua fit ut affectus carnis, græce *φρόνημα σαρκός*, quod alii sapientiam, alii sensum, alii affectum, alii studium vocant, legi Dei non subjiatur. Et quamquam renatis et credentibus nulla propter *Christum* est condemnatio, peccati tamen in sese rationem habere concupiscentiam fatetur Apostolus.

engendred of the ofspring of Adam, whereby manne is very farre gone from his former righteousnesse, whiche he had at his creation and is of his owne nature geuen to euill, so that the fleshe desireth alwaies contrarie to the spirit, and therefore in euery persone borne into this worlde, it deserueth Goddes wrath and damnation: And this infection of nature doeth remaine, yea in them that are baptized, wherby the lust of the fleshe called in Greke *φρόνημα σαρκός*, (whiche some do expoune, the wisdom, some sensualitie, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh) is not subiect to the lawe of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that beleue, and are baptized, yet the Apostle doeth confesse, that concupiscence, and lust hath of it self the nature of sinne.

IX.

De libero arbitrio.

Absque gratia Dei, quæ per Christum est, nos preveniente ut velimus, et cooperante dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, quæ Deo grata sint et accepta, nihil valemus.

IX.

Of free wille.

We haue no power to dooe good woorkes pleasaunte, and acceptable to God, with out the grace of God by Christ, preuenting us that wee maie haue a good wille, and working in us, when we haue that wille.

X.

De gratia.

Gratia Christi, seu spiritus sanctus qui per eundem datur, cor lapideum aufert, et dat cor carneum. Atque licet ex nolentibus quæ recta sunt volentes faciat, et ex volentibus prava, nolentes reddat, voluntati

X.

Of Grace.

The Grace of Christ, or the holie Ghost by him geuen dothe take awaie the stonie harte, and geueth an harte of fleshe. And although, those that haue no will to good thinges, he maketh them to will,

nihilominus violentiam nullam infert. Et nemo hac de causa, cum peccaverit, seipsum excusare potest, quasi nolens aut coactus peccaverit, ut eam ob causam accusari non mereatur aut damnari.

and those that would euil thinges, he maketh them not to wille the same: Yet neuerthelesse he enforceth not the will. And therefore no man when he sinneth can excuse himself, as not worthie to be blamed or condemned, by alleging that he sinned unwillinglie, or by compulsion.

XI.

De Hominis justificatione.

Justificatio ex solo fide *Jesu Christi*, eo sensu quo in Homelia de justificatione explicatur, est certissima et saluberrima Christianorum doctrina.

XI.

Of the Justification of manne.

Justification by onely faith in *Jesus Christ* in that sence, as it is declared in the homelie of Justification, is a moste certeine, and holesome doctrine for Christian menne.

XII.

Opera ante justificationem.

Opera quæ fiunt ante gratiam Christi, et Spiritus ejus afflatum, cum ex fide *Jesu Christi* non prodeant, minime Deo grata sunt. Neque gratiam (ut multi vocant) de congruo merentur: Imo cum non sint facta ut Deus illa fieri voluit et præcepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

XII.

Workes before Justification.

Workes done before the Grace of *Christe* and the inspiration of his spirite are not pleasaunt to God, forasmoche as thei spring not of faithe in *Jesu Christe*, neither do thei make menne mete to receiue Grace, or (as the Schole aucthoures saie) deserue grace of congruitie: but because thei are not done as god hath willed and commaunded theim to bee done, we doubt not, but thei haue the nature of sinne.

XIII.

Opera Supererogationis.

Opera quæ Supererogationis appellant, non possunt sine arrogantia et impietate prædicari, nam illis declarant homines non

XIII.

Woorkes of Supererogation.

Voluntarie woorkes besides, ouer, and aboue Goddes commaundementes, whiche thei cal woorkes of Supererogation, cannot be taught

tantum se Deo reddere quæ tenentur, sed plus in ejus gratiam facere quam deberent: cum aperte Christus dicat, *Cum feceritis omnia quæcunque præcepta sunt vobis, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus.*

XIV.

Nemo præter Christum est sine peccato.

Christus in nostræ naturæ veritate, per omnia similis factus est nobis, excepto peccato, a quo prorsus erat immunis, tum in carne tum in spiritu. Venit ut agnus absque macula esset, qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam tolleret: et peccatum (ut inquit Joannes) in eo non erat. Sed nos reliqui etiam baptizati, et in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes, et si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.

XV.

De peccato in spiritum sanctum.

Non omne peccatum mortale post baptismum voluntarie perpetratum, est peccatum in spiritum sanctum et irremissibile: proinde lapsis à baptismo in peccata, locus penitentiæ non est negandus. Post acceptum spiritum sanctum possumus a gratia data recedere atque peccare, denuoque per gratiam Dei

without arrogancie, and iniquitie. For by theim menne dooe declare, that thei dooe not onely rendre to God, as moche as thei are bounde to dooe, but that thei dooe more for his sake, then of bounden duetie is required: Whereas Christe saieth plainlie: when you haue dooen al that are commaunded you, saie, We be unprofitable seruauntes.

XIV.

No man is without sinne, but Christe alone.

Christe in the trueth of our nature was made like unto us in al thinges, sinne onely except, from whiche he was clearelie uoide both in his fleshe, and in his spirite. He came to be the lambe without spotte, who by sacrifice of himself made ones for euer, should take away the sinnes of the worlde: and sinne (as Saint Jhon saieth) was not in him. But the rest, yea, althoughe we be baptized, and borne againe in Christe, yeat we all offende in many thinges: and if we saie, we have no sinne, wee deceive our selues, and the trueth is not in us.

XV.

Of sinne against the holie Ghoste.

Euery deadlie sinne willinglie committed after Baptisme, is not sinne against the holie Ghoste, and unpardonable: wherfore the place for penitentes, is not to bee denied to soche as fall into sinne after Baptisme. After we haue receiued the holie Ghoste, we maie departe from grace geuen, and fall

resurgere ac resipiscere. Ideoque illi damnandi sunt, qui se quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere resipiscentibus penitentiae locum denegant.

into sinne, and by the grace of God wee maie rise again, and amende our liues. And therefore thei are to be condemned, whiche saie, thei can no more sinne as long as thei live here, or denie the place for penitentes to soche as trulie repent, and amende their liues.

XVI.

Blasphemia in Spiritum Sanctum.

Blasphemia in Spiritum Sanctum, est cum quis Verborum Dei manifestè perceptam veritatem, ex malitia et obfirmatione animi, convitiis insectatur, et hostiliter insequitur. Atque huiusmodi, quia maledicto sunt obnoxii, gravissimo sese astringunt scelere. Unde peccati hoc genus irremissibile a Domino appellatur, et affirmatur.

XVI.

Blasphemie against the holie Ghoste.

Blasphemie against the holie Ghost is, when a man of malice and stubburnesse of minde, doeth raile upon the trueth of goddes word manifestlie perceiued, and being enemie therunto persecuteth the same. And because soche be guilty of Goddes curse, thei entangle themselues with a moste grievous, and hainous crime, wherupon this kinde of sinne is called and affirmed of the Lorde, vn-pardonable.

XVII.

De Prædestinatione et Electione.

Prædestinatio ad vitam est æternum Dei propositum, quo ante iacta mundi fundamenta suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decrevit eos quos elegit ex hominum genere, a maledicto et exitio liberare, atque ut vasa in honorem efficta, per Christum ad æternam salutem adducere; unde qui tam præclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati, illi, spiritu ejus opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum ejus vocantur, vocationi per gratiam parent, justificantur gratis, adoptantur in filios uni-

XVII.

Of predestination and election.

Predestination to life, is the euerlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the worlde were laied) he hath constantlie decreed by his owne judgemente secrete to vs, to deliuer from curse, and damnation those whom he hath chosen out of mankinde, and to bring them to euerlasting saluation by Christ, as vesselles made to honour: whereupon, soche as haue so excellent a benefite of God geuen unto them be called, according to Goddes purpose, by his spirite, woorking in due

geniti Jesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes, in bonis operibus sancte ambulant, et demum ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam felicitatem.

Quemadmodum prædestinationis et electionis nostræ in Christo pia consideratio, dulcis, suavis, et ineffabilis consolationis plena est vere piis, et his qui sentiunt in se vim spiritus Christi, facta carnis, et membra quæ adhuc sunt super terram mortificantem, animumque ad cœlestia et superna rapientem, tum quia fidem nostram de æterna salute consequenda per Christum, plurimum stabilit atque confirmat; tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum vehementer accendit: Ita hominibus curiosis, carnalibus, et spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari prædestinationis Dei sententiam, perniciosissimum est præcipitium, unde illos diabolus pertrudit vel in desperationem, vel in æque perniciosam impurissimæ vitæ securitatem.

Deinde licet prædestinationis decreta sunt nobis ignota, promissiones tamen divinas sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt: et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in Verbo Dei habemus diserte revelatam.

seasones, thei through grace obeie the calling, thei be justified frely, thei be made sonnes by adoptione, thei bee made like the image of Goddes onely begotten sonne Jesu Christe, thei walke religiouslie in goode woorkes, and at length by Goddes mercie, thei attaine to euerlasting felicitie.

As the Godlie consideration of predestination, and our election in Christe is ful of swete, pleasaunte, and vnspeakable coumfort to godlie persones, and soche as feelee in themselves the woorking of the spirite of Christe, mortifying the woorkes of the flesh, and their earthlie membres, and drawing vp their minde to high and heavenly thinges, aswel because it doeth greatly stablisch and confirme their faith of eternal saluation to bee enioied through Christe, as because it doeth feruentlie kindle their loue towards Godde: So for curious, and carnall persones lacking the Spirite of Christ, to haue continuallie before their yies the sentence of Goddes predestination, is a moste daungerous dounefall, whereby the Deuill maie thrust them either into desperation, or into a rechielesnesse of most vn-cleane liuing, no lesse perilous then desperation.

Furthermore, although the Decrees of predestination are vn-knownen unto us, yeat we must receiue Goddes promises, in soche-wise as thei bee generallie set forth to vs in holie Scripture, and in our doinges that wille of Godde is to be folowed, whiche we haue expresselie declared vnto us in the woordes of Godde.

XVIII.

*Tantum in nomine Christi speranda
est æterna salus.*

Sunt et illi anathematizandī qui dicere audent, unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esse servandum, modo juxta illam et lumen naturæ accurate vixerit: cum sacræ literæ tantum Jesu Christi nomen prædicent in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat.

XVIII.

*Wee must truste to obtaine eternal
Saluation onely by the name of
Christe.*

Thei also are to be had accursed, and abhorred that presume to saie, that euery man shalbe saued by the Lawe, or secte whiche he professeth, so that he bee diligente to frame his life according to that Lawe, and the lighte of Nature: For holie Scripture doeth sette out vnto vs onely the name of Jesu Christ, wherby menne must be saued.

XIX.

*Omnes obligantur ad moralia legis
præcepta servanda.*

Lex a Deo data per Mosen, licet quoad cæremonias et ritus Christianos non astringat, neque civilia ejus præcepta in aliqua Repub. necessario recipi debeant, nihilominus ab obedientia mandatorum quæ Moralia vocantur, nullus quantumvis Christianus est solutus. Quare illi non sunt audiendi, qui sacras literas tantum infirmis datas esse perhibent, et spiritum perpetuo jactant, a quo sibi quæ prædicant suggeri asserunt, quanquam cum sacris literis apertissime pugnent.

XIX.

*All men are bounde to kepe the moral
commandementes of the Lawe.*

The Lawe, whiche was geuen of God by Moses, although it binde not Christian menne, as concerning the Ceremonies, and Rites of the same: Neither is it required, that the Ciuile Preceptes and Ordres of it shoulde of necessitie bee receiued in any commune weale: Yet no manne (bee he neuer so perfeiete a Christian), is exempte and lose from the Obedience of those Commaundementes, whiche are called Moral. Wherefore thei are not to be harkened vnto, who affirme that holie Scripture is geuen onlie to the weake, and do boaste theimselues continually of the spirit, of whom (thei sai) thei haue learned soche things as thei teache, although the same be most evidently repugnaunt to the holie Scripture.

XX.

De Ecclesia.

Ecclesia Christi visibilis est cœtus fidelium, in quo verbum Dei purum prædicatur, et Sacramenta quoad ea quæ necessario exiguntur, juxta Christi institutum recte administrantur.

Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hyerosolymitana, Alexandrina et Antiochena, ita et erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda et cæremoniæ ritus, verum in his etiam quæ credenda sunt.

XXI.

De Ecclesiæ autoritate.

Ecclesiæ non licet quicquam instituire, quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur: neque unum Scripturæ locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Ecclesiæ sit divinorum librorum testis et conservatrix, attamen ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita præter illos nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.

XXII.

De autoritate Conciliorum Generalium.

Generalia Concilia sine jussu et voluntate Principum congregari non possunt; et ubi convenerint, quia ex hominibus constant qui non omnes spiritu et verbis Dei reguntur, et errare possunt et interdum errant, etiam in his quæ ad normam

XX.

Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithfull Menne, in the whiche the pure worde of God is preached, and the sacramentes be duelie ministred, according to Christes ordinaunce, in all those thinges that of necessitie are requisite to the same. As the Church of Jerusalem, of Alexandria, and of Antioche hath erred: So also the Church of Rome hath erred, not onely in their living, but also in matiers of their faith.

XXI.

Of the authoritie of the Church.

It is not lawfull for the Church to ordein anything, that is contrarie to Goddes worde writen, neither maie it so expoune one place of scripture, that it be repugnaunt to an other. Wherefore although the church be a witnesse and a keper of holie writte, yet as it ought not to decree any thing againste the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to bee beleued for necessitie of saluation.

XXII.

Of the authoritie of general Counsailes.

Generall counsailes maie not be gathered together, without the commaundemente, and will of Princes: and when thei be gathered (forasmuche as thei be an assemblie of men whereof all be not governed with the spirite, and woorde of God)

pietatis pertinent: ideo quæ ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robur habent neque auctoritatem, nisi ostendi possunt e sacris literis esse desumpta.

thei maie erre, and sometime haue erred, not onely in worldlie matiers, but also in thinges pertaine vnto God. Wherefore thinges ordeined by theim, as necessarie to saluation, haue neither strength, nor auctoritie, onlesse it maie be declared, that thei be taken out of holie scripture.

XXIII.

De Purgatorio.

Scholasticorum doctrina de Purgatorio, de Indulgentiis, de veneratione et adoratione tum imaginum tum reliquiarum, nec non de inuocatione sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum testimoniis innititur, imo Verbo Dei perniciose contradicit.

XXIII.

Of Purgatorie.

The doctrine of Scholerauthours concerning Purgatorie, Pardones, worshipping, and adoration as well of images, as of reliques, and also inuocation of sainctes, is a fonde thing vainlie feigned, and grounded vpon no warraunt of scripture, but rather repugnant to the woordes of God.

XXIV.

Nemo in Ecclesia ministret nisi vocatus.

Non licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publice prædicandi, aut administrandi sacramenta in Ecclesia, nisi prius fuerit ad hæc obeunda legitime vocatus et missus. Atque illos legitime vocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas vocandi ministros atque mittendi in vineam Domini publice concessa est in Ecclesia, cooptati fuerint et asciti in hoc opus.

XXIV.

No manne maie minister in the Congregation, except he be called.

It is not lawful for any man to take vpon him the office of Publique preaching, or ministring the sacramentes in the congregation, before he be lawfullie called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to iudge lawfullie called, and sent, whiche be chosen, and called to this worke by menne, who haue publique auctoritie geuen vnto them in the congregation, to cal, and sende ministres into the Lordes vineyarde.

XXV.

Agendum est in Ecclesia lingua quæ sit populi nota.

Decentissimum est et Verbo Dei

XXV.

Menne must speake in the Congregation in soche tounge, as the people vnderstandeth.

It is moste semelie, and moste

maxime congruit, ut nihil in Ecclesia publice legatur aut recitetur lingua populo ignota, idque Paulus fieri vetuit, nisi adesset qui interpretaretur.

XXVI.

De Sacramentis.

Dominus noster Jesus Christus Sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatu facillimis, significatione præstantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit, sicuti est Baptismus et Cena Domini. Sacramenta non instituta sunt à Christo ut spectarentur aut circumferrentur, sed ut rite illis uteremur: et in his duntaxat qui digne percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum, idque non ex opere (ut quidam loquuntur) operato; quæ vox ut peregrina est et sacris literis ignota, sic parit sensum minime pium sed admodum superstitiosum: qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.

Sacramenta per Verbum Dei instituta, non tantum sunt notæ professionis Christianorum, sed certa quedam potius testimonia et efficacia signa gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei, per quæ invisibiliter ipse in nobis operatur, nos-tramque fidem in se non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat.

agreable to the woordes of God, that in the congregation nothing be openlie readde, or spoken in a tongue vnknown to the people, the whiche thing S. Paule didde forbidde, except some were presente that should declare the same.

XXVI.

Of the Sacramentes.

Our LORDE Jesus Christe hathe knitte toguether a companie of newe people with Sacramentes, moste fewe in numb're, moste easie to bee kepte, moste excellent in significatione, as is Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper.

The Sacramentes were not ordeined of Christe to be gased vpon, or to be caried about, but that we shoulde rightlie use them. And in soche onely, as worthelie receiue the same, thei haue an wholesome effecte, and operacione, and yet not that of the woorke wrought, as some men speake, whiche worde, as it is straunge, and vnknown to holie Scripture: so it engend'reth no Godlie, but a verie superstitious sense.

But thei that receiue the Sacramentes vnwoorthelie, purchase to theimselues damnatione, as Saincte Paule saieth.

Sacramentes ordeined by the worde of God be not onely badges, and tokens of Christien Meenes professione, but rather thei bee certeine sure witnesses, and effectuall signes of grace, and Goddes good will towarde vs, by the whiche he dothe worke invisiblie in vs, and dothe not onlie quicken, but also strengthen, and confirme our faith in him.

XXVII.

Ministrorum malitia non tollit efficaciam institutionum divinarum.

Quamvis in Ecclesia visibili, bonis mali sint semper admixti, atque interdum ministerio verbi et Sacramentorum administrationi præsent, tamen cum non suo sed Christi nomine agant, ejusque mandato et auctoritate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti licet, cum in Verbo Dei audiendo, tum in Sacramentis percipiendis: neque per illorum malitiam effectus institutorum Christi tollitur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur quoad eos, qui fide et rite sibi oblata percipiunt, quæ propter institutionem Christi et promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per malos administrentur. Ad Ecclesiæ tamen disciplinam pertinet, ut in eos inquiratur, accusenturque ab iis, qui eorum flagitia noverint, atque tandem justo convicti judicio, deponantur.

XXVIII.

De Baptismo.

Baptismus non est tantum signum professionis ac discriminis nota, qua Christiani a non Christianis discernuntur, sed etiam est signum regenerationis. per quod tanquam

XXVII.

The wickednesse of the Ministres dooeth not take awaie the effectuall operation of Goddes ordinances.

Although in the visible Church the euill be euer mingled with the good, and sometime the euill haue chief auctoritie in the ministration of the worde and Sacramentes: Yet forasmoeche as thei doe not the same in their owne name, but dooe minister by Christes commission, and auctoritie: we maie use their ministerie bothe in hearing the worde of God, and in the receiuing the sacramentes, neither is the effecte of Goddes ordinaunces taken awaie by their wickednesse, or the grace of Goddes giftes diminished from soche, as by faieith and rightlie receiue the Sacramentes ministred vnto them, whiche bee effectuall, because of Christes institutione and promise, although thei be ministred by euill men. Neuerthelesse it apperteineth to the discipline of the Church, that enquirie be made of soche, and that thei bee accused by those that haue knowledge of their offences, and finally being founde guiltie by iuste iudgement, be deposed.

XXVIII.

Of Baptisme.

Baptisme is not onelie a signe of profession, and marke of difference, wherby Christien menne are discerned from other that bee not christened, but it is also a signe

per instrumentum recte Baptismum suscipientes, Ecclesiæ inferuntur,¹ promissiones de remissione peccatorum atque adoptione nostra in filios Dei per Spiritum Sanctum visibiliter obsignantur, fides confirmatur, et vi divinæ invocationis gratia augetur. Mos Ecclesiæ baptizandi parvulos et laudandus et omnino in Ecclesia retinendus.

XXIX.

De Cœna Domini.

Cœna Domini non est tantum signum mutuae benevolentiae Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est Sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis. Atque adeo rite, digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi: Similiter poculum benedictionis est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia, ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis Scripturæ verbis adversatur et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

Quum naturæ humanæ veritas requirat, ut unius ejusdemque hominis corpus in multis locis simul esse non posset, sed in uno aliquo et definito loco esse oporteat, ideoque Christi corpus, in multis et

and seale of our newe birth, whereby, as by an instrument thei that receiue Baptisme rightlie, are grafted in the Churche, the promises of forgeuenesse of sinne, and our adoption to bee the sonnes of God, are visiblie signed and sealed, faith is confirmed, and grace increased by vertue of praiere vnto God. The custome of the Churche to christen yonge children, is to bee commended, and in any wise to bee reteined in the Churche.

XXIX.

Of the Lordes Supper.

The Supper of the Lorde is not onely a signe of the loue that Christiēns ought to haue among theim selues one to another, but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christes death, inasmoche that to soche as rightlie, woorthelie, and with faieith receiue the same, the breade whiche we breake is a communion of the bodie of Christe. Likewise the Cuppe of blessing, is a communion of the bloude of Christe.

Transubstanciacion, or the change of the substaunce of breade, and wine into the substaunce of Christes bodie, and bloude cannot be proued by holie writte, but is repugnaunt to the plaine wordes of Scripture, and hath geuen occasione to many supersticions.

Forasmoeche as the trueth of mannes nature requireth, that the bodie of one, and the self same manne cannot be at one time in diuerse places, but must nedes be in some one certeine place: There-

¹ V. l. inseruntur.

diversis locis, eodem tempore, præsens esse non potest. Et quoniam, ut tradunt Sacræ literæ, Christus in Cælum fuit sublatus et ibi usque ad finem seculi est permansurus, non debet quisquam fidelium carnis ejus et sanguinis Realem et Corporalem (ut loquuntur) præsentiam in Eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ ex institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferabatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.

fore the bodie of Christe cannot bee presente at one time in many, and diuerse places. And because (as holie Scripture doeth teache) Christe was taken vp into heauen, and there shall continue vnto thende of the worlde, a faithful man ought not, either to beleue, or openlie to confesse the reall, and bodilie presence (as thei terme it) of Christes fleshe and bloude, in the Sacramente of the Lordes Supper.

The Sacramente of the Lordes Supper was not commaunded by Christes ordinaunce to be kepte, caried about, lifted vp, nor worshipped.

XXX.

De unica Christi oblatione in cruce perfecta.

Oblatio Christi semel facta, perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus quam actualibus: neque præter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio. Unde Missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur, Sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ aut culpæ pro vivis et defunctis, figmenta sunt, et perniciosæ imposturæ.

Of the perfecte oblation of Christe made vpon the crosse.

The offering of Christe made ones for euer, is the perfecte redemption, the pacifying of goddes displeasure, and satisfaction for al the sinnes of the whole world, bothe original and actual: and there is none other satisfaction for sinne, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in the whiche, it was commonlie saied, that the Prieste did offre Christe for the quicke and the dead, to haue remission of peine or sinne, were forged fables, and daungerouse deceiptes.

XXXI.

Celibatus ex verbo Dei præcipitur nemini.

Episcopis, Presbyteris et Diaconis non est mandatum ut cœli-

XXXI.

The state of single life is commaunded to no man by the worde of God.

Bishoppes, Priestes, and Deacons

batum voveant: neque jure divino coguntur matrimonio abstinere.

are not commaunded to vowe the state of single life without marriage, neither by Goddes lawe are thei compelled to absteine from matrimonie.

XXXII.

Excommunicati vitandi sunt.

Qui per publicam Ecclesiæ denunciationem rite ab unitate Ecclesiæ præcisus et excommunicatus, is ab universa fidelium multitudine, donec per pœnitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit arbitrio Judicis competentis, habendus est tanquam Ethnicus et Publicanus.

XXXII.

Excommunicate persones are to bee avoided.

That persones, whiche by open denunciacion of the Church, is rightlie cut of from the vnitie of the Church, and excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faiethful, as an Heathen and publicaine, vntil he bee openlie reconciled by penance, and receiued into the Church by a Judge that hath authoritie thereto.

XXXIII.

Traditiones Ecclesiasticæ.

Traditiones atque cæremonias easdem non omnino necessarium est esse ubique, aut prorsus consimiles, nam variæ et semper fuerunt et mutari possunt pro regionum et morum diversitate; modo nihil contra Dei verbum instituat.

Traditiones et cæremonias Ecclesiasticas, quæ cum Verbo Dei non pugnant et sunt autoritate publica institutæ atque probatæ, quisquis privato consilio volens et data opera publice violaverit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Ecclesiæ, quique lædit autoritatem Magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, pub-

XXXIII.

Tradicions of the Church.

It is not necessarie that tradicions and ceremonies bee in all places one, or vtterlie like. For at all times thei haue been diuers, and maie bee chaunged, according to the diuersitie of countries and mennes maners, so that nothing bee ordeined against goddes worde.

Whosoeuer through his priuate iudgement willinglie, and purposelie doeth openlie breake the tradicions and ceremonies of the Church, whiche bee not repugnaunte to the worde of God, and bee ordeined, and approued by common authoritie, ought to be rebuked openlie (that other maie feare to doe the like) as one that

lice, ut cæteri timeant, arguendus est.

offendeth against the common ordre of the churche, and hurteth thauctoritie of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weake brethren,

XXXIV.

Homiliæ.

Homiliæ nuper Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ per injunctiones Regias traditæ atque commendatæ, piæ sunt atque salutares, doctrinamque ab omnibus amplectendam continent: quare populo diligenter, expedite, clareque recitandæ sunt.

XXXIV.

Homilies.

Thomelies of late geuen, and set out, by the kinges auctoritie, be godlie and holsome, containing doctrine to be receiued of all menne, and therefore are to be readde to the people diligentlie, distinctlie, and plainlie.

XXXV.

De Libro Precationum et cæremoniarum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

Liber qui nuperrime autoritate Regis & Parlamenti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ traditus est, continens modum & formam orandi, & Sacramenta administrandi in Ecclesia Anglicana: similiter & libellus eadem autoritate editus de ordinatione ministrorum Ecclesiæ, quoad doctrinæ veritatem, pii sunt, & salutari doctrinæ Evangelii in nullo repugnant sed congruunt, & eandem non parum promovent & illustrant, atque ideo ab omnibus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ fidelibus membris, & maxime a ministris verbi cum omni promptitudine animorum & gratiarum actione, recipiendi, approbandi, & populo Dei commendandi sunt.

XXXV.

Of the booke of Praiers, and Ceremonies of the Church of Englande.

The Booke whiche of very late time was geuen to the Church of Englande by the kinges auctoritie, and the Parlamente, containing the maner and fourme of praiving, and ministring the Sacramentes in the Church of Englande, likewise also the booke of ordning Ministers of the Church, set foorth by the forsaid auctoritie, are godlie, and in no poinete repugnant to the holsome doctrine of the Gospel but agreeable thereunto, furthering and beautifying the same not a litle, and therfore of al faithfull membres of the Church of Englande, and chieffie of the ministers of the worde, thei ought to be receiued, and allowed with all readinesse of minde, and thankes geuing, and to bee commended to the people of God.

XXXVI.

De civilibus Magistratibus.

Rex Angliæ est supremum caput in terris, post Christum, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ.

Romanus Pontifex nullam habet jurisdictionem in hoc Regno Angliæ. Magistratus civilis est a Deo ordinatus atque probatus, quamobrem illi, non solum propter iram, sed etiam, propter conscientiam, obediendum est.

Leges civiles possunt Christianos propter capitalia & gravia crimina morte punire.

Christianis licet ex mandato Magistratus arma portare & justa bella administrare.

XXXVII.

Christianorum bona non sunt communia.

Facultates et bona Christianorum non sunt communia, quoad jus et possessionem, ut quidam Anabaptistæ falso jactant; debet tamen quisque de his quæ possidet pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus eleemosynas benigne distribuere.

XXXVIII.

Licet Christianis jurare.

Quemadmodum juramentum vanum & temerarium a Domino

XXXVI.

Of Civile magistrates.

The king of Englande is Supreme head in earth, nexte vnder Christe, of the Church of Englande, and Irelande.

The Bishoppe of Rome hath no iurisdiction in this Realme of Englande.

The ciuile Magistrate is ordeined, and allowed of God: wherefore we must obeie him, not onely for feare of punishment, but also for conscience sake.

The ciuile lawes maie punishe Christien men with death, for heinous, and grievous offences.

It is lawefull for Christians, at the commaundement of the Magistrate, to weare weapons, and to serue in laweful wares.

XXXVII.

Christien mennes gooddes are not commune.

The richesse and gooddes of christians are not commune, as touching the right title and possession of the same (as certain anabaptistes dooe falslie boaste); notwithstanding euery man ought of such thinges as he possesseth, liberallie to geue almes to the pore, according to his habilitie.

XXXVIII.

Christien menne maie take an Othe.

As we confesse that vaine, and rashe swearing is forbed Christien

nostro Jesu Christo & ab Apostolo ejus Jacobo, Christianis hominibus interdictum esse fatemur, ita Christianum religionem minime prohibere censemus, quin jubente Magistratu, in causa fidei & charitatis jurare liceat, modo id fiat juxta Prophetæ doctrinam, in Justitia, in Judicio et veritate.

XXXIX.

Ressurrectio mortuorum nondum est facta.

Resurrectio mortuorum non adhuc facta est, quasi tantum ad animum pertineat qui per Christi gratiam a morte peccatorum excitetur, sed extremo die quoad omnes qui obierunt, expectanda est; tunc enim vita defunctis (ut Scripturæ manifestissime testantur) propria corpora, carnes & ossa restituentur, ut homo integer, prout vel recte vel perditè vixerit, juxta sua opera, sive præmia sive pœnas reportet.

XL.

Defunctorum animæ neque cum corporibus intereunt, neque otiose dormiunt.

Qui animas defunctorum prædicant usque ad diem judicii absque omni sensu dormire, aut illas asserunt una cum corporibus mori, & extrema die cum illis excitandas, ab orthodoxa fide, quæ nobis in sacris literis traditur, prorsus dissentiunt.

men by our Lorde Jesu Christ, and his Apostle James: so we iudge that christien religion doeth not prohibite, but that a man maie sweare, when the magistrate requireth in a cause of faith, and charitie, so it bee doen (according to the Prophetes teaching) in iustice, iudgemente, and trueth.

XXXIX.

The Resurrection of the dead is not yet brought to passe.

The Resurrection of the dead is not as yet brought to passe, as though it only belonged to the soules, whiche by the grace of Christe is raised from the death of sinne, but it is to be looked for at the last daie: for then (as Scripture doeth moste manifestlie testifie) to all that bee dead their awne bodies, fleshe, and bone shalbe restored, that the whole man maie (according to his workes) haue other rewarde, or punishment, as he hath liued vertuouslie, or wickedlie.

XL.

The soules of them that departe this life doe neither die with the bodies, nor sleep idlie.

Thei whiche saie, that the soules of suche as depart hens doe sleepe, being without al sence, feeling or perceiuing vntil the daie of iudgement, or affirme that the soules die with the bodies, and at the laste daie shalbe raised vp with the same, doe vtterlie dissent from the right beliefe declared to vs in holie Scripture.

XXI.

Millenarii.

Qui *Millenariorum* fabulam revocare conantur, sacris literis adversantur, & in Judaica deliramenta sese praecipitant.

XXI.

Heretics called Millenarii.

Thei that goe about to renewe the fable of hereticks called Millenarii, be repugnant to holie Scripture, and caste them selues headlong into a Juishe dotage.

XLII.

Non omnes tandem servandi sunt.

Hi quoque damnatione digni sunt, qui conantur hodie perniciosam opinionem instaurare, quod omnes, quantumvis impii, servandi sunt tandem, cum definito tempore a justitia divina poenas de admissis flagitiis luerunt.

XLII.

All men shall not bee saved at the length.

Thei also are worthie of condemnation, who indeuoure at this time to restore the dangerouse opinion, that al menne be thei neuer so vngodlie, shall at length bee saved, when thei haue suffered paines for their sinnes a certaine time appoincted by Goddes iustice.

ARTICLE I

De Fide in Sacrosanctam Trinitatem.

Unus est vivus et verus Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, impassibilis, immensæ potentia, sapientia, ac bonitatis: Creator et conservator omnium tum visibilium tum invisibilium. Et in unitate hujus divinæ naturæ tres sunt Personæ, ejusdem essentia, potentia, ac æternitatis, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker and preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

THIS first Article has remained without any alteration since the publication of the Forty-Two Articles of Edward VI. in 1553, in which series it occupied the same position as it does in our own set. Its language may be traced ultimately to the Confession of Augsburg,¹ the terms of which on this subject were adopted almost verbatim in the Thirteen Articles of 1538, agreed upon by a joint-committee of Anglican and Lutheran Divines. The same language re-appears also in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, *De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica*, cap. 2.

¹ Art. 1. "*De Deo.*—Ecclesiæ magno consensu apud nos docent decretum Nicenæ Synodi, de unitate essentia, et de tribus personis, verum et sine ulla dubitatione credendum esse. Videlicet, quod sit una essentia divina, quæ appellatur et est *Deus æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia, sapientia, bonitate, Creator et Conservator omnium rerum visibilium et invisibilium, et tamen tres sint personæ ejusdem essentia et potentia, et coæternæ, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus*: et nomine personæ utuntur ea significatione qui usi sunt in hac causa scriptores ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit." The words in italics are repeated almost verbatim in our own article.

The need of such an Article as this is shown by the formidable spread of Anabaptism in this country as well as on the Continent. Contemporary documents show how very many of the Anabaptists had lost all faith in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Some were reviving the Sabellian heresy, and denying that there was more than one Person in the Godhead; others were teaching a form of Arianism, denying the Divinity of the Second Person, while others again maintained that Christ was "a mere man."¹

The Article falls into two main divisions. The first part treats of the existence of God, and the "necessary"² doctrine of the divine unity. The second speaks of the mode of God's existence, and the distinctions within the divine nature.

The statement in the first part, that **there is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible,** expresses a belief which is not peculiar to Christianity, but is common to both natural and revealed religion, and is held by every serious Theist, as well as every believer in the Christian revelation. It is not therefore a doctrine

¹ The reality or the danger and the character of the heresies prevalent is shown by the closing words of the Article in the Confession of Augsburg: "Damnant omnes hæreses, contra hunc Articulum exortas, ut Manichæos, qui duo principia ponebant, bonum et malum. Item Valentinianos, Arianos, Eunomianos, Mahometistas, et omnes horum similes. Damnant et Samosatenos, veteres et neotericos, qui, cum tantum unam personam esse contendunt, de verbo et de Spiritu Sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personæ distinctæ, sed quod Verbum significet verbum vocale, et Spiritus motum in rebus creatum."

² By saying that the unity of God is "necessary" it is meant that the contrary is inconceivable. "Two prime causes are unimaginable, and for all things to depend of one, and to be more independent beings than one is a clear contradiction."—Pearson *On the Creed*, Article 1, ch. ii. § 13.

for which "Scripture proof" will be sought. The existence and unity of God is assumed and taken for granted throughout Scripture. Indeed, Scripture will have no force or weight to anyone who has not first on other grounds accepted this truth. Thus the consideration of the several "proofs" of God's existence belongs to the study of "evidences," and would be out of place in a commentary on the Thirty-Nine Articles. It is therefore not considered necessary to enter into it here, but the reader will find in the foot-note reference to a few recent works in which the whole subject is discussed.¹

The second part of the Article, **And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost**, states in the briefest possible terms the great truth taught us by Revelation concerning the nature of God, the acceptance of which distinguishes Christianity from Judaism, Mohammedanism, Unitarianism, and all other forms of religious belief.

The subject will be best considered under the following heads:—

1. The grounds on which the doctrine is accepted.
2. The history of the doctrine in the Church, and the growth of technical phraseology in connection with it.
3. The explanation of the doctrine.

I. *The Grounds on which the Doctrine is accepted.*

Our belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity rests entirely on the revelation made by God in Holy Scripture.

¹ Flint's *Theism and Anti-Theistic Theories*. Bishop Ellicott's *Being of God*. See also Mozley's *Essays, Historical and Theological*, vol. ii.; *Essays on The Argument of Design and The Principle of Causation*; and Illingworth's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. iv.

Intimations that distinctions of some sort exist in the divine nature may be discerned in the Old Testament, but the proof of the doctrine can only be sought in the teaching of the Gospels. Without a direct revelation from God man could never by his reason have discovered that in the unity of the Godhead there are three persons, but when once this is disclosed man can see that it is not merely not contrary to reason, but rather that it satisfies the demands of his reason, and fits in with his deepest thoughts on the nature of God. Though "not discoverable by reason," it is yet "agreeable to reason."¹

(a) *The preparation for the revelation of the mystery under the Old Covenant.*—To guard the truth of the unity of God, and to bear a never-failing witness to it in the midst of idolatry and polytheism, was the special function of the Jewish Church. "Hear, O Israel, the LORD our God is one LORD" (Deut. vi. 4) forms the central declaration of the Old Covenant, standing to it in much the same relation that the command to baptize into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost stands in to the Christian Church. It is, therefore, not to be expected that the doctrine of *Personal* distinctions within the Godhead will be prominently brought forward in the Old Testament. The unity must first be established and firmly fixed in the minds of God's chosen people before the further revelation can be safely made and the existence of distinct persons within the Godhead be disclosed without fear of leading men to polytheism. And yet throughout the Old Testament the thoughtful reader will from time to time discern the presence of hints, suggestions, and anticipations of the truth subsequently made known in its fulness through the incarnate Son. There are three verses in the early chapters of Genesis in which devout

¹ Gore's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 134.

minds have often found an adumbration of the doctrine of the Trinity, namely, Gen. i. 26, "And God said, Let *us* make man in *our* image, after *our* likeness"; iii. 22, "And the Lord God said, Behold the man is become as *one of us*, to know good and evil"; xi. 7, "And the Lord said . . . go to, let *us* go down, and there confound their language." So also in Isaiah vi. 8, we read, "I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for *us*." Various interpretations of these passages have been proposed. Some have explained the plural as that used by monarchs in speaking of themselves in decrees, etc., but this explanation is now generally rejected, as not in accordance with Hebrew usage. The majority of modern commentators prefer the view which refers the plural to the angels, as if God announced to them His resolve to create man. It is, however, difficult to hold this view without supposing that a co-ordinate share in the act of creation is granted to the angels, which is quite inadmissible,¹ and it is by no means clear that the patristic interpretation of these passages which sees in them an adumbration of the doctrine of the Trinity is incorrect. Again, the believer, who reads the Old Testament in the light of the New, may well see a foreshadowing of the doctrine in the threefold repetition of the divine name in Aaron's blessing, Num. vi. 24-26, "The LORD bless thee and keep thee; the LORD make His face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the LORD lift up His countenance upon thee and give thee peace"; as well as in the song of the seraphim in Isaiah vi. 3, "Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of Hosts"—an utterance which has become the "Tersanctus" of the Christian Church (cf. Rev. iv. 8).²

¹ See, however, Spurrell's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Genesis*, p. 14.

² Cf. the thrice-repeated refrain in Ps. xcix. 3, 5, 9, which is really an echo of the song of the seraphim. "Holy is He . . . Holy is He . . . Holy is the Lord our God." See the R.V. Nothing is said in the

All these passages, however, though they may appeal forcibly to those who have already accepted the doctrine can scarcely serve for proof of the doctrine to the unbeliever. For purposes of controversy no high value can be attached to them. The real line of preparation for the disclosure of the mystery must be sought elsewhere. It will be found in a study of those passages in which God is spoken of in His covenant relation to man, acting upon him, and revealing Himself to him, in a twofold manner.

There is first that which may be called the "external" manifestation, by means of the messenger or "angel of the LORD," who speaks now as God, and now as one sent by God, so that the angel is in part identified with Jehovah, and in part distinguished from Him. Thus we read that "the LORD appeared" to Abraham, and "lo, three men stood over against him." Then follows the account of the manifestation, and then we read that "the men turned from thence, and went towards Sodom; and Abraham stood yet before the LORD . . . And the LORD went His way, as soon as He had left communing with Abraham: and Abraham returned to his place. And the two angels came to Sodom" (Gen. xviii. 1; xix. 1). Plainly, then, one of the three was a more exalted Being than "the two angels," and represented "the LORD." Again in Joshua v. 14, a mysterious being

text of the name *Elohim*, a plural form in which some would see a reference to the doctrine, because it is now generally agreed that it is simply the plural of majesty or intensity. It has been truly pointed out that "those who adduce it as an anticipation of the doctrine of the Trinity appear to forget that this use of the plural *does not stand alone* in Hebrew; the words *אֱלֹהִים* and *כֹּהֵל* meaning *lord, master*, are often used in the plural with reference to a single human superior (*e.g.* Ex. xxi. 4, 6, 8, 29); and Isaiah (xix. 4) describes the conqueror of Egypt as *אֲרִיִּים קָשָׁה*, where the adjective is singular, but the substantive is plural."—S. R. Driver, in the *Expositor*, 3rd series, vol. iii. p. 42.

appears to Joshua, and announces himself as "Captain of the LORD's host," and immediately afterwards we read of Him as "the LORD"; for "the LORD said to Joshua, See, I have given into thine hand Jericho, etc." (See also Gen. xvi. 7 *seq.*; xxii. 11, 14; xxiv. 7, 40; xxxi. 11-13; Ex. iii. 2 *seq.*; xiii. 21; xiv. 19; xxxii, xxxiii.) There is no need to consider here the oft-discussed question which of the two views of the "Angel of the LORD" is correct—(1) That which has the support of most of the Greek Fathers, from Justin Martyr onwards, and of some of the Latins, namely, that the angel is actually the Logos, or Second Person of the Holy Trinity, thus manifesting Himself before the Incarnation; or (2) that which was advocated by St. Augustine, and is adopted by most moderns, namely, that he is a created angel, acting as the direct representative of Jehovah. In either case God's presence is specially manifested through him, and thus there is a real preparation for the revelation of God in Christ, and the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity.¹ In this connection reference must also be made to those numerous passages from which the Jews of Palestine constructed their doctrine of the Logos, the Word, or "Memra," which represents the personal action of God, and which is found in the Targums in many places where the communion of God and man has to be expressed. For instance, in the oldest Targum, that of Onkelos, Adam is represented as hearing the voice of the *word* of the Lord in the garden (Gen. iii. 8); the Lord protects Noah by His *word* when he enters the ark (vii. 16), and at Sinai, Moses brings forth the people to meet the *word* of God (Ex. xix. 17). In all such passages we can see that "the Palestinian instinct seized upon the concrete idea of "the word

¹ On the "Angel of the Lord," see Oehler's *Theology of the Old Testament*, vol. i. p. 188 *seq.*, and Medd's *Bampton Lectures*, Note vii. p. 426.

of God,' as representing His personal action, and unconsciously prepared the way for a gospel of the Incarnation.¹"

But, further, there was, under the Old Covenant, yet another mode in which God disclosed Himself to man, through what may be termed an "internal" revelation. God is frequently spoken of as acting or working *in* man by means of His Spirit, a power proceeding from Him, not yet revealed as a distinct person, though in some passages there is an approximation to this, which must have led men's minds in the direction of the revelation afterwards made. Thus, throughout the Old Testament, the Spirit of God, or the Spirit of Jehovah, is represented as the principle of the life of man's soul, and every natural and intellectual gift in man is traced back to it. (See Job xxvii. 3, xxxiii. 4; Gen. xli. 38; Ex. xxxi. 3, xxxv. 31.) It is the Spirit which is the source of inspiration (Numb. xi. 25; Isa. lxi. 1), and the principle of sanctification (Ps. li. 10-12, cxliii. 10). Even the special title given to the Third Person of the blessed Trinity under the New Dispensation is prepared for under the Old Covenant, for in two passages the Spirit of God is spoken of under the name of God's Holy Spirit.

"Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not *Thy holy Spirit* (LXX. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιόν σου) from me" (Ps. li. 11). "But they rebelled, and grieved *His holy Spirit* (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ): therefore He was turned to be their enemy, and Himself fought against them. Then He remembered the days of old, Moses, and His people, saying, Where is He that brought them up out of the sea with the shepherds of His flock? where is He that put *His holy Spirit* (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον) in the midst of them" (Isa. lxiii. 10, 11).²

¹ Westcott on *S. John*, p. xvii.

² Outside the canonical books the title occurs again in Wisdom ix. 17.

Thus, although it would be an error to read the complete doctrine of the New Testament into the Old, yet it is undeniable that the way was prepared for it under the Old Covenant, and that the teaching of Holy Scripture on the Angel of the Lord and God's Holy Spirit foreshadows distinctions within the Godhead, which were subsequently revealed as *Personal*.

(b) *The revelation of the mystery in the New Testament.*—When we pass from the Old Testament to the New we find that we no longer have to content ourselves with faint adumbrations of the doctrine, but that it is clearly indicated that the distinctions within the Godhead are personal. And yet, as it has been truly said, “there is no moment when Jesus Christ expressly reveals this doctrine. It was overheard rather than heard. It was simply that in the gradual process of intercourse with Him, His disciples came to recognise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost as included in their deepening and enlarging thought of God.”¹ Almost the earliest intimation was that made at our Lord's baptism, when there came from heaven the voice of the *Father*, testifying to the beloved *Son*, upon whom *the Spirit* descended like a dove (S. Matt. iii. 13–17). And from this time onwards we can trace the gradual disclosure of the truth throughout our Lord's teaching. All through His ministry He taught His disciples to regard His relation to His heavenly Father as unique, showing that His Sonship was something peculiar, different from the sonship which they themselves could claim. His language implied that, though personally distinct from the Father, He was yet one with Him, and so Himself divine. So with increasing clearness,

“And Thy counsel who hath known, except Thou give wisdom, and send Thy Holy Spirit from above.” See also Wisdom i. 5 and Eccclus. xlvi. 12, where Codex A reads, Ἐλίσαιε ἐπλήσθη πνεύματος ἁγίου.

¹ Gore's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 131.

towards the close of His ministry, He spoke much of the Holy Spirit, and in terms which can only be satisfied if the Spirit be a divine Person. This is seen above all in the discourses spoken in the upper chamber on the eve of the Passion (S. John xiii.—xvi.), where the fullest revelation of the Person and work of the Spirit is given. And, finally, the doctrine is summed up and handed on to the Church in the great commission given after the resurrection, “Go ye, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost” (S. Matt. xxviii. 19). The passage forms the central declaration,¹ and contains our Lord’s complete revelation of the doctrine. The first two titles, the *Father* and the *Son*, are plainly personal titles; they speak of a personal relation, and would be misleading did they not imply that those to whom they are applied are personally distinct. And if the first two titles are personal, it will be felt that the third must be personal too.² Again, it is inconceivable that any but divine titles could be so joined with the title of the everlasting Father, while the fact that baptism is into the *name*, not *names*, implies the unity of the Three. Thus in this text are involved these three great truths—(1) The unity of God, (2) the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and (3) their distinct personality; and these three truths go to make up the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity in Unity.

It is impossible to give an adequate summary of the

¹ The removal of 1 John v. 7 from the Revised Version makes it unnecessary to refer further to this text, the spuriousness of which is now almost universally acknowledged.

² The force of this will be easily estimated by substituting the name of an *attribute* of God for one or other of the words used by our Lord. It is inconceivable that we should be bidden to baptize into the name of the Father and of the Son, and of *the providence of God*. A *personal* title is a necessity.

scriptural evidence for the Divinity of the Son and Holy Spirit without anticipating what properly belongs to the commentary on Articles II. and V. It will, therefore, not be attempted here. Nor does it seem necessary to prove that the apostles were not Tritheists. The unity of God is assumed throughout the New, as throughout the Old Testament.¹ All, therefore, that it will be needful to do in this place is to indicate various passages where the three Persons of the Holy Trinity are mentioned together as personal agents, performing distinct offices, leaving the reader to gather the full scriptural proof of the doctrine from what is said later on concerning the Second and Third Persons of the Holy Trinity.

Reference has already been made to S. Matt. iii. 13–17; xxviii. 19, and the discourses in S. John xiii.–xvi. Besides these, attention should be drawn to the closing benediction of 2 Cor. xiii. 14, “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all.” Such language seems quite inconsistent with any belief save that which the Church has always held. Again, S. Paul writes to the Romans: “I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ’s sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me” (Rom. xv. 30). To the Ephesians he declares: “There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all” (Eph. iv. 4). Passages such as these—and they might easily be multiplied to a great extent—are sufficient to show not merely that there are distinctions of some sort in the divine nature, but that

¹ See S. Mark xii. 32; 1 Cor. viii. 4; Gal. iii. 20; 1 Tim. ii. 5; S. James ii. 19; S. Jude, 4, 25.

these distinctions are personal. The Spirit whose "love" and "communion" and "fellowship" are spoken of can only be a person; and of none but *divine* Persons could the language just cited be used. It finds its only adequate explanation in the belief that "in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

X To conclude this part of our subject. The witness of Scripture to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity has never perhaps been better summed up in a short compass than in the opening words of the prayer with which St. Augustine concludes his great treatise "On the Trinity." "O Lord our God, we believe in Thee, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. For the truth would not say, 'Go, baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' unless Thou wast a Trinity. Nor wouldest Thou, O Lord God, bid us be baptized in the name of Him who is not the Lord God. Nor would the divine voice have said, 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord,' unless Thou wert so a Trinity as to be one Lord God. And if Thou, O God, wert Thyself the Father, and wert Thyself the Son, Thy Word, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit your gift, we should not read in the book of truth, 'God sent His Son'; nor wouldest Thou, O only-begotten Son, say of the Holy Spirit, 'Whom the Father will send in My name'; and 'whom I will send to you from the Father.'"¹

(c) *The doctrine agreeable to reason.*—The doctrine of the Holy Trinity must always be based on the teaching of Holy Scripture. The only questions we are at liberty to ask relate to the evidence for the

¹ S. Aug. *De Trinitate*, bk. xv. ch. xxviii.

revelation. If it is clear that the doctrine is contained in Holy Scripture, and that the Holy Scripture is a revelation from God, then the doctrine must be received, not as "reasonable" nor as "unreasonable," but simply as scriptural. It is only from what God has disclosed to us of Himself and His eternal Being that we are entitled to affirm the existence of personal distinctions within the divine nature. But, still, when once the doctrine has been revealed it can be shown to be "agreeable to reason," and to harmonise with and throw fresh light upon man's deepest thoughts of God. Our whole conception of God is an unworthy and impoverished one unless we regard Him as in His essence love. But if He be indeed essentially and eternally love, it would seem to follow of necessity that there must be a plurality within the Godhead. Love requires an object on which to spend itself. It is only conceivable as "a personal relationship of a lover and a loved"; and unless God only *became* love when His creative work was begun, He must have found within His divine Being one toward whom His love could eternally flow forth. And that which reason is thus seen to demand is supplied in the Christian doctrine of "the Word" which "was in the beginning with God," and which "was God." In the only-begotten Son, who is revealed to us as from all eternity "in the bosom of the Father," is found the eternal object of the divine love.

Whether we can go further than this, and say that reason suggests that there are more than two Persons within the Godhead may be doubtful. It has appeared indeed to many thoughtful minds that certain considerations almost necessitate a Trinity. It has been pointed out that our own personality is necessarily triune, and that if we are to think of God as personal, we must regard Him as possessing in transcendent perfection

the same attributes which are imperfectly possessed by man, and as therefore triune.¹ Again, where there is a subject and an object there must be that which unites them. So some have felt that reason points not only to the Eternal Father and the Eternal Son, but to the Eternal Spirit, the bond of love that unites them. But there is no need to press such considerations as these. They will probably never appeal forcibly to any but the few who are philosophically trained. Without laying stress on them we may well be content to find that reason is so far in harmony with revelation as to suggest that at least there are personal distinctions of some sort within the Godhead, and that our God is no "monotonous unity," no "lonely" God, but one who is eternal love.²

II. *The History of the Doctrine in the Church and the growth of Technical Phraseology in connection with it.*

When we pass from Holy Scripture to the writers of the early Christian Church we find ample proof that from the very first the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was held and believed, although the belief was what may be called an *implicit* and informal one. The Church was content to believe without defining. Nor did she at first feel the need of technical phraseology, or terms to express with accuracy the relation of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or the exact character of the unity. In the earliest days, therefore, we hear nothing of such terms as "Trinity," "Three Persons," or "One Substance." But still we can clearly see not only that the faith of the Church was monotheistic, but also that the Son and Holy Spirit were believed in as God, and yet were

¹ Illingworth's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 74.

² See on the whole subject Illingworth's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 67 *seq.* and Gore's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 134 *seq.*

not confused with or merged in the Person of the Father. Thus Clement of Rome, the earliest of the Fathers, writing before the close of the first century, says: "As God liveth and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Ghost, who are the faith and hope of the elect."¹ The language of Ignatius more especially on the Divinity of the Christ is most emphatic,² while in some passages of his epistles the three Persons of the Holy Trinity are mentioned together in such a way as to show that Ignatius recognised real distinctions within the God-head.³

During the latter half of the second century the language of the Fathers begins to be somewhat more precise and formal,⁴ and recognised terms now make their appearance. The word Trinity is the earliest. The

¹Clem. Rom., *Ad Cor.* i. ch. lviii.; cf. ch. xlv., "Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace that is shed forth upon us?"

²*E.g.*, "Ignatius, who is also Theophorus, unto her that hath found mercy in the bountifulness of the Father most high, and of Jesus Christ His only Son; to the Church that is beloved and enlightened through the will of Him who willed all things that are, by faith and love towards Jesus Christ our God." *Ad Rom.* ch. i.; cf. ch. vi., "Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God."

³Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* ch. ix., "Ye are stones of a temple, which were prepared beforehand for a building of God the Father, being hoisted up to the heights through the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the cross, and using for a rope the Holy Spirit." *Ad Magnes.* ch. xiii., "Do your diligence therefore that ye be confirmed in the ordinances of the Lord and of the Apostles, that ye may prosper in all things whatsoever ye do in flesh and spirit, by faith and by love, in the Son and Father and in the Spirit."

⁴Nothing is said in the text of the well-known passage in Justin Martyr's first Apology (ch. vi.) in which he appears to include the angels as objects of the Christian's worship, placing them *before* the Holy Ghost, because there is evidently some error connected with it; cf. Otto's note, *in loc.* As Professor Swete observes: "Certainly no writer, catholic or heretical, would have intentionally represented the Holy Spirit as *inferior* to angels; so that the passage, if pressed against S. Justin's orthodoxy, proves too much."—*Early History of the Doctrine of the Holy Ghost*, p. 17.

Greek *Τριάς* is found for the first time in the works of Theophilus of Antioch (A.D. 180), who speaks of the first three days of creation as "Types of the Trinity, of God, and of His word, and of His wisdom."¹ The Latin word *Trinitas* occurs a few years later in the writings of Tertullian, himself the first *Latin* writer of the Church,² and from his days onwards it is used as a well-known term.³

Athenagoras, one of the Greek apologists who wrote about 176, uses language which shows that the relation of the three Persons of the Godhead was beginning to attract attention. "Who would not marvel to hear men call us atheists, although we speak of God the Father, and God the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and set forth at once their power in unity (*τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει δύναμιν*), and their distinction in order" (*τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν*).⁴ But it was not till the rise of false teaching forced the orthodox to say what they meant by their belief that the terms Person and Substance came into use. During the last quarter of the second century two formidable heresies arose, in meeting which the Church was compelled to enlarge her vocabulary, and make use of more precise and definite language with regard to the Godhead than she had hitherto done. When Theodotus and Artemon⁵ taught that Christ was "a mere man" (*ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον*), it became necessary to bring into even greater

¹ *Ad Autolycum*. ii. sec. 15, τύποι τῆς τριάδος, τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Σοφίας αὐτοῦ.

² *Adv. Praxeum*, ch. iii.

³ So S. Cyprian speaks of the Jews as having observed three hours of prayer, "Sacramento Trinitatis."—*De Dom. Orat.* ch. 34.

⁴ *Legat.* x.

⁵ On the heresy of the Artemonites, see *Eusebius*, V. ch. xxviii. Artemon taught at Rome at the end of the second and beginning of the third century. He was excommunicated by Pope Zephyrinus (A.D. 198–217).

prominence than before the truth which had been held all along that He is essentially divine. When, on the other hand, Praxeas¹ taught that Christ was *personally* one with the Father, so that it was actually the Father who suffered on the cross in the *character* of the Son, the Church in denying this was compelled to say *what* she held the distinctions within the Godhead to be. The particular form of heresy of which Praxeas appears to have been the originator is sometimes called Patripassianism, from the fact that its advocates asserted that the person of the Father suffered in Christ; and sometimes Sabellianism, from a teacher who refined somewhat on the teaching of Praxeas. Its essential feature consists in the denial that the distinctions in the Godhead are personal, and the assertion that they are merely distinctions of character, phenomenal rather than real.

It is only after the rise of these two heresies that the terms Person and Substance begin to come into prominence. The teaching of Artemon was characterised as a "God-denying apostasy." It was met by a threefold appeal, to Holy Scripture, to the traditional teaching, and to the worship of the Church; and it was shown that the essential Divinity of Christ had been believed in by the Church from the beginning.² But then, as the orthodox thus met the teaching of Artemon, they were confronted with the assertions of the Sabellians, who, accepting the truth of Christ's Divinity, erred in denying His personal distinction from the Father, and charged those who maintained it with Tritheism, or belief in three Gods. To meet this charge it became necessary not only to dwell on the unity, but also to explain of what kind the distinction between Father, Son, and Holy Ghost was

¹ Our knowledge of Praxeas is chiefly due to Tertullian's work against him. For the character of his teaching see especially ch. i.

² See *Eusebius*, V. xxviii.

held to be. So, in order to defend himself from anything like Tritheism, Tertullian lays down that the Son is *of one substance* (*unius substantiæ*) with the Father.¹ By early Greek Fathers the nature or essence of the Godhead which is communicated to the Son and Holy Spirit from all eternity was expressed by two words—*ousia* (*οὐσία*), and *hypostasis* (*ὑπόστασις*). Some among the Alexandrians especially have employed the former word to denote the “essence” or “substance” of the Godhead, while elsewhere among the Greeks hypostasis was sometimes used with *the same meaning*.² But while the unity was thus established, it was also necessary to define more closely in what the distinctions within the Godhead consist. The Sabellians taught that they were merely distinctions of character. In opposition to this erroneous teaching the Church was driven to enlarge her terminology. She was compelled to explain what she meant by her Creed, and forced to say what was to be understood by her assertion that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were “three.” Three *what*? This question was persistently asked, though it is clear that the Church at first shrank from answering, feeling that no one human term was adequate to express exactly what she under-

¹ *Adv. Praxeam*, ch. ii.: “Nihilominus custodiatur *οικονομίας* sacramentum, quæ unitatem in trinitatem disponit, tres dirigens, Patrem et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, tres autem non statu sed gradu, nec substantia sed forma, nec potestate sed specie, *unius* autem *substantiæ* et *unius* status et *unius* potestatis, quia unus Deus, ex quo et gradus isti et formæ et species in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti deputantur.”

² Clement of Alexandria has *οὐσία*, *Strom.* ii. 2, 5; iv. 25, 163; v. 10, 66. Still earlier, Justin Martyr had spoken of the Son as not being separated from the *οὐσία* of the Father, *Dial.* ch. 128. Origen also has *οὐσία*. In *Joann.* x. 21, *De Orat.* 23, and so have the Alexandrian Dionysius, and Alexander. *ὑπόστασις* is used by Dionysius of Rome (Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, iii. p. 373), as well as by Gregory Thaumaturgus (cf. Basil, *Ep.* 210, 5). It is also the term generally employed by Athanasius himself for “substance,” though in one of his earlier works he speaks of “three Hypostases.”—See Robertson’s *Athanasius*, p. 90.

stood the language of Scripture to teach. She would have preferred to remain content with expressing the unity by the neuter of the pronoun, saying that the Father and the Son were *unum*, not *unus*, and the distinction by the masculine; yet Tertullian, in writing against Praxeas, is at last compelled to use the word *Persons, Personæ*.¹ Hippolytus, a little later, uses *πρόσωπα*, its true Greek equivalent.² Origen, however, employing hypostasis in a different sense from that in which it had been generally used by the Church, speaks of there being more hypostases than one in the Godhead,³ thus making it the equivalent of Person, and using it to express the distinction. It will be seen from what has now been said that a door was opened to confusion of thought, the word hypostasis being taken in two different senses, in one of which it expressed an entirely different conception from the Latin *substantia*, its true etymological equivalent. Hence, in the fourth century, two questions arose with regard to *ὑπόστασις*.

- (a) Is there one, or are there three in the Godhead?
 (b) What is its Latin equivalent?

(a) The use of the word *Ousia* for "Substance" was naturally brought more into prominence by the language formally adopted at Nicæa (325) against the Arian

¹ *Adv Praxeas*, ch. vii.; cf. ch. xii.: "Alium autem quomodo accipere debeas jam professus sum, *personæ*, non *substantiæ*, nomine, ad distinctionem non ad divisionem. Ceterum ubique teneam *unam substantiam* in tribus coherentibus, etc."

² *Contra Hæresim Noetii*, ch. vii. xiv.; *Philosoph.* ix. 12.

³ In *Joann.* ii. 6, *ἡμεῖς μέντοι γε τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις πειθόμενοι τυγχάνειν*. *Contra Celsum*, viii. 12. Cf. Bigg's *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, p. 163. "The word for Person in Origen is commonly *Hypostasis*, that for the divine nature is less determinate, but is frequently *ousia*." Yet Origen also uses *οὐσία* to express the distinctions: *De Orat.* 15, *ἕτερος κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ ὑποκειμένον ἔστιν ὁ Ὑιὸς τοῦ πατρὸς*, as also did Pierius of Alexandria (see Photius, Codex 119).

heresy, which denied the eternal Divinity of the Son. In the Creed which was there promulgated, it was stated that the Son was "Only-Begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father" (*μονογενῇ τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός*), and again that He is "of one substance with the Father" (*ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί*). But in the anathemas appended to the Creed, the use of *ὑπόστασις* as an equivalent for *οὐσία* was recognised, for those were condemned who said that the Son was of "a different substance or essence" from the Father (*ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας*). Consequently, this older use of the word hypostasis for Substance lingered on side by side with the more recent use, in which it was taken as meaning Person. It is obvious that such a double use of a single term might lead to misconception and misunderstanding. Those who took hypostasis as identical in meaning with *ousia*, would charge anyone who spoke of "three Hypostases" with Arianism or Tritheism, and might fairly appeal to the Nicene anathema in support of their views; while, on the other hand, those who were familiar with the use of the word in the sense of Person would regard the assertion that there was but "one Hypostasis" in the Godhead as pure Sabellianism. And this is, in fact, what actually happened. The trouble arose at Antioch in connection with the Meletian schism. And, together with other questions raised by that schism, it was brought before the Council of Alexandria in 362. There the question of terminology was inquired into, and, by the wise moderation of Athanasius, the trouble was set at rest. Both parties stated their views before the Council, and were cross-examined as to the meaning of the terms they employed. The result was, that it was speedily made manifest that both were perfectly orthodox. "One Hypostasis" was not intended to be Sabellian, nor was "three Hypostases" meant to express Arian views. Ac-

cordingly, it was agreed that each party might retain its own usage, since questions of words must not be suffered to divide those who think alike.¹ By this wise decision any danger of a schism on account of the varying terminology was avoided. But still some inconvenience could not but be felt at this double use of the term hypostasis now as "Person," and now as "Substance." This was gradually removed by the general adoption of the phraseology first employed by Origen. *Πρόσωπα* gradually dropped out of use, *ousia* was universally employed to denote the substance, and hypostasis was restricted to mean the distinctions,² and thus in the end all the Greeks united in the formula, *μὴ οὐσία τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*.³

(b) Meanwhile, in the west, some difficulty had arisen with regard to the word to be used to express the distinctions within the Godhead. *Substantia* was, of course, the true etymological equivalent of hypostasis; and, indeed, hypostasis, in the sense of substance or essence, seems to have been originally adopted by the Greeks as its translation. When, then, the Greek hypostasis had had a new meaning stamped upon it, and was used as equivalent to Person, what were the Latins to do? Were they to alter their terminology as the Greeks had done, or to continue to use the expression which had come down to them with the authority of the earlier Fathers, such as Tertullian? Some few Latin writers, such as Hilary of Poitiers, attempted to assimilate their

¹ See Athanasius, *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, sec. 5 *seq.*, in Robertson's *Athanasius*, p. 484.

² Although at Sardica (343), as at Nicæa, *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* had been treated as identical, yet they are carefully distinguished in the synodal letter sent from Constantinople in 382, which speaks of *οὐσία μία . . . ἐν τρισὶ τελειοτάταις ὑποστάσεσιν, ἧτοι τρισὶ τελείοις προσώποις*.

³ *Οὐσία* signifying *τὴν φύσιν τῆς Θεϊότητος*, and *ὑποστάσεις* expressing *τὰς τῶν τριῶν ἰδιότητας*.—Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* xxi. 46, with which cf. Hooker, V. li. § 1.

terminology to that of the Eastern Church, and spoke of "*tres substantiæ*,"¹ but such language never found favour in the west. It could not safely be used without a great deal of explanation, and to most minds would be immediately suggestive of Arianism. Consequently it soon dropped out of use. It is vehemently rejected by Jerome² and Augustine, the latter of whom speaks as if the phraseology was firmly fixed as *una essentia* or *substantia*, and *tres personæ*, by the time when he wrote his great work on the Trinity (A.D. 416).³ And in the use of these terms the Western Church since then has never varied.

There is no need to pursue the history of the doctrine further. There have, it is true, from time to time been serious controversies within the Church as to its exact meaning, and incautious language has sometimes been used, that was perilously near to Tritheism on the one hand and Sabellianism on the other.⁴ But there has been no change or wavering on the part of the Church

¹ Hilary, *De Synodis*. He is, however, very careful to explain his language. "Idcirco tres substantias esse dixerunt, subsistentium personas per substantias edocentes, non substantiam Patris et Filii diversitate dissimilis essentiae separantes."—Vol. ii. p. 480.

² *Ep. ad Damasum*, xv., where he gives an account of the trouble in which he was involved in Syria, because of his refusal to speak of "three Hypostases," a refusal which he bases on the ground that, "in the whole range of secular learning, hypostasis never means anything but essence."

³ S. Aug. *De Trinitate*, V. ix.

⁴ For the later history of the doctrine reference may be made to Hagenbach's *History of Doctrines*, vol. ii. p. 209, and vol. iii. p. 327. In the eleventh century the nominalism of Roscellinus exposed him to the charge of Tritheism, while Abelard's teaching drew upon him the charge of Sabellianism. For the controversy in the seventeenth century between Dr. South and Dean Sherlock, in which charges of Sabellianism were again raised, see Perry's *English Church History*, pt. ii. p. 564; and on Waterland's masterly vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity, in opposition to the Arianism of Dr. Clarke and others, see Abbey and Overton's *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, ch. viii.

as to the terms to be used in the expression of her faith. We pass therefore to the last subject to be considered in connection with this Article.

III. *The Explanation of the Doctrine.*

In considering what is to be said in explanation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity it must ever be borne in mind that the terms used by the Church, *μία οὐσία τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, *una substantiā tres personæ*, "one substance, three persons," are simply chosen by her in order to express as accurately as possible what she believes to be the real meaning of the statements of the Holy Scripture, in which our Lord revealed all that can be known by man of the divine nature. As we study the language in which our Lord speaks of Himself, and His relation to the Father and the Holy Spirit, it becomes clear that there are two principal dangers to be guarded against—(1) that of *exaggerating* the distinctions and so separating the "Persons," and (2) that of *explaining away* the distinctions, so as ultimately to deny their reality. In other words, we are exposed on the one hand to the danger of "confounding the Persons," as the Sabellians did; on the other to that of "dividing the substance," as did the Arians and Socinians of a later day. The sketch given above of the growth of technical phraseology will have shown that the term Persons was only fixed upon to express the doctrine after much hesitation; because it became absolutely necessary, in the face of heresy, to use *some* term to describe what the Church meant by her teaching on "the Three in the Godhead"; and this term, though not altogether satisfactory, came nearer than any other to express what she understood Holy Scripture to teach. The matter is well put by Augustine in the following passage in his work on the Trinity:—

"Many writers in Latin who treat of these things, and are of authority, have said that they could not find any other more suitable way by which to enunciate in words that which they understood without words. For, in truth, as the Father is not the Son, and the Son is not the Father, and that Holy Spirit, who is also called the gift of God, is neither the Father nor the Son, certainly they are three. And so it is said in the plural, 'I and the Father are one.' For He did not say, '*is* one,' as the Sabellians say, but '*are* one.' Yet, when the question is asked, *what* are the three? human language labours altogether under great poverty of speech. The answer, however, is given, 'three *Persons*,' not that that might be spoken, but lest nothing should be said."¹

It is clear, then, from this confession that the term "cannot be employed without considerable intellectual caution."² We must guard against taking it in the sense of *character*,³ and also against thinking of three *separate* existences, such as we think of when the ex-

¹ "Non audemus dicere unam essentiam, tres substantias; sed unam essentiam vel substantiam; tres autem personas, quemadmodum multi Latini ista tractantes et digni auctoritate dixerunt, cum alium modum aptiorem non invenirent quo enunciarent verbis quod sine verbis intelligebant. Re vera enim cum Pater non sit Filius, et Filius non sit Pater, et Spiritus Sanctus ille qui etiam donum Dei vocatur, nec Pater sit nec Filius, tres utique sunt. Ideoque pluraliter dictum est, *Ego et Pater unum sumus*. Non enim dixit, unum est, quod Sabelliani dicunt; sed, *unum sumus*. Tamen cum quæritur quid tres, magna prorsus inopia humanum laborat eloquium. Dictum est tamen tres personæ non ut illud diceretur, sed ne taceretur."—*De Trinitate*, V. ix. ; cf. VII. vi. And S. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*. 1a, Q. 29 a, 3, "Conveniens est ut hoc nomen (*persona*) de Deo dicatur; non tamen eodem modo quo dicitur de creaturis, sed excellentiori modo."

² Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 32.

³ It was probably for this reason that the Greek Church discouraged and finally altogether discarded the use of the term *πρόσωπον* as the equivalent of *persona*.

pression is applied to three men. "The word Person, used in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, would on first hearing suggest Tritheism to one who made the word synonymous with *individual*; and Unitarianism to another, who accepted it in the classical sense of a *mask* or *character*."¹ The Church, it is needless to say, means neither of these. All that she intends to express by the use of the term "three Persons" is that which she understands Holy Scripture to teach, namely, that there are *three eternal distinctions in the divine nature, anterior to, and independent of any relation to created life*.²

1. That the distinctions are eternal is clearly taught in such a passage as S. John i. 1. "The Word," which was "in the beginning with God" (*πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*) must have been distinct from God (*ὁ Θεός*), and yet "the Word was God" (*Θεός*). And were there no other passages bearing on the subject the saying of our Lord recorded in S. John xvii. 5 ("the glory which I had with Thee before the world was") would of itself be sufficient to show that the Trinity is not merely "economic"—*i.e.* God did not *become* a Trinity when He manifested Himself to mankind as Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier—but that it is "immanent," *i.e.* an eternal fact in the divine nature, altogether independent of relation to creation. The Son must have been a distinct Person "before the world was," if He then possessed a "glory" of His own "with the Father."

2. But while it is thus taught in Scripture that the Persons are eternally distinct, it is implied with equal clearness that though distinct they are not "separate." Our Lord's own deliberate utterance maintained His unity with the Father. "I and the Father are one." *Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμεν* (S. John x. 30). "Every

¹ Newman's *Arians*, p. 442.

² See Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, *ubi supra*.

word," says Bishop Westcott, "in this pregnant clause is full of meaning. It is *I*, not *the Son*; *the Father*, not *my Father*; one essence (*ἐν*, Vulgate *unum*), not one person (*εἰς*, *unus*); *are*, not *am* . . . It seems clear that the unity here spoken of cannot fall short of unity of essence. The thought springs from the equality of power (*My hand, the Father's hand* [see vers. 28, 29]); but infinite power is an essential attribute of God; and it is impossible to suppose that two beings distinct in essence could be equal in power."¹ Here then, in the compass of this brief utterance, we find a full and satisfactory refutation of both Arianism and Sabellianism. "Per *unum* Arius, per *sumus* Sabellius refutatur."² The plural verb emphasises the distinction of Persons, while the neuter, *ἐν* (*unum*), brings out the truth which the Church has expressed in saying that the Son is "of one substance with the Father," that is, partaker of His eternal and essential nature.

3. But, further, while Holy Scripture in this way reveals to us the unity of the divine nature, there is another truth also taught in it which requires to be carefully kept before the mind, if the full teaching of the Church is to be realised. This is the truth that the Father is alone unoriginate, the fount of Deity in the eternal life of the Trinity. There is perhaps a danger lest we should represent to ourselves a sort of abstract "God-head," behind the three Persons, and think that of it all three equally partake, so that in it is to be found their source and origin. Against any such erroneous notion the Church has guarded by the doctrine of the *Monarchia*, which teaches that the Father is the only source or ἀρχή, the sole Fount of Deity (πηγὴ θεότητος) from which the Son and Holy Ghost from all eternity derive their divine

¹ *Commentary on S. John's Gospel, in loc.*

² Bengel.

being.¹ "As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself" (S. John, v. 26). "The living Father hath sent Me, and I live because of the Father" (διὰ τὸν πατέρα, ch. vi. 57). In virtue of this the Father is rightly said to be the First Person of the Holy Trinity, by a priority, not of time, but of order. To quote Bishop Pearson on this subject:

"As there is a number in the Trinity by which the Persons are neither more nor less than Three, so there is also an order by which of these Persons the Father is the First, the Son the Second, and the Holy Ghost the Third. Nor is this order arbitrary or external, but internal and necessary, by virtue of a subordination of the Second unto the First, and of the Third unto the First and Second. The Godhead was communicated from the Father to the Son, not from the Son unto the Father; though, therefore, this were done from all eternity, and so there can be no priority of time, yet there must be acknowledged a priority of order, by which the Father is First, and the Son Second. Again the same Godhead was communicated by the Father and the Son unto the Holy Ghost, not by the Holy Ghost to the Father or the Son; though, therefore, this was also done from all eternity, and therefore can admit of no priority in reference to time, yet that of order must be here observed; so that the Spirit receiving the Godhead from the Father, who is the First Person, cannot be the First; receiving the same from the Son, who is the Second, cannot be the Second, but, being from the First and Second, must be of the Three the Third."²

¹ Cf. Athanasius, *Orat. Contr. Arian.* iv. ch. i. *μὴ ἀρχὴ θεότητος καὶ οὐδὲ ἀρχαὶ ὄθεν κυρίως καὶ μοναρχία ἐστίν.*

² Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed*, Article VIII. § 22; cf. Article I. ch. iii. § 11.

To this divine "subordination" it is probable that our Lord referred when He said to His disciples, "The Father is greater than I" (S. John, xiv. 28). In one sense it is, of course, true that if the Father is God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, "none is greater or less than another," for the Godhead does not admit of degrees, and of "more" or "less." And accordingly many divines have understood the words of our Lord just cited to refer to Him as incarnate, as they are apparently taken in the Athanasian Creed: "Equal to the Father as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching His manhood." But it is also true that there is a sense in which the Father, as the Source of all the Divinity of both Son and Spirit, is "greater" than either. "The Son is the Father's equal, as partaker of His nature. He is His 'Subordinate' in that this equality is eternally derived."¹

4. There is one other truth taught in Holy Scripture, which the Church has summarised in a definite theological term, in order to guard fully the unity of the Holy Trinity. It is the doctrine of the *Περίχώρησις*, or *Coinherence*, the mutual indwelling of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity. The doctrine is based on the words of our Lord in S. John xiv. 10, 11, "The Father abiding in Me (ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων) . . . I am in the Father and the Father in Me"; with which should be compared S. Paul's words of the Holy Spirit in 1 Cor. ii. 11, "Who among men knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of the man, which is in him? Even so the things of God none knoweth, save the Spirit of God." The meaning of the doctrine is well stated by Bishop Bull, from whose words it will be clearly seen that it

¹ Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 234. See Westcott, *Commentary on S. John's Gospel*, detached note on ch. xiv. 28, for a full summary of Patristic references to this text

effectually guards the faith of the Church from any approach to Tritheism, and secures her belief in the unity of the Godhead:—

“The Father is the principle of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and both are propagated from Him ‘by an internal, not by an external, production,’ from which it results that they are not only *of* the Father, but *in* the Father, and the Father in them; and that in the Holy Trinity one Person cannot be separated from the other, as three human persons are divided from one another; for they who hold that the three Hypostases of the Godhead are in this way separate are rightly called Tritheists . . . The Father and the Son are in such sense One, as that the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son; and that the one cannot be separated from the other. This mode of union the Greek theologians call περιχώρησις, and the Latins, *i.e.* the schoolmen, circuminsession . . . περιχώρησις and circuminsession may be said to be that union by which one thing exists in another, not only by participation of its nature, but also by a full and intimate presence. This kind of inexistence, so to speak, our divines call circuminsession; because by it certain things, however much they may be mutually distinguished from each other without being separated, do yet exist in each other without confusion, and as it were flow into each other.”¹

¹ Bull's *Ante-Nicene Faith*, bk. iv. ch. iv. § 9; cf. Newman's *Arians*, p. 178 *seq.*; and Athanasius, *Arian Orations*, iii. ch. xxiii., with Newman's Notes.

ARTICLE II

*De Verbo, sive Filio Dei, qui
verus homo factus est.¹*

Filius qui est Verbum Patris, ab æterno a Patre genitus verus et æternus Deus, ac Patri consubstantialis, in utero beatæ Virginis ex illius substantia naturam humanam assumpsit: ita ut duæ naturæ, divina et humana, integre atque perfecte in unitate personæ, fuerint inseparabiliter conjunctæ: ex quibus est unus Christus, verus Deus et verus homo: qui vere passus est, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, ut Patrem nobis reconciliaret, essetque hostia² non tantum pro culpa originis, verum etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis.

*Of the Word or Son of God which
was made very man.*

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say the Godhead and manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

THE original Article in the series of 1553 was identical with our present one, except that in it the clause on the eternal generation and Divinity of the Son ("Begotten . . . of one substance with the Father") was wanting. It was drawn almost word for word from the third of the Thirteen Articles of 1538, which, in

¹ The title in the editions of 1553 and 1563 was *Verbum Dei verum hominem esse factum*, "that the Word or Son of God was made very man."

² This word is wanting in the Latin edition published by Wolfe in 1563, by the express authority of the Queen. It is, however, found in the editions of 1553, in the Parker MS. of 1563, and in the editions of 1571. The omission was therefore probably due to an accidental error of the press.

its turn, was taken entirely from the Confession of Augsburg.¹

The clause on the eternal generation and Divinity of the Son was inserted in the edition of 1563 by Archbishop Parker, being suggested by the corresponding article in the Confession of Württemberg.

This Article, like the previous one, was aimed against the Anabaptists, many of whom were unsound on the cardinal doctrine of our Lord's Divinity, reviving the Arian heresy, while others had adopted peculiar and heretical notions of the Incarnation,² and others again rejected altogether the doctrine of the Atonement, denying that Christ is the Messiah and Saviour of the world, and actually venturing to speak of Him as "a mischievous fellow and deceiver of the world."³

So early as 1535 we find that fourteen Anabaptists were condemned to the stake, for maintaining, among other things, that "in Christ is not two natures, God and man; and that Christ took neither flesh nor blood of the Virgin Mary";⁴ and as late as 1579, one Matthew Hamant was burnt at Norwich for teaching that "Christ is not God nor the Saviour of the world, but a mere man, a sinful man, and an abominable idol."⁵

¹ *Conf. August.* iii., "*De Filio Dei.* Item docent quod Verbum, hoc est Filius Dei, assumpserit humanam naturam in utero beatæ Mariæ Virginis, ut sint duæ naturæ, divina et humana, in unitate personæ inseparabiliter conjunctæ, unus Christus, vere Deus et vere homo, natus ex Virgine Maria, vere passus, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem, et hostia esset non tantum pro culpa originis sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis. Item descendit ad inferos," etc.

² See the passage from the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, "*De hæresibus*," ch. 5, quoted below on Article IV. p. 182.

³ See the striking letter of Bishop Hooper, quoted above in the Introduction, p. 22.

⁴ Stow's *Chronicle*.

⁵ Hollinshed, and cf. Strype, *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 557, for a similar case a few years later.

There are three principal subjects considered in this Article, which falls accordingly into three principal clauses—

1. The Divinity and eternal generation of the Son.
2. The Incarnation.
3. The Atonement.

I. The Divinity and eternal generation of the Son.

“The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father.” Each expression in this clause requires careful consideration.

The Son. Bishop Pearson¹ points out that there are four subordinate senses in which this title is given to our Lord. He is the Son—

(a) As born of the Holy Ghost, of the Virgin Mary. See S. Luke i. 35: “The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee: wherefore also that which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God.”

(b) As designed by God’s special will to His high office. See S. John x. 34–36: “If He called them gods, unto whom the word of God came (and the Scripture cannot be broken), say ye of Him whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?”

(c) As raised by God from the dead. See Rom. i. 4: “Declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead.” Cf. Acts xiii. 33.

(d) As appointed heir of all things. See Heb. i. 2–5: “His Son, whom He appointed heir of all things .

¹ Pearson *On the Creed*, Art. II. ch. iii.

having become by so much better than the angels, as He hath inherited a more excellent name than they."

But though in all these senses it may be said that the title Son belongs to Him, they are, however, but inferior and improper senses; for the title is properly given to Him, not for any one of the reasons just given, but *because He has the divine essence communicated to Him by the Father from all eternity*. In this sense He is God's "own Son," and God is His "own Father."¹ The title belongs to Him, therefore, in His divine nature. Prior to the Incarnation, prior to the creation, He has from all eternity been the Son in this sense, in that He derives His Divinity from the Father, who, as was shown under the last Article, is alone unoriginate (*ἀναρχος*), the Son being indeed God, but (as the Nicene Creed reminds us) by proceeding from God. "God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God" (*Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸς ἀληθινὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ*).

Which is the Word of the Father. The personal title of Word, or Logos, is given to the Second Person of the Holy Trinity only in S. John i. 1, 14, and Rev. xix. 13 ("the Word of God," cf. however Heb. iv. 12 and 1 John i. 1). The reader will scarcely expect a discussion of its meaning and significance here. For this he will naturally turn to the Commentaries on S. John's Gospel.² It will be sufficient for our purpose here to point out how this title at once suggests the *eternity* of Him to whom it is applied, for it is impossible to conceive of the Father as ever *ἄλογος*, without that eternal Thought or Reason, which is the Son. Thus the two titles, Son and Word, as it has often been pointed out, supplement and reinforce each other; and, taken

¹ See S. John v. 18: Πατέρα ἰδιον ἔλεγε τὸν Θεόν, and Rom. viii. 32: τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφέεσατο.

² See especially Westcott on *S. John's Gospel*, Introd. p. xv,

together, guard and protect the full truth concerning the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. Either of them standing alone might have seemed to sanction error. While the title Son suggests *personal distinction*, it might, if it stood alone, have been pressed into the service of Arianism, as if it implied that the Son was of more recent origin than the Father. "The Word," on the contrary, although of necessity conveying the idea of *eternity*, does not necessarily suggest Personality, and thus might have been appealed to as sanctioning Sabellianism. But when the two titles are combined, the possible misapplication of either of them is at once avoided. The Son, who is also the Word, must be eternal. The Word, who is also the Son, must be a distinct Person.¹

Begotten from everlasting of the Father (*ab aeterno a Patre genitus*). If the Second Person of the Holy Trinity is from all eternity the Son, it follows that He is "begotten from everlasting"; and thus *eternal generation* is the term used by the Church to express the manner in which the divine essence is communicated by the Father to the Son. It must never be understood as if it referred to an "event" which "once" took place, for it is intended to denote not an act but an eternal and unchangeable fact in the divine nature. The precise term is apparently due to Origen, who says ὁ Σωτὴρ ἀεὶ γεννᾶται, the Saviour is ever begotten;² and similarly Augustine says: "Semper gignit Pater, et semper nascitur Filius."³ Such expressions are, however, founded on the language of revelation, for Holy Scripture

¹ See Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 234, and cf. Robertson's *Athanasius*, p. 472, Note 1.

² *Opera*, vol. iv. ; S. Pamphili Martyris, *Apologia*, ch. iii. ; cf. Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. iv. p. 354.

³ Ep. 238,

not only speaks of the Second Person of the Trinity as "the Son," but also applies to Him the terms "begotten" and "only begotten."¹ The latter term (*μονογενής*) is used several times by S. John (i. 14, 18; iii. 16, 18; 1 John iv. 9), but by no other writer of the New Testament. Elsewhere S. John also speaks of Him as "begotten" (*γεγεννημένος* and *γεννηθείς*; see 1 John v. 1, 18.) S. Paul employs another phrase to express the same idea, when he speaks of Him as "the First-born of all creation" (*πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, Col. i. 15).²

The very and eternal God (*Verus et æternus Deus*).

It became necessary to use such adjectives after the rise of the Arian heresy in the fourth century, for the Arians were willing to allow that in some sense Christ might be termed God, though they denied that He was of one substance with the Father, and maintained that "once" He did not exist (*ἦν πότε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν*). Thus, on the Arian hypothesis, He is neither true (*verus*, very), nor eternal God. Hence in the Nicene Creed it was found necessary to state emphatically that He is "very God of very God," and the use of the similar phrase in the Article before us is probably due to the revival of the Arian heresy by the Anabaptists. To the same cause we may also trace the need for the next expression employed in the Article.

Of one substance with the Father (*Patri Consubstantialis* = *ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ*). This is the distinctive symbol of the Catholic faith against Arianism, first inserted in the Creed at the Council of Nicæa (325). Not that the adoption of the term marked any change in the faith of the Church. The faith was "once for all

¹ The term is applied to Him, *ὅτι μόνος ἐκ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς μόνως ἐγεννήθη*. S. John Damascene.

² On this passage and its true meaning, see Lightfoot's Commentary, *ἐν loc.*

delivered to the saints" (S. Jude, 3), and there can be no change in it, nor addition to it. The only "development" of which it admits is a development by *explanation*, not a development by *addition*. The old faith may need restating in new terms and a somewhat fuller definition, in order to guard against misinterpretation. But this is all; and nothing more than this was attempted at Nicæa. "The Nicene divines," says Liddon, "interpreted in a new language the belief of their first Fathers in the faith. They did not enlarge it; they vehemently protested that they were simply preserving and handing on what they had received. The very pith of their objection to Arianism was its novelty; it was false because it was of recent origin. They themselves were forced to say what they meant by their Creed, and they said it. Their explanation added to the sum of authoritative ecclesiastical language, but it did not add to the number of articles in the Christian faith: the area of the Creed was not enlarged. The Nicene Council did not vote a new honour to Jesus Christ, which He had not before possessed: it defined more closely the original and unalterable basis of that supreme place which, from the days of the apostles, He had held in the thought and heart, in the speculative and active life of Christendom."¹

After what was said under the first Article on the history and meaning of the terms *Ousia* and *Hypostasis*, there is no need to explain further the meaning of the word *Homoousios*, "of one substance." But it may be

¹ *Bampton Lectures*, p. 429; cf. Gore's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 96. "These decisions do, it is contended, simply express in a new form, without substantial addition, the apostolic teaching as it is represented in the New Testament. They express it in a new form for protective purposes, as a legal enactment protects a moral principle. They are developments only in the sense that they represent the apostolic teaching worked out into formulas by the aid of a terminology which was supplied by Greek dialectics."

well to emphasise the fact that it was not adopted at Nicæa without anxious consideration. It was open to several objections, which the Arians were not slow to urge. The following were the principal ones:—

1. It was said to be a novelty, and not found in Scripture.

2. It was a philosophical term; as such it had been used by heretics, and it implied a divine substance distinct from God, of which the persons partook.

3. It had been rejected at the Council of Antioch against Paul of Samosata, A.D. 268.

4. It was of a Sabellian tendency.

Of these objections the *first* was met by pointing out that, even if the term were novel, its *meaning* was not; and though it was not actually found in Scripture, yet it did but sum up the doctrine of Scripture on the nature of the Son of God. "In it," says Athanasius, "the Bishops concentrated the sense of the Scriptures."¹ As a matter of fact, however, the term was not such a novelty as the Arians tried to make out, and precedents for its use were quoted from early writers, notably Dionysius of Rome and his namesake of Alexandria in the third century.²

With regard to the *second* objection, it was made abundantly clear that the Church was not using the term in the sense in which it had been used by philosophers. She did not intend to imply that there was any substance distinct from God. She only used the term "to express the real Divinity of Christ, and that as being derived from and one with the Father's."³

¹ Athanasius, *Def. Nic. defn.* ch. v. § 20.

² Athanasius, *ubi supra*. Eusebius of Cæsarea himself confesses the antiquity of the word ("Epistola Eusebii in Socrates," *H. E.* I. viii.). Origen apparently had made use of the word (*Pamphili Apol.* 5), and so had Theognostus, while so early a writer as Tertullian has its Latin equivalent "*unius substantiæ*" (see above, p. 107).

³ Newman's *Arians*, p. 191.

The *third* objection was disposed of by showing that if the Fathers at Antioch rejected the word it was because Paul of Samosata had attempted sophistry, and taking the word in its philosophical sense had argued that it implied that there were three substances, one the previous substance, and the other two derived from it. Its rejection, if a fact, was due to the desire to guard against this. At Nicæa, on the contrary, its adoption was necessitated by the evasions of the Arians. At Antioch it would have obscured the truth and led to misconception, whereas at Nicæa it was required to protect the faith from error of a different character.¹

The *fourth* and last objection was removed by a careful explanation of the sense in which the word was really used, and by the gradual adoption of the word Hypostasis, to express the real distinctions within the Godhead, in which the Church believed.

In this manner all the objections raised to the use of the term were met, and it was insisted upon and clung to by the orthodox party, not from any feeling of obstinacy or prejudice, but simply because experience taught them that it was the one term which the subtlety and ingenuity of the Arians was unable to pervert or explain away, and which expressed without ambiguity the truth that needed to be so jealously guarded, the truth, that is, of the absolute and essential Divinity of the Son of God.

We have now considered separately each expression in the first part of the Article. Before, however, proceeding to our second subject it is necessary to give a brief summary of *the scriptural evidence of the Divinity of the Son*.

1. In the first place, it may be shown that our Lord's own claims are such that it is impossible to think of Him except as one who is God. At first, no doubt, this

¹ See Athan. *De Synodis*, 43, and cf. Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 430.

would not have been realised by those around Him; but as they listened to His teaching, heard Him set His claims above those of the nearest and dearest of personal relations,¹ assume as of right a power to extend or even to abrogate the provisions of the Mosaic law,² assert Himself as "greater than Jonah," "greater than Solomon,"³ "greater than the temple,"⁴ claim Himself to give rest to the weary and heavy-laden, speak of a knowledge of the Father possessed by none other,⁵ declare that He would come again "in His glory and the glory of the holy angels," and sit on the throne of judgment,⁶ they must have wondered with an increasing wonder who it was who could make such tremendous claims.

Nor was this all. They saw Him work His miracles and as He healed the sick, or cast out devils, they heard Him *in His own name* bid the sick arise or the devils depart.⁷ Miracles had been wrought by others before. They were wrought by the apostles themselves. But it was *in their Master's name* that the devils were subject unto them.⁸ And when they bade the sick arise it was again in His name. "Æneas, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole" (Acts ix. 34). Very striking is it to contrast the Lord's words to the evil spirit, "Thou deaf and dumb spirit, I command thee (ἐγὼ σοι ἐπιτάσσω) come out of him" (S. Mark ix. 25), with St. Peter's disclaimer in Acts iii. 12, "Why marvel ye at this? or why look ye on us as though by our own power or holiness we had made this man to walk." So again, they saw that He *accepted worship*, by whomsoever it was offered to Him;⁹

¹ S. Matt. ix. 37.

² S. Matt. xii. 41, 42.

³ S. Matt. xi. 27-30.

⁴ S. Mark ix. 25; S. Luke vii. 14.

⁵ S. Matt. viii. 2 (the leper); ix. 18 (the ruler of the synagogue); xiv.

⁶ S. Matt. v. 22 *seq.*, xix. 8 *seq.*

⁷ S. Matt. xii. 6.

⁸ S. Matt. xxv. 31.

⁹ S. Luke x. 17.

though "worship" as every Jew was taught from his childhood was the prerogative of God alone, and must be rejected not only by men (see Acts x. 25, xiv. 15), but even by angels (see Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 9).

Again, when He spoke of His relation to the Father, they heard Him distinctly assert His union with Him ("I and the Father are one," S. John x. 30), and speak of the "glory which" He "had with" Him "before the world was" (S. John xvii. 5). They heard Him claim a timeless pre-existence before Abraham had come into being, and in so doing appropriate as His own the special title of Jehovah under the Old Covenant "I am" (*πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγὼ εἰμι*, S. John, viii. 58). Very instructive also is the discourse in S. John v., in connection with which the Jews sought to kill Him, "because He not only brake the Sabbath, but also called God His own Father, *making Himself equal with God.*" Thus His opponents understood Him to claim Divinity, and He did not utter a single word that would lead them or His own disciples to suppose that their inference was wrong. "Intelligunt Judæi quod non intelligunt Ariani" is the striking and suggestive comment of Augustine on the passage. Thus, as the apostles listened to such language, and heard such claims advanced as those which have been very briefly summarised here, it must gradually have dawned upon them that their Master was not only as one of the prophets of old; they realised at last that He was the Messiah for whom all Jews were looking, and that He was in a unique and special sense the Son of God. Peter was but the mouthpiece of them all when

33 (those with Him in the boat); xv. 25 (the Syro-Phœnician woman); xx. 20 (the mother of Zebedee's children); xxviii. 9. 17 (the women and disciples after the resurrection); St. Mark v. 6 (the Gadarene demoniac). The force of the argument is best seen by contrasting these passages with those referred to in the text where apostles and angels refuse with horror the "worship" offered to them.

he confessed, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (S. Matt. xvi. 16). Even this confession, however, great as it is, falls short of the full acknowledgment of His eternal Godhead, for in spite of indications which may to us appear not obscure,¹ it does not seem that the Jews were looking for a *divine* Messiah.² But when the crowning proof of divine power was given by the resurrection from the dead, then there came the conviction, never afterwards lost, expressed in the words of Thomas, which were accepted by our Lord as the true expression of faith in Him, "Thomas saith unto Him, *My Lord and my God*" (S. John xx. 28).³

2. In considering the evidence for the Divinity of our Lord the first place must always be given to His own words and claims. Although, as Bishop Westcott says, "He never speaks of Himself directly as God," yet "the aim of His revelation was to lead men to see God in Him."⁴ That the apostles did thus finally apprehend the aim of His revelation is shown by the words of Thomas quoted above; but the full proof that they had grasped the bearing of His teaching and recognised His Eternal Godhead must be sought in their teaching and language concerning Him, preserved in the Acts and Epistles, as well

¹ *E.g.*, not only are such names as "Immanuel" (Isa. vii. 14), and "Jehovah is our righteousness" (Jer. xxiii. 6) given to Him. These need not denote more than the fact that through Him Jehovah would manifest Himself, but in Isa. ix. 6 He is spoken of as "the mighty God," El Gibbor, a title given to Jehovah Himself, in the very next chapter (x. 21), and in Micah v. 2 it is said that "His goings forth are from of old, from everlasting."

² See Ryle and James on the *Psalms of Solomon*, p. lv.

³ The argument from the claims of our Lord and His "self-assertion" is sometimes put in the form of the dilemma, "Aut Deus aut homo non bonus," a dilemma from which there appears no way of escaping. See Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. iv. ; cf. Gore's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 9-17 ; and for a good popular statement of the position, *The Great Dilemma*, by the Rev. H. B. Ottley.

⁴ *Commentary on S. John's Gospel*, note on S. John xx. 28.

as in the Gospels. The summary of the evidence for this will be best presented under separate heads, as follows :

(a) The great dogmatic passages in the Pauline Epistles in which the person and nature of Christ are fully dwelt upon. Three such are of special importance.

Phil. ii. 6-8 : " Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God : but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of man : and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, becoming obedient unto death, yea the death of the cross."

The main subject of this passage is the Incarnation ; but the apostle states very clearly who He was who became incarnate. He was One who was, to begin with, in the form of God (ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων), and yet such was His humility, that He did not consider His equality with God (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ), a thing to be grasped at, to be claimed at all hazards, but he "emptied Himself." etc. The *μορφὴ Θεοῦ*, as Bishop Lightfoot points out, denotes the reality, the characteristic attributes of the Godhead, exactly as the "form of a servant" (*μορφὴν δούλου*), which he "took," indicates the reality of the human nature. And the whole passage implies very clearly that He who was incarnate in time, existed before the worlds in the eternal Godhead.

Col. i. 15-18 : "Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation ; for in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, . . . all things have been created through Him (δι' αὐτοῦ) and unto Him ; and He is (αὐτός ἐστι) before all things, and in Him all things consist. And He is the head of the body, the Church, who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead ; that in all things He might have the pre-eminence." Here the apostle is claiming for the

¹ See Lightfoot on *Philippians*, p. 108 *seq.*

Son absolute supremacy in relation to the universe (vers. 15–17), and the Church (ver. 18), and He starts by speaking of His relation to the invisible God, of whom He is the “image” (εἰκόν), a term which implies not mere likeness, but actual representation and manifestation. He then attributes to Him the work of creation of all things, both visible and invisible, and finally claims for Him a pre-existence before all time. “HE IS before all things.”¹ Such claims could not, without blasphemy, be made on behalf of any creature, however glorious. He, of whom the apostle makes such assertions, can only be Himself God.

A similar passage, the witness of which is not less clear, is found in Hebrews i. 2 *seq.*, where the work of creation is again attributed to the Son, who is also said to be “the effulgence of the Father’s glory and the very image of His substance” (ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ), and contrasted with the angels, none of whom is ever addressed in Scripture as Lord, or God, as is the Son in Ps. xlv. 7 and cii. 25, as quoted by the writer of the epistle.

(b) The last-mentioned reference to the Old Testament (Ps. cii. 25) leads us naturally to another point, which brings out, in a most striking fashion, how completely the apostles assumed the Divinity of Christ. In Ps. cii. there is no reference to the Messiah. It is Jehovah of whom the Psalmist is speaking, and yet the writer of the epistle applies his words to Christ. Nor does the passage stand alone, for it will be found that several passages, which in the Old Testament are directly spoken of Jehovah, are in the New Testament cited as referring to Christ, a fact which implies that the writers who thus cited them identified Christ with Jehovah. *E.g.* Isaiah (ch. vi.) saw the glory of Jehovah. S. John, after speaking of Christ, says definitely, “These things

¹ Lightfoot on *Colossians*, p. 209 *seq.*

said Isaiah, when he saw *His* (viz. Christ's) glory, and spake of Him" (xii. 41). Zech. xii. 10 is quoted in S. John xix. 37 of the crucifixion of Jesus, but on turning to the prophet we discover that Jehovah is the speaker, who says, "They shall look unto *Me*, whom they have pierced."¹ And once more S. Peter (1 Pet. iii. 15) takes up the words of Isaiah viii. 13 ("Sanctify the LORD of Hosts"), and says directly, "Sanctify Christ as Lord in your hearts" (κύριον δὲ τὸν χριστὸν ἀγιάσατε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν), where LORD is, without the shadow of a doubt, intended to represent the sacred name of Jehovah, of the Old Testament.² It has been said, not without truth, that if the word Lord had been written in capital letters in the New Testament, wherever it represents Jehovah, as it is written in the Old Testament, Socinianism would have been an impossibility.

(c) Further, an appeal may be made to those *passages in which Christ is directly termed God*. Foremost among these will stand the opening verses of S. John's Gospel. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God (πρὸς τὸν Θεόν), and the Word was God (Θεός) . . . the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." Here He who was incarnate is expressly identified with that "Word" which "was God," and a few verses lower down, according to a very probable reading (noted in the margin of the Revised Version), S. John calls Him God again, for in the 18th verse, where we read, "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him," many very ancient authorities read "God only begotten" for "only begotten Son."³ Next to this

¹ It is possible, however, that with many Hebrew MSS. we ought to read "Him," and not "Me."

² Cf. Rom. x. 9-13 with Isa. xxviii. 16 and Joel ii. 32.

³ See Westcott's *Commentary*, *in loc.*, and Hort's *Two Dissertations*.

may stand Romans ix. 5: "Of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen." For though, as the margin of the Revised Version tells us, "some modern interpreters place a full stop after flesh, and read He who is God over all be (is) blessed for ever," yet such a rendering appears to be nothing but an evasion of the plain meaning of the words, for, as so careful and accurate a scholar as Dean Vaughan says, it introduces "a harsh and abrupt transition, for which there is no cause and no parallel."¹ Other passages to which reference may be made are the following: Acts xx. 28, "The Church of God, which He purchased with His own blood" (here, however, the text cannot be regarded as certain, some ancient authorities reading "the Lord" for "God"). Titus ii. 13, where the *natural* rendering of the words, τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ is that of the Revised Version, "Our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ," applying to Him the titles, God and Saviour. So also in 2 Pet. i. 1, τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, it is difficult to think any rendering correct except that of the Revised Version, "Our God and Saviour Jesus Christ."²

(d) Lastly, we have the incidental witness of passing statements, in which divine attributes and actions are ascribed to Christ, and prayers and doxologies are addressed to Him. See Acts vii. 59; 2 Cor. v. 10 (where the office of judging the world is assigned to Christ); xii. 8, 9 (where St. Paul prays to Him, ὁ κύριος

The reading μονογενὴς Θεός is definitely accepted in Westcott & Hort's *Greek Testament*.

¹ *Commentary on Romans*. See also note in *Speaker's Commentary*, in *loc.*, and Sanday and Headlam's exhaustive note in *The International Commentary*.

² In 1 Tim. iii. 16 it seems quite clear that the reading Θεός is not genuine, but even so, the *pre-existence* of Christ is implied in the word ἐφανερώθη. In 1 John v. 20 the words ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεός may refer to "Jesus Christ," but their reference is not certain. See Westcott's *Commentary*, in *loc.*

from the context can only be Christ whose "strength" is to "rest upon" the apostle); Eph. i. 20-23; Heb. vii. 3, xiii. 8; and the doxologies in Rev. i. 5, v. 9-14.

II. *The Incarnation.*

"The Son . . . took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance, so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say the Godhead and the manhood, were joined together in One Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man."

As in the earlier part of the Article so here the exact expressions used require careful notice. They are selected so as to exclude the three principal forms of heresy which have arisen on the doctrine of the Incarnation. Of the four great "Christological" heresies of the fourth and fifth centuries, the earliest, that of Arius, denying the true Divinity of Christ, has been already excluded by the opening words of the Article. The three remaining ones, those of Apollinaris, Nestorius, and Eutyches, are effectually guarded against by the section before us. Of these three heresies, that of Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, was the earliest, following close upon the Arian, and being condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 381. It "maimed" the humanity of Christ. Adopting the threefold division of man's nature (body, soul, and spirit, 1 Thess. v. 23) Apollinaris admitted that Christ possessed both body and soul, by which latter term he meant the *anima animans*, the lower faculties common to man with the brute creation, but he denied to Him the *anima rationalis*, the higher "spirit," including the intellectual and spiritual powers. Of this he said He had no need, for its place was supplied by the divine Logos. Thus, on this theory, Christ could not be said to be *perfect* man, for an essential part of manhood, the

higher spiritual nature, was wanting. Such teaching obviously affects the whole conception of Christ's redemptive work. If the humanity was incomplete and imperfect, the redemption would be incomplete, and imperfect, too, for the nobler part of man's nature, although needing redemption no less than the body, should have no part nor share in it.

The heresy of Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, which was condemned at the Third General Council at Ephesus, 431, involved the assertion that there were *two persons* in Christ. According to Nestorius, the blessed Virgin could not rightly be termed *Theotocos* (mother of God), for she gave birth only to a human person, who was conjoined with the divine Son of God. "He who was formed in the womb of Mary," said Nestorius, "was not Himself God, but God 'assumed' Him, and on account of Him who assumed, He who is assumed is also called God." This heresy involves, even more than Apollinarianism, the virtual destruction of the Atonement, for if in Christ there be two persons, one divine and the other human, it was only "a man" who died on the cross, and not a divine Person, whereas it is really "the infinite worth of the Son of God," that is "the very ground of all things believed concerning life and salvation, by that which Christ either did or suffered as man in our behalf."¹

Eutychianism, the last of these heresies, was condemned at the Fourth General Council, held at Chalcedon in 451. Historically it was a reaction against Nestorianism. Eutyches, from whom it takes its name, was a monk of Constantinople, who in his anxiety to avoid maintaining anything approaching to a twofold personality in Christ, was led to assert that after the Incarnation there was but *one nature* in Him, for he thought that the human nature became so merged in the divine, as to be absorbed

¹ Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. V. ch. lii. § 3.

by it, and no longer to remain distinct. Thus he denied that *two whole and perfect natures* remained in Christ, and so did away altogether, not only with the value of Christ's example, but also with all possibility of acknowledging the redemption of *man*, because, according to him, He who suffered and died was in no way qualified to represent man, as being in no true sense human.

It was in the course of the controversies called forth by these heresies that the Church was led to formulate the doctrine of the Incarnation, in the terms which are adopted in the Article. The Person of the Son of God is from all eternity. At the Incarnation no new person came into being. But He who as God the Son had existed from all eternity, "took man's nature upon Him in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance," and from henceforth has existed not only as God, but also as man, "two whole and perfect natures, the Godhead and manhood," being inseparably united in His single Personality. This union of the two natures in one Person is termed the *hypostatic union*, a union, that is, in a single hypostasis, or personal self. That the two natures are thus united in one Person is plainly taught in Holy Scripture, for it is solely owing to the *unity of person* in Christ that in speaking of Him divine and human titles can be freely interchanged. St. Paul speaks of "the Church of *God* which *He* purchased with *His own blood* (Acts xx. 28), thus sanctioning by implication the phrase, "the blood of God." Our Lord Himself while on earth described Himself as "the Son of *Man*, which is *in heaven*" (St. John iii. 13),¹ and St. Paul charges the Jews with having "*crucified the Lord of Glory*" (1 Cor. ii. 8). In such expressions there is attributed to Christ, spoken of by a divine title, that which belongs only to

¹ It ought to be added that the last words, "which is in heaven," are of doubtful genuineness. They are omitted in the Revised Version.

humanity, and conversely, when a human title is employed, a divine attribute is ascribed to Him.

“A kind of mutual commutation there is, whereby these concrete names, God and man, when we speak of Christ, do take interchangeably one another’s room, so that for truth of speech it skilleth not whether we say that the Son of God hath created the world, and the Son of Man by His death has saved it, or else that the Son of Man did create, and the Son of God die to save the world. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the manhood of Christ claimeth, or to man what His deity hath right unto, we understand by the name of God and the name of man neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole person of Christ, in whom both natures are. When the apostle saith of the Jews that they crucified the Lord of Glory, and when the Son of Man being on earth affirmeth that the Son of Man was in heaven at the same instant, there is in these two speeches that mutual circulation before mentioned. In the one there is attributed to God, or the Lord of Glory, death, whereof divine nature is not capable; in the other, ubiquity unto man, which human nature admitteth not. Therefore by the Lord of Glory we must needs understand the whole Person of Christ, who being Lord of Glory was indeed crucified, but not in that nature, for which He is termed the Lord of Glory. In like manner, by the Son of Man the whole Person of Christ must necessarily be meant, who, being man upon earth, filled heaven with His glorious presence, but not according to that nature for which the title of man is given Him,”¹

This interchange of titles is termed the “Communicatio Idiomatum,” and by the Greeks *ἀντίδοσις*. It is only possible because the two natures are united in one Person, for it is only the *personal* titles, God and man, that can

¹ Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. V. ch. liii. § 4.

be thus interchanged. The abstract terms of nature, Godhead, and manhood, cannot be interchanged, because the natures remain distinct. It is true, then, to say that "God died for man," though the Godhead died not. If, however, Nestorianism were true, and if there were in Christ two persons, then it would be impossible to say that God died, or that the Jews "crucified the Lord of Glory."

But while the Church thus maintains, as against Nestorianism, the unity of person, she maintains also against Apollinarianism and Eutychianism that the two "whole and perfect natures" remain distinct, and that each retains its own essential properties. "Whatsoever is natural to deity the same remaineth in Christ uncommunicated to His manhood, and whatsoever is natural to manhood His deity thereof is incapable." The true properties and operations of His deity are summed up by Hooker under six heads:—(1) To know that which is not possible for created natures to comprehend; (2) To be simply the highest cause of all things, the well-spring of immortality and life; (3) To have neither end nor beginning of days; (4) To be everywhere present and enclosed nowhere; (5) To be subject to no alteration nor passion; (6) To produce of itself those effects which cannot proceed but from infinite majesty and power. To assert that any of these was communicated to Christ's manhood is practically to confuse the natures, to give to the finite nature that which belongs to the infinite, and so to destroy the *perfection* of the manhood, *i.e.* to fall into the error of Apollinaris or of Eutyches. Against such errors we may appeal to the witness of the Gospels, which set before us Christ's manhood as real and perfect, taken indeed by Him in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance, "by the operation of the Holy Ghost," without the intervention of any human father, yet subject to those limitations which essentially belong to a finite

created nature. The evidence of Scripture for the birth from a virgin is clear and precise. Although popular language is freely used, so that Joseph and Mary are termed "His parents" (S. Luke ii. 27, 41), and "His father and His mother" (*ibid.* ver. 33), and even the blessed Virgin speaks to Him of Joseph as His "father" (*ibid.* ver. 48), yet both the Evangelists who record the nativity make it perfectly clear that it was from a *virgin* that He was born, without the intervention of any human father. The two accounts in S. Matthew and S. Luke are written from different points of view, the first evangelist giving us the narrative from Joseph's side, the third from the side of the mother; but they are capable of being easily harmonised, and there are strong grounds for thinking that S. Luke i. and ii. are based on an account which came from the blessed Virgin herself.¹ In the Epistles of S. Paul, it must be admitted that there is no *direct* reference to the birth from a Virgin, but not only is it "obviously unsafe to argue from S. Paul's silence, when he is equally silent on many other matters, which certainly formed part of the apostolic teaching," but also "there are portions of his teaching where the event may well have been in the background of his thoughts, as when he speaks of our Lord as "the heavenly man," insists on His absolute sinlessness, and describes Him as "made of a woman," in a context where it would have been at least as natural to represent Him as the son of Joseph had he believed Him to be such."²

¹ See an article on "The two Accounts of our Lord's Infancy" in the *Expositor*, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 16. Cf. also Gore's *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*, Dissert. i.; and H. S. Eck, *The Incarnation* (1901), c. iv.

² Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 54. Cf. also Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 274 *seq.* Dr. Swete fully proves (*op. cit.* p. 43 *seq.*) that the birth from a Virgin formed part of the belief of the Church from the very first, referring not only to Irenæus (i. x. 1) and Tertullian (*De Vel. Virg.* 1; *Adv. Prax.* 2; *De Præscript.* 13), but also to Justin Martyr (*Apol.* I. xxi. xxii. xxxii. xxxiii. lxiii.; *Dial.* xliii. xlviii. c.), Aristides, and Iguatius (*Eph.* 19, *Trall.* 9, *Smyrn.* 1). See, further, Eck (*op. cit.*) c. v.

That the humanity thus taken was real and complete is shown by numerous passages in the Gospels. He hungered and thirsted (S. Matt. xxi. 18; S. John xix. 28); He was weary (S. John iv. 6); He slept (S. Mark iv. 38); He was grieved (S. Mark iii. 5); He wept (S. Luke xix. 41; S. John xi. 35); He "increased in wisdom" as well as "in stature" (S. Luke ii. 52); His soul (*ψυχή*) was exceeding sorrowful even unto death (S. Matt. xxvi. 38); He "sighed deeply in His spirit" (*τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ*, S. Mark viii. 12); He "groaned in spirit" (S. John xi. 33); He was troubled in spirit (S. John xiii. 21); and at the moment of death He commended His spirit into the Father's hands (S. Luke xxiii. 46; cf. S. John xix. 30, *παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα*). He, of whom such terms as these are used, must have possessed a true and proper human nature, consisting of body, soul, and spirit, nor can the properties of Deity have been transferred to that nature of which these expressions are used.

It is this union of the two whole and perfect natures in the one Person, which alone enables us to explain and do justice to all the features in the representation of Christ in the Gospel narratives. On the one hand, we have to account for the fact that He acts with powers far beyond those of ordinary men, and is endowed with knowledge far exceeding that of others. In His human body He was able to walk on the water. He could turn the water into wine, multiply the loaves and fishes so as to feed the hungry crowds that followed Him, heal the sick, give sight to the blind, cast out devils, and raise the dead. He saw Nathanael under the fig-tree (S. John i. 50), read the hearts of His disciples, and knew their thoughts before they were expressed (S. Matt. xvii. 25); "needed not that any should bear witness concerning man: for He Himself knew what was in man" (S. John ii. 25); He "knows the Father as the Father knows"

Him (S. John x. 15 ; cf. S. Matt. xi. 27). This is one side of the truth concerning the Person of Christ, as disclosed in the Gospel narrative. It is explained by the fact that though the essential properties of Deity are not communicable to man's nature, yet the supernatural gifts, graces, and effects thereof are,"¹ and by what Hooker calls "the gift of unction,"² as a consequence of the close union of the two natures in a single Personality, supernatural gifts and graces flowed in from the higher upon the lower nature united to it, infinitely ennobling and exalting it, but not in any way destroying its true and perfect *human* character, nor endowing it with the properties of Deity. Thus the body of Christ was a true human body, enabled by a divine gift to walk upon the water, but not able to be in two places at once, which would be contrary to the properties of human nature. The power of working miracles was, in the same way, a supernatural effect of Deity, as was also the enlightenment of the human soul with the knowledge of "what was in man." But there is another side as well to the portrait drawn in the Gospels, and from many passages we can see that, though for all purposes of His divine mission and work our Lord's manhood was thus supernaturally enlightened and endowed with divine powers, yet in ordinary matters, outside the sphere of the special work He had come to do, He accepted the limitations common to men in general, and natural to His position as born in a particular spot, at a particular time in the world's history. Though He miraculously

¹ *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. V. ch. liv.

² The expression is justified by S. Peter's words in Acts x. 38 : "How God *anointed* Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power ; who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil : for God was with Him." Cf. also S. Luke iv. 18. "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath *anointed* me, etc."

fed the five thousand in the wilderness, yet when He was Himself an hungered, He was content to wait while His disciples went into the city to buy food to supply His needs (S. John iv. 8). In reference to His human intellect, it is said that He "increased in wisdom" (S. Luke ii. 52). Of the day and hour of the last judgment He Himself tells us that He did not know. "Of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, *neither the Son*, but the Father" (S. Mark xiii. 32). He raised the dead to life, but when His hour was come, Himself submitted to the power of death. Both classes of passages to which attention has been drawn refer to one and the same Person, and that Person the Eternal Son of God. That which explains them is the fact that in taking upon Him our nature He voluntarily limited Himself. In S. Paul's phrase, *ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν* (Phil. ii. 7), He "emptied Himself"—not of His Godhead, for that were an impossibility, but of the exercise of His divine prerogatives. He condescended "in all things to be made like unto His brethren" (Heb. ii. 17), "sin only excepted" (Heb. iv. 15; 2 Cor. v. 21; 1 Pet. ii. 22).¹

¹ Since peculiar difficulty is sometimes felt with regard to the question of the limitation of knowledge in the human soul of Christ, it may be well to add a brief note on the subject. *Infinite* knowledge, in the strictest sense of the word, can only belong to an infinite mind. It is, therefore, a "property" of the Godhead (cf. Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, V. liii. § 1), and to say that the knowledge possessed by Christ's soul was infinite is practically to fall into the heresy of Apollinaris. Though, however, the finite human soul could not be possessed of infinite knowledge, yet, short of this, there is nothing of which we should be justified in saying that Christ as man "could not have known it." Each "piece of information" is finite, and, as a supernatural gift, not a property of the Godhead, might therefore have been communicated to the manhood. Had He so willed, He might have known it. Of one fact we have the express warrant of His own word for saying that He did not know it (S. Mark xiii. 32). What further limitations of knowledge there may have been beyond this can only be a matter of reasonable inference from the Gospel narrative.

III. *The Atonement.*

Who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

Whatever they were, they were purely voluntary. If there were matters which He did not know, it was not because He could not have known them, but because He *condescended not to know*. Theologically, there is no greater difficulty in believing that He was ignorant of a hundred things than in believing that He was ignorant of *one*. If *one* fact was hidden from His human intellect we are forced to admit the co-existence of ignorance and infinite knowledge in a single Personality. But this, as the late Dr. Liddon has pointed out in his *Bampton Lectures*, is but one of the many contrasts which, in accepting the Incarnation at all, we are bound to admit; nor is it really more mysterious than many "other and undisputed contrasts between the divine and human natures of the incarnate Son—*e.g.* the co-existence of local presence and omnipresence—of absolute blessedness, and intense suffering" (see Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 463). Dr. Liddon urges that we have no right to infer from St. Mark xiii. 32 ignorance on Christ's part on any other subject. It is true that we are never directly told of anything else that He did not know. But there are various expressions in the Gospels which appear to indicate that there were limitations of knowledge beyond this, and that on ordinary matters He willed to be dependent on ordinary means of information. He "increased in wisdom." Seeing the fig-tree with leaves—the usual sign of fruit—He came to it, "if haply He might find anything thereon" (St. Mark xi. 13). Again and again we read that He "marvelled" at something. Moreover, His questions, though doubtless often asked to "prove" His disciples, yet sometimes appear to have been called forth by a desire for information, *e.g.*, "Where have ye laid him?" (St. John xi. 34). "How many loaves have ye?" (St. Mark vi. 38, viii. 5). "How long time is it since this hath come unto him?" (St. Mark ix. 21). See further, Gore's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. vi., and "An Inquiry into the Nature of our Lord's knowledge as Man," by W. S. Swayne. It may be added (in order to avoid misconception) that no argument can justly be drawn from limited knowledge to error or fallibility on the part of our blessed Lord, for, as the late Bishop Harold Browne pointed out, "Ignorance does not of necessity involve error. Of course in our present state of being, with our propensity to lean on our wisdom, ignorance is extremely likely to lead to error. But ignorance is not error; and there is not one word in the Bible which could lead us to suppose that our blessed Lord was liable to error in any sense of the word, or in any department of knowledge."—*Pentateuch and Elohistic Psalms*, p. 13.

In the wording of this portion of the Article four expressions are worthy of especial notice.—

1. "Who *truly* suffered."—So in Article IV. we read, "Christ did *truly* arise again from death." There is evidently a special emphasis upon the word "truly" in each case. And there can be no doubt that it was designedly added to guard against a Docetic view of the Incarnation, which had recently been revived by some among the Anabaptists. The heresy of the Docetæ (*Δοκηταί*) appeared in very early days. Its advocates maintained that our blessed Lord's body was like ours only in appearance, and not in reality. According to S. Jerome, "while the apostles were still surviving, while Christ's blood was still fresh, in Judæa, the Lord's body was asserted to be but a phantasm."¹ This view, which it is almost needless to say, contradicts the whole tenor of Scripture, was very prevalent among the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, many of whom denied altogether that Christ really took flesh in the womb of the blessed Virgin,² and thus were led on to deny the *reality* of both His passion and His resurrection. Hence the insertion of the word "truly" here, and also in Article IV.

2. *To reconcile His Father to us.*—Exception is sometimes taken to this phrase, on the ground that it is unscriptural; for the Bible speaks of the need for men to be reconciled to God, but says nothing of God being reconciled to man. As far as the mere form of expression is concerned it must be admitted that the objection can be sustained. The following are

¹ *Adv. Lucif.* 23.

² See the Preface to Bishop Hooper's *Lesson of the Incarnation*, where it is noted that this "most pestilent and dangerous" doctrine has "gotten into the hearts of many."—*Later Writings of Bishop Hooper* (Parker Society), p. 3.

the only passages in the canonical books of Scripture in which the word "reconcile" occurs in this connection, and in none of them does the phrase used in the article occur.

Rom. v. 10, 11: "For if, while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God (*κατηλλάγημεν τῷ Θεῷ*), through the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled (*καταλλαγέντες*), shall we be saved by His life. And not only so, but we also rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received the reconciliation" (*καταλλαγή*). 2 Cor. v. 18–20: "But all things are of God, who reconciled us to Himself (*τοῦ καταλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ*) through Christ, and gave unto us the ministry of reconciliation (*τῆς καταλλαγῆς*); to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not reckoning unto them their trespasses, and having committed unto us the word of reconciliation. We are ambassadors, therefore, on behalf of Christ, as though God were intreating by us: we beseech you, on behalf of Christ, be ye reconciled to God." Eph. ii. 16: "That He might reconcile them (*ἀποκαταλλάξῃ*) both in one body unto God through the cross, having slain the enmity thereby." Col. i. 19–22: "For it was the good pleasure of the Father that in Him should all the fullness dwell; and through Him to reconcile (*ἀποκαταλλάξαι*) all things unto Himself, having made peace through the blood of His cross; through Him, I say, whether things upon the earth, or things in the heavens. And you, being in time past alienated and enemies in your mind in your evil works, yet now hath He reconciled in the body of His flesh through death, to present you holy and without blemish and unproveable before Him."

The Socinians, and those who with them object to the language of our Article point to the form of expression

in all these passages, as indicating that the need for reconciliation was all on man's side, and hence they infer that there was no need for Christ "to reconcile His Father to us." The Atonement revealed God's love, and so influenced men, but it had no "objective" value. Such an objection at first sight may appear to be plausible. But it is believed that a careful examination of the teaching of Scripture will show that it is quite untenable, and that the language of the Article is perfectly justifiable. Though undoubtedly the *prominent* thought in all the passages quoted above is that of the removal of the enmity on man's part, yet the clause in 2 Cor. v. 19, "not reckoning unto them their trespasses," is sufficient to show that there is another aspect under which the Atonement may be viewed. As Bengel excellently says, "*καταλλαγή* est *δίπλευρος*, et tollit (*a*) indignationem Dei adversus nos (2 Cor. v. 19; (*b*) nostramque abalienationem a Deo (2 Cor. v. 20)."¹ This is borne out by an examination of other passages in Scripture, in which the same word, *καταλλάσσω* (or the kindred *διαλλάσσω*) is used. The word merely means "the re-establishment of friendly relations between persons who have been at variance: on which side the antagonism exists is not to be determined by the word itself, or by its grammatical construction."² So in S. Matt. v. 24, our Lord says: "If thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." The brother, who has some cause of complaint, is, according to our idiom, the one who needs reconciliation. But our Lord puts it the

¹ Bengel on Rom. iii. 24.

² Dale on the *Atonement*, Note O, where see a careful discussion of the whole question. Cf. also Pearson *On the Creed*, Art. X. § 6.

other way. Not "first reconcile thy brother," but "first *be reconciled* to thy brother."¹

But the real justification of the language of the Article lies deeper than this. Even if the particular passages in which the word "reconcile" occurs could all be shown to refer entirely to the removal of man's alienation from God, yet that the Atonement effected something which may truly be described as the reconciliation of God to man would seem to follow from those other passages in which the death of Christ is regarded as a "propitiation" and a sacrifice. Such passages are Rom. iii. 25: "Whom God set forth to be a propitiation (ἱλαστήριον) through faith, by His blood";² 1 John ii. 2: "He is the propitiation (ἱλασμός) for our sins"; 1 John iv. 10: God "sent His Son to be the propitiation (ἱλασμός) for our sins." Such language as this is amply sufficient to justify the phrase that is used in our Article, for it clearly implies that God "changed His relation of antagonism to the world into a relation of friendship, by sending His Son 'to be the propitiation for our sins.' His own love for the world moved Him to do this; but until He did it there was antagonism, which, according to the apostolic thought, would have ultimately issued in 'wrath.'"³

3. "*Not only for original guilt, but also for all actual*

¹ Cf. also 1 Sam. xxix. 4 and 1 Cor. vii. 11. It is noteworthy that in the Second Book of Maccabees three times God is said to be *reconciled* (καταλλαγῆναι) to man (2 Macc. i. 5, vii. 33, viii. 29; cf. v. 20, where the remarkable phrase "the reconciliation of the great Lord" occurs. ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου δεσπότητος καταλλαγή).

² "The Greek word properly means "that which renders propitious." Here "that which renders God propitious." In some way, which is not explained at all in this passage, and imperfectly explained elsewhere, the death of Christ did act so as to render God "propitious" towards men. He became more ready to pardon as they became more anxious to be pardoned."—Dr. Sanday in Bp. Ellicott's *New Testament for English Readers* (Note on Rom. iii. 25).

³ Dale on the *Atonement*, *ubi supra*.

sins of men.”—The careful specification of both “original guilt” and also “actual sins” is remarkable. We meet with it again in Article XXXI., where it is said that “the offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual.” It is accounted for by the fact that teachers were found within the Roman communion who, following the guidance of some among the schoolmen,¹ actually taught that, though Christ suffered on the cross for original sin, the sacrifice of the altar was daily offered for actual sin. The language of the Article, as we have already seen, is drawn from the Confession of Augsburg, which directly mentions this terrible perversion of the truth in the following passage:—

“Accessit opinio, quæ auxit privatas missas in infinitum, videlicet quod Christus sua passione satisfecerit pro peccato originis, et instituerit missam, in qua fieret oblatio pro quotidianis delictis, mortalibus et venialibus.”²

4. “For *all* actual sins of men.”—Attention is drawn to this assertion of the universality of redemption, because in various editions of the Articles the important word “all” has been, without the slightest authority, omitted, in order to force the article into agreement with the Calvinistic theory of “particular redemption,” *i.e.* the doctrine that Christ died not for *all*, but only for “the elect.” According to Hardwick, the

¹ See the *Sermons on the Eucharist*, formerly attributed to Albertus Magnus. “Secunda causa institutionis hujus sacramenti est sacrificium altaris, contra quandam quotidianam delictorum nostrorum rapinam. Ut sicut corpus Domini semel oblatum est in cruce pro debito originali: sic offeratur jugiter pro nostris quotidianis delictis in altari et habeat in hoc ecclesia munus ad placandum sibi Deum super omnia legis sacramenta vel sacrificia pretiosum et acceptum.”—*De SS. Euch. Sacr. Sermon. i.*

² *Confessio August.* pt. ii. art. iii.

omission is found as early as 1630. It appears also in the Article as revised by the Assembly of Divines in 1643, the whole clause being there rewritten in the interests of Calvinism, and standing as follows: "Who for our sakes truly *suffered most grievous torments in His soul from God*, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men."

The special phrases of the Article which appear to require some explanation have now been noticed. But nothing has yet been said on the general subject of the Atonement. The subject is too vast to receive anything like adequate treatment in the narrow limits within which it must be confined in such a work as this. All that can be attempted here is to give in briefest form a summary of the teaching of Scripture on the sacrifice of Christ; and in connection with it to suggest a few considerations which may be found helpful in removing the objections which are sometimes raised against the doctrine.

(a) That the Article is only following the language of Scripture when it says that Christ suffered "to be a sacrifice" for sin, may be shown from numerous passages, such as the following:—

1 Cor. v. 7: "Our passover also hath been sacrificed (*ἐτύθη*), even Christ."

Eph. v. 2: "Walk in love, even as Christ also loved you, and gave Himself up for us, an offering and a sacrifice (*προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν*) to God for an odour of a sweet smell."

Heb. vii. 26, 27: "For such an high priest became us, holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily like those high priests to offer up sacrifice, first for his

own sins and then for the sins of the people: for this He did once for all, when He offered up Himself (ἐαυτὸν ἀνεύγκας)."

Heb. ix. 26: "Now once at the end of the world hath He been manifested to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself (διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ)." Compare also Heb. x. 10 *seq.*, and the passages quoted above, concerning propitiation (Rom. iii. 25; 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10).

Again (b) the *vicarious* character of His suffering seems to be plainly implied in such passages as these:

S. Matt. xx. 28: "The Son of Man came . . . to give His life a ransom for many (λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν)."

S. John x. 11-18: See especially ver. 15, "I lay down my life for (ὑπὲρ) the sheep."

1 Tim. ii. 6: "Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all (ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων)."

See also 1 Pet. ii. 21-25, iii. 18; 1 John iii. 16, and Rom. viii. 3, where the Revised Version renders *περὶ ἀμαρτίας* by the words "*as an offering* for sin."

Elsewhere we read of the Church as *purchased* with the blood of Christ (Acts xx. 28, ἣν περιποιήσατο); of "redemption (ἀπολύτρωσις) through the blood" (Eph. i. 7 and 1 Pet. i. 18 (ἐλυτρώθητε).

(c) For the *universal* character of redemption and the fact that it was for *all* men that Christ died, appeal may be made to S. John iii. 16: "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life." The breadth of such language is quite inconsistent with narrower theories that would limit the saving work of Christ to "the elect." So in 1 John ii. 2 we read "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the whole world," while in the words of S. Paul quoted above we are expressly told that "He gave himself a ransom for *all*" (1 Tim. ii. 6), as elsewhere the

same apostle states that He is "the Saviour of *all* men, especially of them that believe" (1 Tim. iv. 10).¹

Language such as that quoted under the two former heads (*a* and *b*) is surely incompatible with any theory that denies the objective value of the Atonement. To maintain that the *whole* value of the death of Christ lies in its effect upon the minds and hearts of men by the supreme revelation which it makes of the love of God is to evacuate the words of Scripture of their plain meaning, and to introduce a method of interpretation which, if permitted, will enable men to evade the force of the clearest declarations. That grave difficulties can be raised with regard to the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice cannot be denied. But they are largely due, not to the doctrine itself as set forth in Scripture, but to the way in which it has been presented by divines.

It is a fact to which everyday experience bears witness that mediation is a law of this life, that repentance and amendment are of themselves often wholly insufficient to prevent the penal consequences of misconduct, and that vicarious suffering does contribute largely to the relief of others. The argument, as stated by Butler in the fifth chapter of the second part of the *Analogy* is unanswerable; and therefore to a theist, who accepts the order of nature and the existing constitution of things as coming from the hand of God, there will be no difficulty in admitting that the same method holds good in regard to man's salvation, which he finds to obtain in regard to his temporal welfare. Difficulties concerning *details* may fairly be raised; but to the *general principle* no exception can fairly be taken.

Nor must it be forgotten that while vicarious suffering in the natural order of things is often compulsory and involuntary, the sacrifice of Christ was purely voluntary.

¹ Cf. 1 Tim. ii. 4.

He gave Himself, *Oblatus est quia ipse voluit*.¹ This does away altogether with any "injustice" as against the victim. There can be no injustice in laying on one that which He Himself wills to undertake. And, on the other hand, it must be carefully borne in mind that Holy Scripture is in no way responsible for those coarse and crude forms of presenting the doctrine, which give colour to the notion that it was an act of arbitrary substitution, the innocent suffering, and the guilty being let off scot-free. Throughout, Holy Scripture ever insists on the need of repentance on the part of the sinner, if he is to obtain the benefit of Christ's redemptive work. It teaches also that it was not merely "a man" who suffered. Had this been the case there might have been some ground for the notion that it was a purely arbitrary substitution of the innocent for the guilty. But the sufferer was "the man," the "Second Adam," the Head and Representative of the whole race, for which He is thereby qualified to become the sponsor (*ἐγγυος*). In the words of S. Irenæus: "As a man caused the fall, so a man must cause the restoration. He must be a man able to *sum up* (*recapitulare*) all the human species in Himself, so as to bear the punishment of all, and to render an obedience that will compensate for their innumerable acts of disobedience."²

¹ Isa. liii. 7, in the Vulgate. As a *translation* the words cannot be defended, but they give grand expression to a truth of Scripture.

² Irenæus, v. i. 1 ; cf. Norris, *Rudiments of Theology*, p. 59 : "When the mystery of the Redeemer's Person is borne in mind, it almost ceases to be a mystery that His death should affect the whole human race. Every act of Christ *must* vibrate through humanity ! If, in a plant, an injury to the root is felt in every branch ; if in an army, it is not the captain only who conquers or is conquered, but every soldier with him ; if in all organic societies, when one member suffers, all the members suffer with it ; if in the great family of mankind, the fall of one entailed the fall of all—then is it a strange thing that S. Paul thus judged, that if Christ died for all, then all died in Him ?" See also Wilberforce on the *Incarnation*, ch. ii.

Again, objections of another kind, which are frequently raised, are only valid against an entire perversion of the scriptural doctrine. The Atonement has sometimes been represented as if it involved a discordance of will between the First and Second Persons of the blessed Trinity. Christian preachers have not always been careful in their language, and their teaching has sometimes given countenance to the idea that the Father was vengeful and longing to punish, while the Son was all mercy and tenderness; whereas Holy Scripture consistently represents the Atonement as an act of love on the part of the *Father* equally with the Son. "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life" (S. John iii. 16). God "spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all" (Rom. viii. 32). And while we read of the "wrath" of God, we read also of "the wrath of the Lamb" (Rev. vi. 16).

These considerations may prove helpful in meeting some of the most obvious objections which are brought against the doctrine. It may not be possible out of the various notices of the Atonement in Scripture to form a complete and consistent theory that shall be entirely free from all difficulty. Nor is it necessary that the attempt to form such a theory should be made. From time to time various "schemes" have been advanced, and explanations offered which have been more or less widely accepted by divines. But none of them can claim the formal sanction of the Church as a whole. That which perhaps has been the most widely held of all is the patristic theory that by the fall Satan gained a "right" over man, and that man could therefore only be released by a satisfaction of Satan's just claim. According to this view the death of Christ was regarded as the "price" or "ransom" paid to Satan to satisfy his claim. It has

been said that S. Irenæus was the first to suggest this view, which is further developed by Origen, and that it is the common explanation of the necessity for the death of Christ, which prevailed for nearly a thousand years in the Church, till the days of S. Anselm, in whose work *Cur Deus Homo*, it is for the first time expressly and unreservedly rejected.¹ There is, perhaps, some exaggeration in this statement,² but there can be no doubt that at one time the theory was very widely held. It rests, however, on an entire misunderstanding of the scriptural use of such figurative expressions as "ransom" and "purchase." It is quite certain from numerous passages in the Old Testament that to the Jew these terms would never have suggested the question "To *whom* was the ransom paid?" as they suggested it in later days to Greek and Latin writers. The great event in their national history, which fixed for the Jews once for all their conception of redemption or ransom, was the exodus from Egypt. Then it was that God *redeemed* His people, delivered them from the house of bondage, *purchased* them, *ransomed* them. All these terms are freely used in Holy Scripture of the event. So in the Song of Moses we read:

"Thou in Thy mercy hast led forth Thy people whom Thou hast redeemed מִיִּצְרָאֵל; LXX., ἐλυτρώσω. . . . All the inhabitants of Canaan shall melt away. Fear and dread shall fall upon them; by the greatness of Thine arm they shall be still as a stone; till Thy people pass over, O Lord; till the people pass over which Thou hast purchased, הִתִּי; LXX., ἐκτήσω (Ex. xv. 13-16).³

¹ See Oxenham's *Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement*, p. 126, and cf. p. 167.

² See Norris's *Rudiments of Theology*, p. 274 seq.

³ In the LXX. λυτρώω occurs about seventy times of God's *redemption* of His people collectively or individually, occurring first in Ex. vi. 6. "I will *redeem* you with a stretched-out arm"; and representing the two Hebrew words מִיִּצְרָאֵל and הִתִּי. Κτάομαι is of much rarer occurrence. Besides

This was the deliverance which fixed decisively the idea of redemption. God redeemed, ransomed, purchased His people; but there was nothing paid to Pharaoh or to the Egyptian taskmaster. Any thought of a sum of money or ransom, received by the power from which the captive is delivered, is wholly absent from the Old Testament conception of redemption. "It cannot be said," writes Bishop Westcott, "that God paid to the Egyptian oppressor any price for the redemption of His people. On the other hand, the idea of the exertion of a mighty force, the idea that the redemption *costs* much is everywhere present."¹ Though there was no compensation of any kind paid to the Egyptian bondmaster there was clearly the interposition of something as a condition of deliverance—the people were *redeemed*. Thus, when we remember how, all through the Old Testament, this great act of deliverance is spoken of as God's redemption or ransom of His people, we see at once that writers of the New Testament would naturally use similar language of its "perfect spiritual Antitype," the great act of deliverance from Satan's bondage which they connected with the cross of Jesus Christ; and that they would speak of the Church as redeemed or ransomed, by the precious blood of Christ, without any thought occurring to them of the question which disturbed men's minds in later times, to whom was the ransom paid—a question which has only arisen from a misconception, and from bringing in to the interpretation of Holy Scripture ideas which are totally foreign to it.

We shall be right, then, if we dismiss from our minds once for all the notion of a ransom paid to Satan. Nor need we shrink from resting content without attempting

Ex. xv. 16 (where Codex A has *ἐλυτρώσω*) it is used of God in Ps. lxxiii. (lxxiv.) 2, and lxxvii. (lxxviii.) 54=תִּצִּיל.

¹ On the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 296.

to construct a complete theory of the Atonement. The subject is best left where Scripture leaves it. While, on the one hand, we refuse to explain it away, or to do violence to the passages quoted above which attribute an atoning value to the suffering of Christ, and regard it as a "sacrifice" and "propitiation," on the other hand we may well decline to speculate too closely on the precise manner in which it was efficacious. The fact that it *was* efficacious is clearly taught in Scripture, and that is enough for us. The conclusion which forced itself on the mind of Bishop Butler in the eighteenth century is one which we shall do well to make our own.

"How and in what particular way it had this efficacy, there are not wanting persons who have endeavoured to explain, but I do not find that the Scripture has explained it. . . . And if the Scripture has, as surely it has, left this matter of the satisfaction of Christ mysterious, left somewhat in it unrevealed, all conjectures about it must be, if not evidently absurd, yet at least uncertain. Nor has anyone reason to complain for want of farther information, unless he can show his claim to it.

"Some have endeavoured to explain the efficacy of what Christ has done and suffered for us, beyond what the Scripture has authorised; others, probably because they could not explain it, have been for taking it away, and confining His office as Redeemer of the world to His instruction, example, and government of the Church. Whereas the doctrine of the gospel appears to be, not only that He taught the efficacy of repentance, but rendered it of the efficacy which it is by what He did and suffered for us; that He obtained for us the benefit of having our repentance accepted unto eternal life; not only that He revealed to sinners that they were in a capacity of salvation, and how they might obtain it, but,

moreover, that He put them into this capacity of salvation by what He did and suffered for them, put us into a capacity of escaping future punishment and obtaining future happiness. And it is our wisdom thankfully to accept the benefit, by performing the conditions upon which it is offered on our part, without disputing how it was procured on His."¹

¹ *Analogy*, pt. ii. ch. v.

ARTICLE III

De descensu Christi ad inferos.

Of the going down of Christ into hell.

Quemadmodum Christus pro nobis mortuus est et sepultus, ita est etiam credendus ad Inferos descendisse.

As Christ died for us, and was buried : so also it is to be believed that He went down into hell.

IN the Confession of Augsburg there was merely a single clause on the descent into hell in the article, *De Filio Dei*, "Item, descendit ad inferos." Our own Article, as it now stands, is considerably shorter than the corresponding one in the series of 1553. As originally drawn up by Cranmer it went more fully into the explanation of what was meant by the descent into hell, and contained these words: "Nam corpus usque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro jacuit, spiritus ab illo emissus, cum spiritibus qui in carcere sive in inferno detinebantur, fuit, illisque prædicavit, quemadmodem testatur Petri locus. At suo ad inferos descensu nullos a carceribus aut tormentis liberavit Christus Dominus." In this form the Article was signed by the six royal chaplains, but prior to publication the last clause (*At suo . . . Dominus*) was omitted, and the Article, as published in 1553, stands in the English copy as follows:—

"As Christ died, and was buried for us : so also it is to be believed that He went down into hell. For the body lay in the sepulchre until the resurrection : but His ghost departing from Him was with the ghosts that were in prison or in hell, and did preach to the same, as the place of St. Peter doth testify."

At the revision in Elizabeth's reign the bishops in Convocation struck out the last clause which refers to St. Peter's language,¹ and the Article was thus brought into its present form, in which it simply states the *fact* of the descent, but attempts no explanation of it, and brings forward no scriptural proof of it. The reason for the alteration is probably to be sought for in the controversies which were agitating the country at the time. The subject is one which has always had a special attraction for many minds, and in the sixteenth century there were many and various theories held concerning it; and the violent controversies which had been raised in some parts of the country are quite sufficient to account for the excision of the allusion to S. Peter's language. The following extract from a paper of Bishop Alley of Exeter, drawn up in preparation for the Convocation of 1553, admirably illustrates the wisdom of the Elizabethan divines in their treatment of this Article :

"First, for matters of Scripture, namely, for this place which is written in the Epistle of S. Peter, that *Christ in Spirit went down to Hell, and preached to the souls that were in Prison*. There have been in my diocese great invectives between the preachers, one against the other, and also partakers with them; some holding that the going down of Christ, His soul to Hell, was nothing else but the virtue and strength of Christ, His death, to be made manifest and known to them that were dead before. Others say that *Descendit ad inferna* is nothing else but that Christ did sustain upon the

¹ The clause was untouched by Parker in his preliminary revision, and is therefore found in the MS. which the archbishop submitted to the bishops (now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge). It is, however, marked in this for excision, a line being drawn through it with the archbishop's red pencil.

cross the infernal pains of hell, when He called *Pater, quare me dereliquisti*, i.e. *Father, why hast Thou forsaken me?* Finally, others preach that this article is not contained in other symbols, neither in the symbol of *Cyprian*, or rather *Rufine*. And all these sayings they ground upon *Erasmus* and the *Germans*, and especially upon the authority of *Mr. Calvin* and *Mr. Bullinger*. The contrary side bring for them the universal consent, and all the *Fathers* of both churches, both of the *Greeks* and the *Latines*. For of the *Latine* *Fathers*, they bring in *S. Austin*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Jerom*, *Gregory the Great*, *Cassiodore*, *Sedulius*, *Virgilius*, *Primasius*, *Leo*, with others, as it may appear in the places by them alledged. Of the *Greek* *Fathers*, they alledge *Chrysostom*, *Eusebius*, *Emissenus*, *Damascen*, *Basil the Great*, *Gregory Nyssen*, *Epiphanius*, *Athanasius*, with others. Which all, both *Latines* and *Grecians*, do plainly affirm, *Quod anima Christi fuit vere per se in inferno*, i.e. that the soul of Christ was truly of itself in hell; which they all with one universal consent have assertively written from time to time, by the space of 1100 years, not one of them varying from another.

“Thus, my Right Honourable good Lords, your wisdoms may perceive what tragedies and dissensions may arise for consenting to, or dissenting from this article. Wherefore, your grave, wise, and godly learning might do well and charitably, to set some certainty concerning this doctrine; and chiefly because all dissensions, contentions, and strifes may be removed from the godly affected preachers.”¹

¹ Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 348. At an earlier date the subject was causing trouble, for in May 1550 Micronius writes to Bullinger, and tells him that “they are disputing about the descent of Christ into hell” (*Original Letters*, vol. ii. p. 561). It is also worth noticing that among Parker's books there exists a volume with the following title, *A Treatise concerning the immediate Going to Heaven of the souls of the faithful*

We shall probably not be far wrong if we attribute to this appeal from the Bishop of Exeter the alteration introduced into the Article.¹

Three subjects requiring to be considered in connection with this Article.

1. The meaning of the word Hell.

fathers before Christ; and that Christ did not descend into Hell, by Christopher Carlike. Appended to this is a memorandum: "This book exhibited and delivered the 20th day of August 1563, to the most Reverend Father in God, the Lord Matthu, Archbishop of Cant., by me, Thomas Tailor, etc. . . . the doctrine whereof I neither allow nor approve." See Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. ix. p. 510.

Was the dispute, referred to by Micronius, caused by Bishop Hooper's *Brief and Clear Confession of the Christian Faith*, which was published in the year 1550? The following extraordinary passage may well have given rise to any amount of discussion:—"I believe also that while He was upon the said cross dying, and giving up His spirit unto God His Father, He descended into hell; that is to say, He did verily taste and feel the great distress and heaviness of death, and likewise the pains and torments of hell, that is to say, the great wrath and severe judgment of God upon Him, even as if God had utterly forsaken Him, yea, as though God had been His extreme enemy; so that He was constrained with loud voice to cry, 'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?' This is simply my understanding of Christ, His descending into hell. And besides, I know well that this article hath not from the beginning been in the creed, and that many others have otherwise both understood and interpreted it; which esteem that Christ verily and indeed descended into hell, to the place of the damned, alleging the text of S. Peter; the which I confess is yet covered and hid from me. The Lord vouchsafe to open the gate unto us, and to give us an entrance into such mysteries."—*Later Writings of Bishop Hooper* (P.S.), p. 30.

¹ Even so the article remained a subject of bitter controversy in some quarters. See Strype's *Parker*, bk. iii. ch. xviii., where there is a notice of a controversy which arose at Cambridge in 1567, "what the true sense of Christ's descent into hell was; whether it were a local descent, as it was then commonly taken, or to be understood in some other meaning. This dispute was managed with so much heat, that it came to the secretary, who was that universities' Chancellor. And he sent unto the archbishop for his advice in this matter; who gave him his thoughts for the better stilling, and composing this difference. But what that was, I find not."

2. The scriptural grounds for the doctrine, and the object of the descent.

3. The history of the doctrine in the Church and of the clause in the creed referring to it.

I. *The Meaning of the word Hell.*

The word used in the Latin of the Article is *Inferi*, which is also used in the Athanasian Creed, and in most of the later copies of the Apostles' Creed. The older ones usually have *Inferna*,¹ a few the singular *Infernum*.² The difference in meaning is but slight. If the distinction of genders is to be pressed, we should have to say that while the neuter referred only to the *place*, the masculine was suggestive of the *persons* to whom He descended; and we actually find that in an Anglo-Saxon Psalter the clause is rendered, "He nither astah to hel-warum"³—*i.e.* to the inhabitants of hell. But it is not clear that any such distinction is intended to be drawn, for the words *Inferi*, *Infernus*, and *Inferna* are apparently used indiscriminately in the Vulgate, as the equivalents of the Hebrew Sheol (שְׁאוֹל) and the Greek Hades (Αἰδης), while they are never used to represent Gehenna or the place of torment. In order, therefore, to see the meaning of the word Hell in this Article, it is necessary to examine the belief of the Hebrews concerning the invisible world. Sheol occurs more than sixty times in the Old Testament, being in almost every instance rendered in the LXX. by Αἰδης. The word itself is a "neutral" word,⁴ meaning the under-world or state of the departed in general—the "meeting-place for

¹ So the Creed of Aquileia as given by Rufinus. There is some evidence that this was also the original reading in the Athanasian Creed.

² The singular is found in the Creed of Venantius Fortunatus.

³ Lambeth Library, No. 427, of the ninth century.

⁴ The word שְׁאוֹל is softened from שְׁוֹל, a root meaning to be hollow.

all living" (Job xxx. 23), where were the souls of the righteous, Jacob (Gen. xxxvii. 35), Samuel (1 Sam. xxviii. 15),¹ David (2 Sam. xii. 23), as well as tyrants such as the King of Babylon (Isa. xiii. 9). In course of time, as Jewish belief developed, and the hope of a future life became clearer, it was recognised that there was a difference in the condition of the souls of the departed in the under-world, though there are but the faintest traces of this in the canonical books of the Old Testament.² Our "main pre-Christian authority" for the belief of the Jews, shortly before the days of our Lord's ministry, is the Book of Enoch, dating from the first and second centuries, B.C. In this we read of a vision shown to Enoch by an angel, who showed him "beautiful places intended for this, that upon these may be assembled the spirits, the souls of the dead."³ These are the resting-places of the souls of the just, and elsewhere we read of a Garden of Righteousness and Garden of Life,⁴ which "appears to be the prototype of what was afterwards known as the Garden of Eden, or Paradise," though its "relation to the abodes just described is not distinctly indicated."⁵ Enoch is also shown other places not far from the abodes of the righteous, where the souls of the wicked are separated in great affliction until the great day of judgment.⁶ While later on he is granted a vision of a "cursed valley" which "is for those who will be cursed to eternity,"⁷ namely, the valley of Hinnom, better known in this connection in the Græcised form of the word, Gehenna (= גֵּהֶנּוֹם).⁸

¹ לִשְׁמֹאל is not actually mentioned in this passage, but Josephus definitely speaks of Ἀΐδης as the place from which the soul of Samuel was evoked. *Antiq.* VI. xiv. § 2.

² See on the whole subject R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* (1899).

³ Book of Enoch, ch. xxii.

⁴ Ch. xxxii. lx. lxi. lxxvii.

⁵ Driver's *Sermons on the Old Testament*, p. 79.

⁶ Ch. xxii.

⁷ Ch. xxvii.

⁸ גֵּהֶנּוֹם is used frequently in the Targums and the Talmud, e.g. Pirque

Sheol, then, according to the belief of the Jews, is the place where the souls of the departed await their final judgment, and is divided into two parts, in one of which are the souls of the faithful in peace and rest, in the other the souls of sinners, already in torment, though apparently not yet in Gehenna. And this is the belief which seems to have the direct sanction of the New Testament. Thus our Lord promises to the penitent thief that he shall be with Him "to-day in Paradise" (= the garden of Eden, S. Luke xxiii. 43); and in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, Lazarus is carried by the angels to "Abraham's bosom," seemingly another name for Paradise,¹ while Dives is described as being "in Hades," and "in torments" (S. Luke xvi. 22, 23). To Sheol or Hades, then, the English word Hell² in this Article corresponds, and like the Hebrew word it is a "neutral" term, in itself conveying no notion of the condition of the spirits detained in it, whether it be one of blessedness or the reverse. Both the Greek and Latin terms, Hades and Inferi, are entirely free from the associations which have unfortunately grown up round our English word Hell, owing to the unfortunate accident that it has been adopted as the translation for Gehenna³

Aboth v. 29, where $\pi\tau\tau\iota$ $\pi\alpha$ also occurs. See Schürer, *Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, div. ii. vol. ii. p. 183, and cf. Charles, *op. cit.* p. 188, etc.

¹ See Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, on S. Luke xvi., where instances are quoted of the use of this term by Jewish writers.

² Hell comes from the Anglo-Saxon *Helan* (German, *Hüllen*), to cover. It is, therefore, the unseen and covered place. "It is properly used both in the Old and New Testament to render the Hebrew word in the one and the Greek word in the other, which describe the invisible mansions of the disembodied souls, without any reference to sufferings."—Bishop Horsley's *Works*, vol. ii. Sermon 20.

³ Hell is in the Authorised Version used as the translation of $\gammaέεννα$ in S. Matt. v. 22, 29, 30, x. 28, xviii. 9, xxiii. 15, 33; S. Mark ix. 43, 45, 47; S. Luke xii. 5; S. James iii. 6. It represents $\alphaἰδης$ in S. Matt. xi. 23, xvi. 18; S. Luke x. 15, xvi. 23; Acts ii. 27, 31; 1 Cor. xv. 55 (margin); Rev. i. 18, iii. 7, vi. 8, xx. 13, 14.

as well as Hades, and thus denotes definitely the place of torments, as well as the intermediate state.

II. *The Scriptural Grounds for the Doctrine and the Object of the Descent.*

The passages of Scripture which require to be considered in connection with the subject of our Lord's descent into hell are four in number: (a) St. Luke xxiii. 43; (b) Acts ii. 24-31, including the quotation of Ps. xvi. 10; (c) Eph. iv. 9; and (d) 1 Pet. iii. 18, iv. 6.

(a) St. Luke xxiii. 43. This verse gives us our Lord's promise to the penitent thief, "Verily, I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with Me in paradise." The words assume and sanction the current belief that Paradise, or the Garden of Eden, was the part of that unseen region to which the name of Sheol was given, in which the souls of the faithful departed were preserved. And thus the passage appeals to us with the weight of a direct statement from our Lord Himself that after His death He would pass into the region of departed souls, *i.e.* would "descend into hell."

It would seem, then, that on scriptural grounds, and apart from all historical considerations, we are justified in referring to these words in connection with the descent into hell. But it does not appear that they were ever appealed to by the Fathers as proof or illustration of the fact of the descent, and those who first inserted the clause into the creed can hardly be supposed to have had in view the promise to the penitent thief. Although it would seem that Jewish belief inclined to the inclusion of Paradise in Sheol, or Hades, yet some of the Christian Fathers, as Tertullian,¹ expressly distinguish between the

¹ Tertullian (*De Anima*, 55) mentions a treatise that he had written, *De Paradiso*, in which he says that he had proved "omnem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem Domini." He carefully distinguishes between

two; and the general opinion among them, to which the clause in the creed must have been intended to give expression, most certainly was that Christ descended into some region which they never speak of as Paradise, where were the souls of the faithful who had died under the Old Covenant, that He announced to them the accomplishment of His work of redemption, and then transferred them to Paradise. Something more will have to be said on this subject later on. For the present we pass on to the consideration of the next passage of Scripture alleged as proof of the doctrine.

(b) Acts ii. 24–31. In these verses S. Peter quotes and applies the language of David in Psalm xvi.: “I beheld the Lord always before my face, for He is on my right hand, that I should not be moved: Therefore my heart was glad, and my tongue rejoiced; moreover my flesh also shall dwell in hope: because Thou wilt not

Paradise and Inferi, holding that the martyrs, and they alone, go direct to Paradise. All others, including the souls of the faithful generally, are *apud inferos*. But this region is divided into two parts, “Sinus Abrahæ” (which is thus distinguished from Paradise), and the place assigned to the wicked. The patriarchs and prophets were *apud inferos*, and to them Christ descended to make them *compotes sui*. Cf. *Adv. Marcion*. iv. 34. In *Apol.* 47, Paradise is the place of heavenly bliss, appointed to receive the spirits of the saints, apparently after the last judgment. Irenæus (V. xxxi.) has much about the “place where the souls of the dead were,” the “invisible place allotted by God,” where souls “remain till the resurrection,” but nowhere identifies it with Paradise. According to Origen there is an upper and a lower Paradise. To the lower one (= Abraham’s bosom) go the souls of the righteous, and thither Christ transferred the souls of the patriarchs and prophets. See hom. in Num. xxvi. 4, and hom. ii. in 1 Reg. In Augustine, *De Genesi ad Literam*, bk. xii. ch. xxxiii, the reader will find a very interesting discussion of the meaning of the terms Inferi, Sinus Abrahæ, and Paradise. Augustine admits that the place where the souls of the just are is sometimes called Inferi, but points out that Lazarus is not said to be *apud inferos*, whereas Dives is. Cf. also *Ep. ad Dardanum*, clxxxvii., where Augustine admits that the explanation of our Lord’s saying to the penitent thief, which refers it to the descent into hell, is a possible one, though, as he thinks, involving considerable difficulties.

leave my soul in Hades (εἰς ᾅδην), neither wilt Thou give Thy Holy One to see corruption. Thou madest known unto me the ways of life; Thou shalt make me full of gladness with Thy countenance." These words, the apostle proceeds to show, received no adequate fulfilment in the person of David. They could not, therefore, find their ultimate realisation in his experience. "He both died and was buried, and his tomb is with us unto this day." They look forward beyond the life and death of the patriarch, and find their complete realisation in the person of the Messiah. David, "being therefore a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins He would set one upon his throne, he foreseeing this spake of the resurrection of the Christ, that neither was He left in Hades (εἰς ᾅδην) nor did His flesh see corruption." The witness of this passage to the *fact* of the descent is equally clear with that of the one previously cited, though it says nothing of the *object* of the descent, or of the nature of the region visited.

(c) Eph. iv. 9: "Now that He ascended, what is it but that He also descended into the lower parts of the earth (εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς, Vulg. *in inferiores partes terræ*)? He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all the heavens, that He might fill all things."

This passage cannot be appealed to without some hesitation, for the interpretation of it is not absolutely certain. Two different views have been taken of its meaning. *First*, that which takes it of the descent into hell; a view which finds large support among both ancient and modern commentators, and which can claim in its favour the use of the term τὰ κατώτατα τῆς γῆς in the LXX. rendering of Psalm lxii. (lxiii) 10, and of the kindred phrase ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτω (κατωτάτοις, & ART) τῆς

γῆς in cxxxviii. (cxxxix.) 15. Indeed, as Bishop Pearson says, "This exposition must be confessed so probable, that there can be no argument to disprove it." But though it is the most probable, yet it is not the only possible interpretation of the apostle's words; for, *secondly*, they may be taken as contrasting the *earth beneath* with the *heaven above*, and thus allude not to the *descensus in inferna*, but simply to the fact of the Incarnation, when Christ "came down" or "descended into" the earth beneath.¹

(d) The last passage to be considered brings us face to face with the whole question of the *object* of the descent. Were it not for the language of S. Peter in his First Epistle (1 Pet. iii. 18–iv. 6) there would be no grounds for looking for any further object of the descent into hell than this: that Christ might fulfil the conditions of *death* as really and truly as of *life*. If Hell or Hades merely means the unseen world of departed spirits, then death in the case of every human being, consisting as it does of the separation of the soul and body, *ipso facto* involves a "descent into hell" on the part of everyone who is subject to it. If, then, our Lord really died upon the cross, it was a necessity that His human soul should pass into the world of spirits, and "descend into hell." "Christ in dying shared to the full our lot. His body was laid in the tomb. His soul passed into that state on which we conceive that our souls shall enter. He has won for God, and hallowed every condition of human existence. We cannot be where He has not been. He bore our nature as living: he bore our nature as dead."² This, then, namely, to fulfil the conditions of death, may

¹ For a full discussion of this passage see the Commentaries of Meyer and Ellicott, *in loc.* Both these writers decide in favour of its reference to the descent into hell.

² Westcott's *Historic Faith*, p. 76.

unhesitatingly be set down as one object of the descent. It remains to consider whether the language of S. Peter compels us to maintain that there was a yet further object of it, namely, the preaching of the gospel to them who were sometime disobedient.

1 Pet. iii. 18 *seq.*: "Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that He might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit (*θανατωθείς μὲν σαρκὶ, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι*): in which also He went and preached unto the spirits in prison (*ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν*), which aforetime were disobedient when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah. . . . [ch. iv. 6] For unto this end was the gospel preached even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit (*εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νεκροῖς εὐηγγελίσθη, ἵνα κριθῶσι μὲν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους σαρκὶ, ζῶσι δὲ κατὰ Θεὸν πνεύματι*)."

It has been already mentioned that the direct reference to this passage was struck out of the Article in its passage through Convocation in 1563, owing to the controversies which were then agitating the country. But although there was manifested an unwillingness to bind a particular interpretation of what is confessedly a very difficult passage upon the consciences of the clergy, yet the judgment of the English Church as to the meaning of S. Peter's words is not obscurely indicated by the retention of the passage as the epistle for Easter Eve, an occasion for which it is obviously appropriate only if it be taken as referring to the descent into hell.

In the early Church it would appear that there was no doubt whatever concerning the reference of the apostle's words. The first writer who directly connects the passage with the descent is believed to be Clement of

Alexandria. In this he is followed by Origen.¹ Nor is there a trace of any other interpretation till the days of Augustine. He, however, in a letter to Evodius, Bishop of Uzala, enters fully into the exegesis of the words, and concludes his discussion by deciding that they have nothing whatever to do with the descent into hell, but refer to the teaching of Christ—in the spirit not in the flesh—to the unbelieving in the days of Noah.² Augustine's authority was naturally of great weight in the Western Church. His view on this subject is adopted by Bede, by S. Thomas Aquinas,³ and, as might be expected, found favour with many of the Reformers; and it must be admitted that "the dominant exegesis of 1 Pet. iii. 19, among the English theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has been that which disconnects it altogether from the descent into Hades."⁴

In spite, however, of this, there is little doubt that Augustine and those who followed his lead in this matter are wrong. They have often failed to see clearly the distinction between Hades and Gehenna, and have sometimes been misled by the erroneous reading, *τῷ πνεύματι*, as, for instance, was Bishop Pearson, who interprets the clause not of the human soul of Christ, but of the power of His Divinity; an explanation which can hardly be maintained when the definite article is deleted, for the phrase *θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι* can point

¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, VI. vi. ; Origen, *In Matt.* 132.

² The whole letter (No. clxiv.) is worth careful study. "The spirits in prison" are explained by Augustine as "souls which were at the time still in the bodies of men, and which being shut up in the darkness of ignorance were, so to speak, 'in prison'—a prison such as that from which the Psalmist sought deliverance in the prayer, 'Bring my soul out of prison that I may praise Thy name.'"

³ *Summa*, 3a Q. 52, 2, 3m.

⁴ Plumptre's *Spirits in Prison*, p. 97.

to nothing but the contrast between flesh and spirit,¹ or (as the terms are popularly used) body and soul. Taking the words of the apostle, then, as they stand, it would appear that they speak directly of what happened after the death of Christ. "Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened (*i.e.* endowed with a new power of life) in the spirit" He "went and preached to the spirits in prison." The spirits to whom the announcement was made are further described as those "which aforetime were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing." If the interpretation here given be correct, these words definitely teach us that *the* or at any rate *an* object of the descent was the proclamation of the gospel to that generation which had been cut off by the flood. Two questions immediately present themselves: (1) What was the effect of the preaching, *i.e.* did it bring about any alteration in the condition of those to whom it was made? and (2) Was it confined to the generation actually specified by S. Peter, or were its benefits (if any) extended to others also?

1. With regard to the first of these questions, it has been pointed out that the word used by the apostle is ἐκλήρυξε, proclaimed as a herald. Hence it has been inferred that the preaching was "a mere proclamation of blessedness to men who had already repented when on earth, and had no need of repentance after death, when it never comes, and could not avail even if it did come."² This view is unsatisfactory for two reasons—*first*, the words of Scripture cannot be said to imply that the recipients of the preaching had "already repented when on earth." S. Peter speaks of them as having been "aforetime disobedient," but says not one word of any

¹ Cf. Rom. i. 4; 1 Tim. iii. 16.

² Bishop Browne on *The Articles*, p. 96.

subsequent repentance; *secondly*, 1 Pet. iii. 19 does not stand alone. It cannot be fairly isolated or considered apart from ch. iv. 6, which speaks of the gospel being preached—using the word *εὐαγγελίζειν* not *κηρύσσειν*—to the dead (*νεκροῖς*), and states further the object of the preaching: “that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.”¹ These words are admittedly difficult, but they certainly seem to imply that the preaching was attended with some beneficial result. On the whole, the best interpretation of them appears to be that which takes the first clause immediately following *ἵνα* (that they might be judged, etc.) as a subordinate one, of the state which the *εὐηγγελίσθη* left remaining, and thus makes the last words “that they might live, etc.,” as the true result and end of the preaching.² But whatever be the details of interpretation, the passage as a whole is surely a sufficient warrant for holding (*a*) that there was a *second* object of the descent into hell, namely, to preach to the spirits in prison; and (*b*) that this preaching of the gospel to the dead was in some way instrumental in changing their condition for the better.

If this view be correct it follows that the descent into hell should be regarded not only as the *last* step in the humiliation of Christ, but also as the first step in His triumph. It witnessed the initial fulfilment of that acknowledgment of Him, of which S. Paul speaks in Phil. ii. 10, “that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth (*καταχθονίων*), and that every tongue

¹ It is remarkable that neither Horsley in his celebrated sermon on 1 Pet. iii. 19 (*Works*, vol. ii. Sermon. 20) nor Bishop Browne (*On the Thirty-Nine Articles*) makes the slightest allusion to this text.

² Cf. Alford, *in loc.*; the construction may be illustrated by Rom. vi. 17, viii. 10. See also on the whole passage C. Bigg in the *International Critical Commentary*.

should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father," where it should be noticed that the word used for "things under the earth" is rendered in the Vulgate, *Inferna*, which, as we have already seen, is one of the terms most frequently employed to describe the place to which Christ "descended" after His death.

2. The second question, Was the preaching confined to the generation specified by S. Peter, or were its benefits extended to others as well, is one to which it is perhaps impossible to return a definite and certain answer. One generation, and one generation alone, is specified by the apostle; and that just the generation of which it might be said that it received exceptional treatment on earth. It may, therefore, have been the subject of a special extension of mercy in the unseen world of Hades. But, as will be shown immediately, there is an extraordinarily strong tradition among the Fathers that Christ descended to the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Dispensation, and preached to them, and bettered their condition. There is no other passage of Holy Scripture from which such a tradition can have originated; and it would therefore seem that the Fathers took it that those mentioned by S. Peter were but specimens, so to speak, of a class—of those, that is, who had lived and died under the Old Covenant. It *may* be so. But this is all that can be said. Where Scripture is silent, such an inference must be more or less precarious, and though the opinion may appear a probable one, it can only be held (if at all) as a "pious opinion," which cannot be pressed upon any as a part of the faith. In any case, it would be rash in the extreme to infer from this passage the possibility of an extension of the day of grace, or an opportunity of repentance beyond the grave, for Christians, whose case is wholly different. It cannot be said that the apostle's words afford the slightest grounds for

expecting a second offer of salvation to any of those who have slighted or misused God's revelation made "in His Son."

III. *The History of the Doctrine in the Church, and of the clause in the Creed referring to it.*

Although the clause "He descended into hell," has never formed part of the creed of the Eastern Church, and only made its way into that of the West in comparatively late times, it is remarkable how prominent a position the fact of the descent occupied in the belief of the early Christians, and how very general was the belief that it was instrumental in changing for the better the condition of the faithful who had died before the coming of Christ. It meets us from the very first. Ignatius (A.D. 115), in his *Epistle to the Magnesians*, speaks of it: "Even the prophets, being His disciples, were expecting Him as their teacher, through the Spirit. And for this cause He, whom they rightly awaited, when He came, raised them from the dead."¹ Justin Martyr (140) and Irenæus (180) both quote the following passage as from Jeremiah or Isaiah, and apply it to the descent into hell. "The Lord God remembered His dead people of Israel who lay in the graves; and descended to preach to them His own salvation."² Irenæus also quotes a certain presbyter "who had heard it from those who had seen the apostles and from those who had been their disciples,"

¹ Ignatius, *Ad Magn.* ch. ix.

² Justin Martyr's *Dial. with Trypho*, ch. lxxii. Justin Martyr here (probably without sufficient justification) accuses the Jews of having cut out the passage from the sayings of Jeremiah. There is no trace of any such words in existing copies of the LXX. Irenæus says nothing of any such charge against the Jews, but cites the passage several times; in III. xxii. as from Isaiah, in IV. xxxvi. as from Jeremiah, and in IV. lv., without giving the name of the author,

as having said that the Lord “descended in *ea quæ sunt sub terra*, preaching His advent there also, and declaring remission of sins received by those who believe in Him. But all those believed in Him, whose hope was set on Him—that is, who foretold His advent and submitted to His dispensations, just men and prophets and patriarchs, etc.”¹ Similarly, Tertullian (200) says that Christ “in Hades (*apud inferos*) underwent the law of human death, nor did He ascend to the heights of heaven, until He descended to the lower parts of the earth (*in inferiora terrarum*) that there He might make patriarchs and prophets sharers of His life (*compotes sui*).”² To a still earlier date, perhaps,³ belongs the recently discovered fragment of the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, which refers to the descent into hell in the following words:—“They see three men coming forth from the tomb, two of them supporting the other, and a cross following them; and the head of the two reached to heaven; but that of Him who was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens, saying, Thou didst preach (*ἐκήρυξας*) to them that sleep; and a response was heard from the cross, yea.” It would be easy to multiply quotations from later Fathers. References to some of them are appended in a note.⁴ But those just

¹ Irenæus, IV. xlii.

² *De Anima*, ch. 55.

³ “About A.D. 165.” See Swete, *Gospel of Peter*, p. xliv. The passage quoted in the text occurs in ch. ix.

⁴ The descent into hell is a prominent feature in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, which perhaps dates from the second century (ch. xxxi.—xviv.). The doctrine was accepted by the heretic Marcion (see Irenæus, I. xxv.). It also appears in the apocryphal correspondence between Abgar of Edessar and our Lord, preserved by Eusebius, *H. E.* I. xiii. Of the third century the following Christian Fathers among others refer to it:—Hippolytus, *De Antichristo*, 45; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, vi. 6; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, ii. 43; cf. in *Lucam*, Hom. iv.; in *Joann.* ii. 30; Cyprian, *Testim. adv. Jud.* ii. ch. xxiv. In the fourth century reference may be made to Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* iv. 11; xiv. 18, 19. Athanasius, *Orat. contr. Arian.* iii. 23, 29; *Epist. ad Epict.* 6; Hilary of

cited from writers of the second century are sufficient to establish the early and widespread belief of the Church in the *fact* of the descent into hell. They also give evidence of the belief that the descent brought with it some benefit to those of the Old Covenant to whom Christ preached.

Turning now to the creeds of the Church it is to be noticed that the clause, "He descended into hell," is not found in a single Eastern one. It is therefore wanting in the Nicene Creed. Nor is it to be found in the earlier creeds of the West. The first creed of any kind to contain the clause is that which was apparently drawn up at Sirmium and accepted at Ariminum in 359. This creed, although a Latin one, is only known to us through the Greek translation of it preserved by Socrates in his *Ecclesiastical History* (bk. ii. ch. xxxvii.). In it we find the words: "Was crucified and died and descended into hell (εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα), and disposed matters there; at the sight of whom the door-keepers of Hades (πυλωροὶ ᾧδου) trembled."¹ It has been suggested with some probability that the clause may have been thus prominently placed in this creed "the more effectually to blind the eyes of the orthodox."² The fact of the descent was important in connection with the views which were afterwards developed into the Apollinarian heresy. If admitted, it was a direct proof of the existence of the human soul in Christ, for this alone could have been the subject of the descent. It may be, therefore, that the

of Poitiers, *Tract. in Ps.* cxxxviii. 22; Basil, *In Ps.* xlvi. 9; Ambrose, *De Exc. Fratris.* ii. 103. At the close of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth century there are allusions in Jerome, *In Dan.* ch. iii.; *In Esai.* bk. vi. ch. xiv., *In Eze.* bk. iii. ch. xii., *In Osee*, bk. iii. ch. xiii.; Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, xii. 53, *Epist. ad Evod.*; and, later, see Cyril of Alexandria, *Hom. Pasch.* xx.

¹ The last phrase is clearly suggested by the LXX. in Job. xxxviii. 17, πυλωροὶ δὲ ᾧδου ἰδόντες σε ἐπτήξαν.

² Cf. Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 134.

Arians hoped that by this ostentatious profession of a belief, which by implication overthrew their own heretical denial of the human soul in Christ, they might draw off attention from their inadequate statements on the real point at issue between them and the orthodox party, and thus secure the acceptance of their creed. However this may be, the occurrence of the clause in this creed of theirs is to be noticed as being historically its first appearance in any formal creed of any sort. Some forty years later we meet with it for the first time in a *Baptismal* creed, namely, in that of the Church of Aquileia, in which it occurs in the form, *descendit in inferna*. Our knowledge of this is due to Rufinus (A.D. 400), who expressly informs us that at that time the clause was not in the creed of the Church of Rome.¹ We come across it next in the creed given by Venantius Fortunatus (570), which is clearly based on the Aquileian Creed of Rufinus. Here it is given in the form, *descendit ad infernum*.² The plural (*inferna*) is found in the form given in the Gallican service books.³ In Spain it is met with in the creed given by Ildefonsus of Toledo, and Etherius and Beatus in the seventh and eighth centuries (*descendit ad inferna*),⁴ although it is wanting in the creed given in the printed Mozarabic Missal.⁵ In Ireland it is found in the creed contained in the Bangor Antiphonary, which dates from the seventh century (680–691).⁶ Here it occurs

¹ Rufinus, *In Symb.* 18. Dr. Swete thinks that the clause cannot have been of recent introduction in the days of Rufinus, and is inclined to assign it to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third, as a protest against the Docetic heresy. See his work on *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 61.

² Expos. xi.

³ "Missale Gallicanum," *Migne*, vol. lxxii. p. 349. "Sacramentarium Gallicanum," *ibid.* p. 489.

⁴ See Hahn, *Bibl. der Symbole*, p. 66.

⁵ *Migne*, vol. lxxxv., p. 395.

⁶ *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, fol. 19 (H. Bradshaw Soc.)

perhaps for the first time in the form *descendit ad inferos*; and after this it is generally met with in one or other of its forms.

NOTE.—It has not been thought necessary in considering this Article to say anything of the various interpretations which have sometimes been put upon the words, but which really evacuate them of their plain meaning, e.g. that of Durandus, which explains them of a “virtual motion and efficacious presence,” or that of Calvin, that the descent into hell consisted in suffering the torments of Gehenna. A refutation of these and some other strange and fanciful interpretations may be found in Pearson’s work *On the Creed*. But at the same time it may be well to warn the readers that in his section on this article of the creed Pearson has written “less lucidly than is his wont.” (1) He begins with an erroneous statement concerning the Creed of Aquileia, in which he asserts (contrary to fact) that the word *sepultus* was wanting. Rufinus clearly shows that it contained both *sepultus* and *descendit in inferna*. (2) He mistakes the meaning of Rufinus, from whose language he infers that “the first intention of putting these words in the creed was only to express the burial of our Saviour,” whereas all that Rufinus intends to say is that the clause *sepultus* in the Roman and Oriental Creeds includes the notion of the descent of the soul into Hades, as well as the committal of the body to the grave. (3) He is misled by the erroneous reading, *τῷ πνεύματι*, in 1 Pet. iii. 18, and gives what can only be called a forced and non-natural interpretation of the whole passage, denying its reference to the descent into hell at all. (4) He nowhere distinguishes clearly between Hades and Gehenna, and ends by confusing the two, and directly asserting that Christ descended into Gehenna. “By the descent into hell, all

those which believe in Him are secured from descending thither. He went into those regions of darkness that our souls might never come into those torments which are there." An excellent study of the whole subject of this article may be found in Dean Plumptre's *Spirits in Prison*, No. iii. See also C. Clemen's *Niedergefahren zu den Toten* (1900).

ARTICLE IV

De Resurrectione Christi.

Christus vere a mortuis surrexit, suumque corpus cum carne, ossibus, omnibusque ad integritatem humanæ naturæ pertinentibus, recepit, cum quibus in cælum ascendit, ibique residet, quoad extremo die ad judicandos homines reversurus sit.

Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly arise again from death, and took again His body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith He ascended into heaven, and there sitteth, until He return to judge all men at the last day.

THIS Article has remained practically unchanged since the publication of the Edwardian series in 1553.¹ Its language differs considerably from that of the corresponding Article in the Confession of Augsburg, as well as from that in the Thirteen Articles of 1538, which was taken almost word for word from the Third Article of that formulary.² The emphatic assertion of the *truth* of the resurrection and of the *reality* of the human nature of the risen Lord indicates that the special object of the Article was to guard against the Docetic views adopted

¹ In 1553 and 1563 the title in the Latin was "Resurrectio Christi," for which "De resurrectione Christi" was substituted in 1571 as harmonising better with the English. In the last clause the word "all" appears for the first time in the *English* edition published in 1563. The corresponding word *omnes* in the Latin found in modern texts is wanting not only in the published editions of 1553 and 1563, but also in that of 1571 by John Daye, *auctoritate serenissimæ reginæ*.

² "Item descendit ad inferos et vere surrexit tertia die, deinde ascendit ad cœlos, ut sedeat ad dexteram Patris, et perpetuo regnet et dominetur omnibus creaturis, sanctificet credentes in ipsum, misso in corde eorum Spiritu Sancto, qui regat, consoletur, ac vivificet eos, ac defendat adversus Diabolum et vim peccati. Item Christus palam est rediturus ut judicet vivos et mortuos etc. juxta symbolum apostolorum, Article III. of 1538. Cf. *Conf. August.* Art. iii. "De Filio Dei."

by some of the Anabaptists, which was associated with a further error as to the nature of the risen body, practically amounting to a denial of the existence of the humanity of Christ since the resurrection. This error is described and condemned in the following passage from the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* which illustrates the meaning and shows the intention of this article.

“Circa duplicem Christi naturam perniciosus est et varius error: ex quibus alii sunt ex Arianorum secta, Christum ita ponentes hominem ut Deum negent. Alii eum sic Deum judicant ut hominem non agnoscant, et de corpore nugantur de cœlo divinitus assumpto, et in virginis uterum lapso, quod tanquam in transitu per Mariam quasi per canalem aut fistulam præterfluxerit. *Quidam verbum in carnis naturam conversum asserunt, quam, quamprimum a morte in cælum fuit recepta, rursus volunt in naturam divinam reversam et absorptam esse.* Quorum illi delirium imitantur, qui corpori Christi tam latos fines dant, ut illo credant aut omnes locos simul, aut innumeros obsideri. Quod si confiteremur, humanam e Christo naturam eximeremus. Quemadmodum enim Dei natura sibi hoc assumit, ut per omnia permeet, sic humanæ semper illud attributum est, ut certis locorum finibus circumscripta sit. *Quidam corpus ipsum sæpe dicunt, et subinde factum esse.* Qui errores omnes Sacrarum Scripturarum autoritate sic corrigendi sunt, ut Christus meliore natura Deus sempiternus accipiatur, et quidem æqualis sit Dei Patris; humana vero corpus habeat ex tempore factum, neque sæpius quam semel, neque ex alia materia quam ex Mariæ virginis vera et sola substantia ac quemadmodum reliqua humana corpora suis loci finibus circumscriptum.”¹

This extract—and particularly the portion of it in italics—makes it quite clear that when this Article was

¹ *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, “De Hæres,” ch. 5.

first drawn up there was much erroneous teaching on the nature of our Lord's humanity, and that there was in some quarters an inclination to deny that after the resurrection it continued to be in any sense true human nature. Hence the need for this Article asserting not only that Christ *truly* arose, but also that He took again His body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith He ascended, etc."

The three principal subjects which require consideration are the following :—

1. The resurrection of Christ.
2. The ascension and session (at the right hand of the Father).
3. The return to judgment.

I. *The Resurrection of Christ.*

The Article is concerned with this simply as an historical fact. Questions, therefore, of its significance, its bearing upon our Lord's claims, its position as the central fact round which other doctrines group themselves, its witness to our acceptance with God, its revelation of the unseen world and our relation to it—important as all these are—do not directly come before us here.¹ The points to be considered in connection with the statements of the Article are two—

- (a) The evidence for the fact of the resurrection; and
- (b) The nature of the resurrection body.

(a) *The evidence for the fact of the resurrection.* In the forefront must always be placed the witness of St. Paul. His epistles were all—or nearly all—written some time before the gospel narratives were committed to writing. Doubts have, it is true, been freely cast

¹Reference may be made on all these subjects to Westcott's *Gospel of the Resurrection*, or Milligan's *Lectures on the Resurrection*.

on the genuineness of some of them. But all except the most sceptical of critics will admit that First and Second Corinthians, Romans and Galatians, were written between the years A.D. 52 and 60, by the apostle whose name they bear. And these epistles alone are amply sufficient to prove not merely that the fact of the resurrection was believed in by the whole Church at the time when they were written, but that the belief in it grew up at the time of the alleged event, on the spot, and that the Church was immediately reconstructed on the basis of the resurrection. The most striking passage of all is that in 1 Cor. xv., where S. Paul enumerates the appearances of the risen Jesus, and stakes everything on the truth of the resurrection. "If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God, because we have testified of God that He raised up Christ." But apart from this the belief is bound up with the apostle's whole life, and underlies his whole teaching. There is scarcely an epistle in which he does not allude to it. "The literal fact of the resurrection is the implied and acknowledged groundwork of the apostle's teaching."¹ S. Paul's conversion is generally dated A.D. 35 or 36. The crucifixion probably took place in A.D. 30. Thus we see from the witness of S. Paul that, within six years of the alleged event, the belief in it was universally held by Christians, for the witness of his epistles is of such a character as entirely to exclude the notion that the belief can have grown up or come to be widely accepted after his conversion. The belief is thus pushed back to an earlier date, which leaves no time for the gradual growth of legend or myth.

¹ Westcott, *The Gospel of the Resurrection*, p. 105. The only epistles of S. Paul in which there is no direct reference to the resurrection are Second Thessalonians, Titus, and Philemon.

Next to the witness of the Apostle of the Gentiles may be placed that of the Apostle of the Circumcision. S. Peter's First Epistle begins with the doctrine of "the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead" (1 Pet. i. 3), which is referred to as a known and acknowledged fact again in ch. i. 21 and iii. 21.

Reference may also be made to the early preaching of the apostles as preserved in the Acts of the Apostles. The tendency of modern criticism is on the whole to confirm more and more S. Luke's accuracy as an historian, and we cannot doubt that in these early chapters we have a faithful representation of the history of the first days of the Christian Church, and of the character of the apostolic preaching. We find, then, not only that Matthias was elected at S. Peter's suggestion, in the place of the traitor Judas, to be "a witness of the resurrection" (Acts i. 22), but that the literal fact of the resurrection occupies the foremost position in S. Peter's own speeches on the day of Pentecost (ii. 24-36); in Solomon's Porch (iii. 15; cf. iv. 33); before the Council (v. 30); and in the house of Cornelius (x. 40).

The evidence, thus summarised, is independent of that in the Gospels. Much, if not all of it, would still remain, even if they could be shown to be comparatively late compilations. But the fact that there is such a wealth of testimony to the truth of the resurrection affords a striking confirmation of the veracity of the evangelists' accounts of it. The fact is, of course, stated by all four evangelists. On some details their narratives may be hard to harmonise, but on the main fact their witness is clear and precise, and leaves no room for doubt that they at least believed the resurrection as a true and literal fact. "Indeed," says Bishop Westcott, "taking all the evidence together, it is not too much to say that there is no single historic incident better or more variously

supported than the resurrection of Christ. Nothing but the antecedent assumption that it must be false could have suggested the idea of deficiency in the proof of it."¹

One minor point deserves a brief notice before leaving the subject of the witness of Scripture to the resurrection. It will be observed that the Article asserts that "Christ did truly *arise*." It is sometimes stated that this is not the way in which the fact is represented in Scripture, as there the action is ascribed to the Father, who is said to have *raised* Christ from the dead. Certainly, it is true that in the vast majority of instances the Father is spoken of as the agent, and the resurrection of Jesus Christ is regarded as an awakening effected by His power (see Acts iii. 15, iv. 10, v. 30, x. 40; Rom. iv. 24, viii. 11, etc.). But there are other passages in which it is spoken of definitely as a rising again on the part of the Son.² In S. John ii. 19 our Lord Himself says distinctly "of the temple of His body" "I will raise it up," while in x. 18 He expressly asserts His right not only to "lay down" His life, but to "take it again." And if He could thus claim the action as His own, it will surely be felt that no further justification is required for the use of the active voice "arise" in this Article as in the creeds of the Church.³

(b) *The nature of the resurrection body.*—The state-

¹ *The Gospel of the Resurrection*, p. 133. Fuller consideration of the evidence of the resurrection is not attempted here, because it seems to belong more properly to the subject of Christian evidences. For a careful statement of it, and a criticism of the theory of visions, reference may be made to Row's *Bampton Lectures*. vi. and vii.

² Cf. Westcott on S. John ii. 22.

³ In the Western Creeds the word used is always *resurrexit*. In those of the East it is as regularly *ἀναστάντα*. *Ἐγείρεσθαι*, the passive, is the word more commonly used in Scripture, but *ἀναστήναι* and *ἀνέστη* occur in S. Mark viii. 31, ix. 9, xvi. 9; S. Luke xxiv. 7, 46; S. John xx. 9; Acts x. 41, xvii. 3; 1 Thess. iv. 14.

ment of the Article that **Christ . . . took again His body with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature**, is one which very closely follows the language of Holy Scripture. That it was the crucified body which our Lord took again is plainly taught by the evangelists. It still bore the marks of the passion, for "He showed unto them His hands and His side" (S. John xx. 20). The reality of His body is evidenced by the fact that He ate before the disciples (S. Luke xxiv. 43; cf. Acts x. 41). When "they were affrighted and supposed that they had seen a spirit," He reassures them with the words, "Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself: handle Me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see Me have" (St. Luke xxiv. 36-40). All these passages mark very clearly the reality and identity of the resurrection body. Yet there are other passages which indicate with equal clearness that a change has passed over it. It was the same, and yet different. The body has not been left in the grave, but it has been transfigured and endowed with new powers. He appears in their midst when "the doors were shut" (S. John xx. 19). He vanishes out of the sight of the two at Emmaus as suddenly and mysteriously as He appears in the midst of the ten (S. Luke xxiv. 31). And finally, in the last scene on the Mount of Olives, "as they were looking He was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight" (Acts i. 10). Thus are taught the two lessons of the *reality* of the resurrection body, and its *glorification*. "There is sown a natural body; there is raised a spiritual body" (1 Cor. xv. 44). Of the actual nature of the resurrection body we know but little, and that little is drawn entirely from the statements of Scripture. It is perhaps impossible for us in our present condition to form any distinct conception of it, or to understand the

laws which regulate its presence and action. We can do little more than note the indications of its nature to be found in Holy Scripture. And the passages referred to above make it perfectly clear that while personal identity is preserved and bodily structure remains, yet its presence and appearance is governed by laws which are entirely different from those to which the "natural body" is subject. It is a glorified, and a "spiritual" body. Further, S. Paul expressly tells us that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven" (1 Cor. xv. 50), in connection with which statement we cannot fail to see a deep significance in the fact that when our Lord would describe His risen body to the disciples He speaks of it not in the familiar phrase "flesh and blood," but makes use of the unique expression "flesh and bones" (S. Luke xxiv. 39). This language is carefully repeated in our own Article ("took again His body with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature"), and without venturing to assert that the resurrection body was bloodless, we may safely say that the unique phrase employed by our Lord was designedly chosen to convey a different idea from the ordinary term "flesh and blood." This latter expression occurs in S. Matthew xvi. 17; 1 Cor. xv. 50; Gal. i. 16; Eph. vi. 12; Heb. ii. 14. In the last of these passages it is used of our Lord's incarnate life before the crucifixion. "Since the children are sharers in flesh and blood, He also Himself in like manner partook of the same." It is here used to denote that He took upon Him man's nature *under its present conditions*,¹ "flesh and blood" being, as will be

¹ See Bishop Westcott's notes on the passage, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 52, where it is pointed out that by the use of the phrase *αἷμα καὶ σάρξ* "stress is laid on the element which is the symbol of life as subject to corruption."

seen from the other passages where it occurs, a term with earthly associations connected with it, suggestive rather of the lower animal life than of the higher spiritual existence. "Flesh and bones" is altogether a nobler expression. Its meaning may be gathered from such passages as Gen. ii. 23, xxix. 14; Judges ix. 2; 2 Sam. v. 1, xix. 12, 13. These may suggest that it denotes "community, kinship, close personal union and relationship"; and thus it is indicative of the change that has passed over the body of the risen Saviour, that though in His incarnate life before the crucifixion He "partook" of "flesh and blood," yet after the resurrection He claims not this, but "flesh and bones." He would teach His disciples that He was not formless spirit. But to have said that He was "flesh and blood" would have misled them into the idea that He was exactly what He had been. He therefore says that He has "flesh and bones," in proof that, while He had undergone a change, that change still left Him truly human.¹

II. *The Ascension and Session (at the Right Hand of the Father).*

(a) The fact of the Ascension, though clearly stated, has comparatively little stress laid upon it in Holy Scripture. Of the four evangelists, neither S. Matthew nor S. John relate it, although the latter has preserved words of our Lord which directly refer to it, and so may be said to assume it as a well-known fact (See S. John iii. 13, vi. 62; xx. 17). It is just mentioned—but nothing more—at the close of S. Mark's Gospel, in the section the authorship of which is disputed (S. Mark xvi. 19). In St. Luke's Gospel, accord-

¹ Milligan *On the Resurrection*, p. 242. The whole note is suggestive, and on the nature of the resurrection body reference may be further made to the first lecture in the same volume.

ing to the received text, a brief notice of it is given, but the words referring to it are marked in Westcott and Hort's *Greek Testament* as a "western non-interpolation," being omitted in an important group of early authorities.¹ S. Luke has, however, preserved a full account of it in the Acts of the Apostles (i. 9-11), to which it forms the proper introduction as the preparation for the day of Pentecost.

In S. Paul's Epistles there are but two direct references to it, namely, in Eph. iv. 8-10: "Wherefore He saith, when He ascended on high, He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. Now this, He ascended, what is it but that He also descended into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all the heavens, that He might fill all things." 1 Tim. iii. 16: "Received up in glory" (*ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ*). S. Peter in his First Epistle (iii. 22), speaks of Christ as having "gone into heaven." But though direct notices of the actual Ascension are but few, the fact is implied and assumed not only in all those passages referred to below, which speak of the session at the right hand of the Father, but also in the whole conception of the priestly work of Christ as described in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as in the representation of the glorified Christ in the Apocalypse.

The mystery of the Ascension is one which it is peculiarly difficult for finite minds such as ours to grasp. We have to guard against thinking of it as a mere change of position from one place to another. As heaven is a state rather than a place, so the Ascension involves a change of the mode of existence rather than

¹ The words *καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, S. Luke xxiv. 51, are omitted in *κ D, a b c ff rhe*. The recently discovered Old Syriac Version, however, which generally agrees with the "Western" group reads the verse as follows: "And while He blessed them, He was lifted up from them."

a change of position. And yet we are not to think of it as if it brought about the destruction of our Lord's manhood or its absorption into Deity. The Mediator between God and man is still "Himself man" (1 Tim. ii. 5). By the Ascension He "has entered upon the completeness of spiritual being, without lessening in any degree the completeness of His humanity. . . . We cannot indeed unite the two sides [of the thought] in one conception, but we can hold both firmly without allowing the one truth to infringe upon the other."¹ This we can do, and with this we must rest content. And so with regard to that "heaven" into which He passed when "a cloud received Him out of their sight"; the following words of a thoughtful and devout theologian seem to state very exactly the two sides of the truth which, if we are loyal to scriptural truth, we find ourselves compelled to maintain concerning it:

"We cannot conceive of heaven as any distinct place—some sphere, some distant world, or the like—some distinct 'where,' according to the ideas of our present sensible perceptions; because heaven is everywhere that God is. Yet we must persuade ourselves of some more definite place in heaven where the cosmical, the created life, is perfectly realised; where God Himself is all in all, where the fragmentary, the imperfect, inseparable from existence in time, is lifted up into the fulness of eternity."²

(b) As in the Apostles' Creed, the words, "He ascended into heaven," are immediately followed by the clause, "And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty," so in the Article after, **wherewith He ascended into heaven**, we read, **and there sitteth**. The phrase employed once more is entirely scriptural.

¹ Westcott's *Historic Faith*, p. 81.

² Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics* (E. T.), p. 321.

In the Old Testament it is used of the Messianic King in Ps. cx. 1: "The Lord said unto My Lord, sit thou on My right hand until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool." Its occurrence in this passage evidently suggested its use in the New Testament, in which it may be fairly said to be the regular phrase employed to describe the condition of the risen and glorified Saviour. So in [S. Mark] xvi. 19 we read that "the Lord Jesus . . . was received up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God." In Rom. viii. 32 it is said that "Christ Jesus," who was raised from the dead, "is at the right hand of God." In Col. iii. 1, He is spoken of as "seated on the right hand of God." Heb. x. 12: "He, when He had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down on the right hand of God."¹ In all these passages, wherever the position is indicated, it is that of *sitting*. One exception to this there is in the New Testament. In Acts vii. 55 S. Stephen says: "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man *standing* on the right hand of God." It is remarkable that the phrase should occur here and here only; and there can be little doubt that S. Chrysostom is right in the interpretation which he puts upon the unusual expression. "Why standing, and not sitting? To show that He is ready to succour His martyr. For thus it is said also of the Father, 'Stand up, O God,' and 'now will I up, saith the Lord, I will set him in safety.'"²

It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to point out that the expression, "Sitteth at the right hand of God," is to be taken metaphorically, and that, as Bishop Pearson says, "we must not look upon it as determining any posture

¹ In Acts ii. 33, it is doubtful whether the words should be rendered, "Being *by* the right hand of God exalted," or "Being *at* the right hand of God exalted."

² Hom. vi. in *Ascens.*

of His body in the heavens, correspondent to the inclination and curvation of our limbs.”¹ Both parts of the expression are valuable for the ideas and thoughts which they are intended to bring before us. *Sitting* is suggestive of continuance, of rest after labour, of the king upon his throne, and the judge upon the judgment-seat. The *right hand* is the symbol of strength and power. It is the position of honour and dignity; and, as Pearson adds, “the right hand of God is the place of celestial happiness and perfect felicity; according to that of the psalmist, ‘In Thy presence is fulness of joy, at Thy right hand pleasures for evermore.’”

(c) Before leaving the subject of the Ascension and session at the right hand of God, there is one question arising in connection with it which demands a brief consideration: How far can the risen and ascended Lord be said to be present everywhere *as man*? At the time when the Articles were drawn up the subject had been brought prominently forward on the continent, owing to the unfortunate teaching of some of the Lutheran divines, following Luther himself who, in the course of the controversy on the Lord’s Supper, endeavoured to support his doctrine on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist by a theory of the ubiquity or omnipresence of the human nature of the Lord, of which theory it can only be said that it is altogether destructive of the reality of the manhood, and endows it with some, at least, of the essential properties of Deity, namely, omnipresence, omnipotence, and omniscience.

That the subject was definitely present to the minds of those who compiled our Articles is plainly indicated by the passage from the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, which has been already quoted as illustrative of this Article. And the terms used in the Article itself are

¹ *On the Creed*, Art. VI. ch. ii,

quite sufficient to show that those who drew it up had no sympathy with "Ubiquitarianism,"¹ but intended to attribute what can only be called a "local" presence to the body of Christ in heaven. He "took again His body . . . *wherewith* He ascended into heaven, and *there* sitteth until He return, etc." But while it is necessary to repudiate any teaching which would destroy the perfection of our Lord's humanity, and practically involve us in Eutychianism, it is at the same time equally needful to guard against imagining that there are in Christ two centres of personality, and that the two natures are in any way separated from each other, a view which would implicate us in something like Nestorianism. The subject is carefully discussed by Hooker, whose guidance we may thankfully follow. In the fifty-fifth chapter of the fifth book of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* he points out—(1) That "the substance of the body of Christ hath no presence, neither can have but only local"; (2) That "there is no proof in the world strong enough to enforce that Christ had a true body, but by the true and natural properties of His body, amongst which properties definite or local presence is chief"; (3) That "if his majestical body have now any such new property, by force whereof it may everywhere really, even *in substance*, present itself, or may at once be in many places, then hath the majesty of his estate extinguished the verity of His nature." Consequently he holds it "a most infallible truth that Christ as man is not everywhere present." But, having said this, he proceeds at once to add that *in some sense* it may be granted that even as man He is everywhere present. "His human substance in itself is naturally absent from

¹ The "Ubiquitarians" are frequently alluded to by Bishop Jewel in his letters. See his *Works* (Parker Soc.) vol. iv. pp. 1258, 1261, 1264.

the earth, His soul and body not on earth but in heaven only. Yet because the substance is inseparably joined to that personal Word which, by His very divine essence is present with all things, the nature which cannot have in itself universal presence hath it *after a sort*, by being nowhere severed from that which everywhere is present. . . . Wheresoever the Word is, it hath with it manhood, else should the Word be in part or somewhere God only and not man, which is impossible." Thus there results (a) a *sort of presence* of the manhood *by conjunction*.

Again, there is a second way in which a kind of universal presence may be attributed to the manhood. It has (b) a *presence of co-operation*, for "that Deity of Christ which, before our Lord's Incarnation wrought all things without man, doth now work nothing wherein the nature which it hath assumed is either absent from it or idle." "Touching the manner how He worketh as man in all things, the principal powers of the soul of man are the will and the understanding, the one of which two in Christ assenteth unto all things, and from the other nothing which Deity doth work is hid;¹ so that by knowledge and assent the soul of Christ is present with all things which the Deity of Christ worketh." Further, of the body of Christ it may be said, that "although the definite limitation thereof be most sensible," yet in some sort it, too, admits of a "kind of infinite and unlimited presence." It is an integral part of that human nature which is nowhere severed from Deity, and thus a

¹ Lest it should be said that this gives to the manhood an essential property of Deity, namely, "omniscience," it will be well for the reader to refer back to what Hooker has said in a previous chapter on the illumination of the human soul of Christ, "which being so inward unto God cannot choose but be privy unto all things which God worketh, and must therefore of necessity be endued with knowledge so far forth universal, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deity itself." *Eccl. Polity*, bk. V. ch. liv. § 7.

“presence of conjunction” may be ascribed to it. “And forasmuch as it is by virtue of that conjunction made the body of the Son of God, by whom also it was made a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, this giveth it *a presence of force and efficacy* throughout all generations of men. Albeit, therefore, nothing be *actually* infinite *in substance* but God only in that He is God, nevertheless as every number is infinite by possibility of addition, and every line by possibility of extension infinite, so there is no stint which can be set to the value or merit of the sacrificed body of Christ; it hath no measured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacy unto life it knoweth none, but is also itself infinite in *possibility of application*.”¹

III. *The Return to Judgment.*

The concluding words of the Article, **Until He return to judge all men at the last day**, merely repeat the substance of the corresponding clause in the Creed, “from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead,” without in any way explaining or elaborating it. It does not appear that there was any special form of false teaching on this subject, which the statement was intended to combat. Errors with regard to eschatology are plainly and directly condemned in Articles XXXIX. to XLII. of the series of 1553, but in the Article before us the mention of the judgment is probably introduced incidentally rather than polemically, as being the natural close of the dispensation referred to in the previous clause, “On the session at the right hand of the Father.” It will, then, be sufficient to notice here how the Article accurately follows Scripture—(a) in pointing to the Redeemer as also the Judge, and

¹ The subject of the presence of Christ as Man is fully considered in Augustine’s *Epistola ad Dardanum*, “De Præsentia Dei,” Ep. clxxxvii.

(b) in connecting this judgment with His second advent, and not with the moment of each man's death.

(a) It is the teaching of Scripture that the second Person of the Holy Trinity, who has come as the Saviour of the world, shall also "come to be our Judge." See S. Matt. xvi. 27, xxiv. 37, xxv. 31; Acts i. 11, x. 42; 2 Cor. v. 10; 2 Thess. ii. 2, etc.

(b) The time of the general judgment is not the moment of each man's death, but what Scripture terms "the last day."¹ See S. Matt. xiii. 39 *seq.*, xxv. 31-33; Acts xvii. 31; Rom. ii. 5, 16; 1 Cor. iv. 5; 2 Pet. ii. 9, 10, etc.

¹ See S. John vi. 39 *seq.*; xi. 24; xii. 48.

ARTICLE V

De Spiritu Sancto.

Spiritus Sanctus, a Patre et Filio procedens, ejusdem est cum Patre et Filio essentiæ, majestatis, et gloriæ, verus, ac æternus Deus.

Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

THERE was no Article corresponding to this in the series published in 1553. Ten years later (1563) this was added by Archbishop Parker, being taken by him substantially from the Confession of Württemberg. The reason for its insertion was possibly twofold—(1) The spread of false teaching concerning the distinct Personality and Divinity of the Holy Spirit. That these truths were impugned by some at the time of the Reformation is shown by the first of the Thirteen Articles of 1538, which ends with a condemnation of “*Samosatenos veteres et neotericos, qui cum tantum unam personam esse contendunt, de Verbo et Spiritu Sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personæ distinctæ, sed quod verbum significet verbum vocale, et Spiritus motum in rebus creatum*”; while the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* supplies further proof how necessary it was to guard against error on this subject, for after language referring to other heresies it proceeds as follows: “*Sic illorum etiam est execrabilis impudentia, qui cum Macedonio contra Spiritum Sanctum con-*

spiraverunt, illum pro Deo non agnoscentes.”¹ But while these quotations witness to the prevalence of error, a recollection of the date to which the documents from which they are drawn belong, shows that they describe the state of things that obtained before the publication of the Articles of Edward’s reign; and it may fairly be asked why there was no Article repudiating these errors in that series. The answer may perhaps be found in the supposition that it was considered that they were sufficiently condemned by the terms of Article I. (“Of the Holy Trinity”), the language of which our present Fifth Article partially repeats, adding only a statement on the procession of the Holy Spirit. Since, however, the same would hold good also of the Elizabethan Article, it appears probable that Archbishop Parker’s addition was due, not so much to the felt need of more precise and definite language, as (2) to the desire to give the document the character of greater completeness. If there was an Article on the Son of God, it may well have been felt that the lack of a corresponding Article on the Third Person of the Holy Trinity was a deficiency which it would be wise to supply, for the sake of symmetry and proper balance, even though there was no positive necessity for it arising from heresy, which without it would not be excluded.

The subjects which call for attention in connection with this Article are three in number:

1. The Divinity of the Holy Ghost.
2. The distinct Personality.
3. The doctrine of the Procession.

I. *The Divinity of the Holy Ghost.*

It is hard to understand how this can ever have been

¹ *Ref. Leg. Eccl.* “De hæres.” ch. 6. Even so late as the middle of the seventeenth century, Bishop Pearson speaks of “the ancient but newly-revived heresy of the Arians and Macedonians.”—*On the Creed*, Art. viii.

doubted; and it is probable that but few persons will be found in the present day to question it. The evidence of Scripture upon it is full and complete, and leaves no room whatever for doubt as to its teaching. Not only are divine actions and attributes ascribed to the Spirit, but also He is directly termed God.

(a) *Divine actions and attributes are ascribed to the Spirit.*—In the Old Testament the references to the action of the Spirit of God in creation (Gen. i. 2; Ps. xxxiii. 6), and in inspiring the prophets (Isa. lxi. 1), whatever may be thought of their bearing on the doctrine of His distinct Personality, are manifestly inconsistent with the notion that He is a κτίσμα. His work in bringing about the Incarnation can only belong to one who is in the highest sense divine. “The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; wherefore also that which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God” (S. Luke i. 35). The Spirit dwells in the bodies of men as in a temple. See 1 Cor. iii. 16: “Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?” Compare 1 Cor. vi. 19: “Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?” “Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost” is an offence of so heinous a character that it is spoken of as a sin which “hath never forgiveness” (S. Mark iii. 29), whereas all other blasphemies may be forgiven—a fact which it is impossible to reconcile with any other supposition but that of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

(b) But, besides this, the Spirit is directly termed God. In Acts v. 3, 4, Peter says to Ananias, “Why hath Satan filled thine heart to *lie to the Holy Ghost?* . . . thou hast not lied unto men, but *unto God.*” Thus to lie to the Holy Ghost is to lie to God.

2 Cor. iii. 15–18: “Unto this day, whensoever Moses

is read, a veil lieth upon their hearts. But whensoever it shall turn to the Lord, the veil is taken away. Now the Lord is the Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty. But we all, with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit." "The Spirit is here so plainly said to be *the Lord*, that is *Jehovah*, the one eternal God, that the adversaries of this truth must either deny that the Lord is here to be taken for God, or that the *Spirit* is to be taken for the Spirit of God: either of which denials must seem very strange to any person which considereth the force and plainness of the apostle's discourse."¹

Again, whereas in one Gospel we read: "If I by *the finger of God* cast out devils" (S. Luke xi. 20), in the parallel passage in another we read, "If I by *the Spirit of God* cast out devils" (S. Matt. xii. 28), and whereas Isaiah describes a divine utterance that came to him, and says, "I heard the voice of the Lord" (Isa. vi. 8), St. Paul quotes the words as an utterance of the Holy Spirit (Acts xxviii. 25 *seq.*), thereby identifying Him with the Jehovah of the Old Covenant.

II. *The Distinct Personality.*

If it is difficult to understand how the doctrine of the Spirit's Divinity could ever be doubted, with the doctrine of His distinct personality the case is very different. It is not hard to see how error would be likely to grow up on this subject. The same term, *πνεῦμα*, is used in Holy Scripture both for the *Person*, and for the *spiritual gifts*. It is largely owing to this that men have sometimes failed to see the truth of the distinct Personality, and have imagined that wher-

¹ Pearson *On the Creed*, Art. viii.

ever the "Spirit of God" is mentioned, it is an impersonal attribute or quality, or an endowment granted to man as a divine gift. Careful consideration, however, of the language used in Holy Scripture makes it quite clear that such a view is wholly inadequate. It will be seen that, throughout the New Testament, *personal actions* are ascribed to the Spirit, and such actions as cannot be predicated of the Father or the Son. Our Lord's discourses in the upper chamber on the eve of His passion (S. John xiii.—xvi.) deal largely with the subject of the Holy Spirit, whom He would send from the Father, or whom the Father would send in His name (xiv. 26, xv. 26), as "another Comforter" or "Advocate" (*ἄλλον παράκλητον*). The use of this term seems of itself decisive. Whatever be the exact translation of *παράκλητος* the title is certainly a personal one. It is applied to our Lord in 1 John ii. 1, and if the Spirit is to be "another Paraclete," He must not only be distinct from the Son, and from the Father, by whom He is "sent," but must equally be a Person. Further, the masculine pronoun is used, "*He* (*ἐκεῖνος*) shall teach you all things" (S. John xiv. 26), and such personal actions are ascribed to Him as teaching, reminding, bearing witness, convicting of sin, guiding into truth, declaring things to come, glorifying Christ, taking of the things of Christ, and declaring them to the disciples (xiv. 26, xv. 26, xvi. 8–14). But the proof of the distinct personality of the Holy Ghost is not confined to these chapters of S. John's Gospel. The apostolic epistles are full of passages which testify to the same truth. "The Spirit also helpeth our infirmity: for we know not how to pray as we ought; but the Spirit Himself (*αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα*) maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered; and He that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because He maketh

intercession for the saints according to the will of God" (Rom. viii. 26, 27). The Spirit here can only be thought of as distinct from the Father with whom He intercedes, nor can there be any personification of, or confusion with, the human spirit, since the Spirit "helpeth our infirmities," and "maketh intercession for us." And though, undoubtedly, such attributes as love are personified in Scripture, and personal actions ascribed to them, which are really done by the men in whom they reside (see *e.g.* 1 Cor. xiii.), yet such a passage as 1 Cor. xii. 4 *seq.* is decisive against the notion that the language of the apostle concerning the Spirit may be explained in the same way. Here the Spirit of God is spoken of as apportioning the gifts of grace. He is expressly distinguished from the gifts which He assigns to men, and personal action is markedly attributed to Him. "There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit . . . But to each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal. For to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; and to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith, in the same Spirit; to another gifts of healings, in the one Spirit; and to another workings of miracles; and to another prophecy; and to another discernings of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; and to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally even as He will." The Personality of the Holy Spirit is evident throughout this passage. "Even as He will" could be said of no influence or attribute. Many other passages to the same effect might be quoted. Elsewhere we read of the Spirit being "grieved" (Eph. iv. 30), of men being "led by the Spirit" (Gal. v. 18). It is possible to "lie to the Holy Ghost" (Acts v. 4), and to "blaspheme against Him" (S. Matt. xii. 31). Language

such as this is surely conclusive. It would be inexplicable and misleading if the Spirit were only an attribute, influence, gift, or operation. He is plainly revealed in the Holy Scripture as a divine Hypostasis, distinct from both the Father and the Son—the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity.

It may be added, with reference to the use of the same term, *πνεῦμα*, both for the Person and the gift, that a comparison of passages will show that as a rule where the gift, operation, or communication of the Spirit is spoken of in Scripture, the word *πνεῦμα* is without the article. Where the word is definite, *τὸ πνεῦμα*, it will generally, if not always, be found that the divine Person is designated.¹

Before passing on to the subject of the procession, it will be well to notice briefly the history of the doctrine of the Divinity and Personality of the Holy Spirit in the Church.

In the earliest ages comparatively little attention was paid to the subject. The doctrine was held, so to speak, in an *informal* manner. The witness of hymns, doxologies, and professions of faith, as well as the incidental statements of early Fathers, all combine to convince us that the Church had no real doubts on the Divinity or Personality of the Holy Ghost, although the doctrine was not formally and dogmatically stated, and occasionally there are traces of a confusion of thought and language, so that not only are acts and operations ascribed to the Son which would be properly assigned to the Spirit, but the Spirit is actually identified with the Son.² Such passages are, however, rare; and against

¹ See Dean Vaughan, *Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans*, p. 103, and cf. Pearson *On the Creed*, Art. viii.

² See Ps. Clement, 2 *Cor.* ix. and xiv. Hermas, *Pastor. Sim.* v. ix.; *Theoph. ad Autolye.* ii. 23; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 33, where the Incarnation is said to have been wrought by the Word Himself, though

them may be set the witness of many others, which show that the doctrine was recognised from the beginning.¹ "The Catholic doctrine of the Deity of the Holy Ghost," it has been truly said, "found a place from the first in the life and worship of the Church; in her worship because in her life. Yet the dogmatic expression of this truth will be sought in vain among the outpourings of Christian devotion. Until heresy attacked one by one the treasures of the traditional creed, they were held firmly indeed, yet with a scarcely conscious grasp: the faithful were content to believe and to adore."²

The first recognition in any form of the fact that the doctrine had not hitherto received the attention due to it may be found in the outbreak of Montanism in the latter half of the second century. It has been said that Montanus claimed himself to be the Paraclete, but this assertion probably arises from a misunderstanding of his claim to be the inspired organ of the Spirit. According to the express statement of Epiphanius,³ his views were sound on the subject of the Holy Trinity, and therefore the prominence which he gave to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit may be taken as "the first expression of a need already beginning to make itself felt—the need of a fuller recognition of the Person and work of the Holy Ghost."⁴

In the early days of the Sabellian heresy the subject

elsewhere Justin clearly distinguishes the Spirit from the Word, placing "in the third order" (ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει) the Spirit of prophecy "for we honour Him with the Word," *Apol.* i. 13.

¹ See Clement of Rome, 1 *Cor.* ii. xlv. xlvii. lviii.; Ignatius, *Ad Magn.* xiii.; *Philad.* vii.; *Eph.* ix. xviii.; *Mart. Polyc.* xiv. xxii.; *Theoph. ad Autol.* ii. 15; Athenagoras, *Legat.* x.; Irenæus, *IV.* xiv.; xxxiv. etc.

² Swete, *On the Early History of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, p. 8.

³ *Hær.* xlviii.

⁴ Swete, *op. cit.* p. 12.

of the Holy Spirit was not prominently brought forward, but as the controversy proceeded there were indications that the Sabellians were prepared to extend to the Third Person of the Trinity the principle of explanation which they applied to the Second, and to regard the Spirit merely as a manifestation or character of the one Person whom they admitted as God. The subject, however, still remained in the background, nor was the attention of churchmen specially directed to it for some time yet. Indeed, it is not till a considerable time after the outbreak of the Arian heresy in the fourth century that it receives due consideration. The creed which received the sanction of the Fathers assembled at Nicæa (A.D. 325), being drawn up expressly to guard against Arianism, ended abruptly with the clause, "And in the Holy Ghost." All the clauses which follow this in our present (so-called) Nicene Creed were wanting, and the reason why this article of the faith was so brief and free from all elaboration was, if we may believe the express statement of S. Basil of Cæsarea, "because no question had as yet arisen on this subject."¹

At the same time, it is necessary to remember that the denial of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit was logically involved in the position of the Arians. If the Son is not "very and eternal God," but a "creature" (*κτίσμα*), what can be thought of the nature of the Spirit who is "sent" by Him, and is actually called in Scripture "the Spirit of Christ?" It is clear that on the Arian hypothesis the Spirit cannot be truly divine, or else He would be superior to the Son who "sends" Him. For a while, however, this inference remained in the background. The main question at stake was that

¹ Διὰ τὸ μὴδέπω τότε τοῦτο κινεῖσθαι τὸ ζήτημα, *Ep.* lxxviii. (*al.* cxxv., *cf.* cccxxv.; *al.* cclviii.).

of the Divinity of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. It required time for the full issues and results that flowed from the Arian position to become manifest. Not till about the middle of the fourth century does the question of the nature and position of the Holy Spirit begin to assume importance in the controversy. The *Catechetical Lectures* of S. Cyril of Jerusalem were delivered in the year 347 or 348. In the creed on which S. Cyril commented, the article on the Holy Spirit, though slightly fuller than that in the Nicene Creed, was still lacking in crucial and decisive terms. It simply consisted of the words, "And in the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, who spake by the prophets"; and S. Cyril's lecture upon it¹ makes it perfectly clear that he was aware of no recent development of heretical speculation upon the subject, for the only heresies against which he thinks it necessary to caution the catechumens whom he is instructing, are those of older days and of long standing, such as those of the Gnostics and the Montanists. But a very few years later, among the anathemas appended to the first Sirmian Creed (A.D. 351) are several which mark the rise of controversy on the Person of the Spirit. Those are condemned who speak of Him as the "ingenerate God," or as "one Person" with the Father and the Son, or as "a part of the Father or of the Son."² From this time onwards the battle rages round the subject, and the heresy associated with the name of Macedonius is developed by some among the semi-Arians, who shrank from the blasphemy of attributing a created nature to the Eternal Son. "Unable to grasp the Catholic conception of the Holy Trinity, unwilling to accept the Arian position as a whole, they fall back upon the middle course of giving up the Deity of the Spirit, while they confessed the Son

¹ S. Cyril, *Cat. Lect.* xvi.

² Athan. *De Synodis*, 27.

to be of like essence with the Father.”¹ In this way there arose the heresy of the Pneumatomachi (πνευματομάχοι), or Macedonians;² as they were also called, after Macedonius, the depōsed Patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 360). Its essence consists in the denial of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. For a time it must have been most formidable. One Council after another condemns it,³ and creeds are enlarged with fuller statements in order to exclude it. So in the (so-called) Nicene Creed we find the brief statement of the original creed expanded in the following manner:—“I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life (τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν), who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets.” These additions are found for the first time in the creed as given by Epiphanius in his *Ancoratus* which was written in 373 or 374.⁴ They were perhaps ratified

¹ Swete, *Early History*, p. 45.

² “Macedoniani sunt a Macedonio Constantinopolitanæ ecclesiæ Episcopo, quos et πνευματομάχους Græci dicunt, eo quod de Spiritu Sancto litigent. Nam de Patre et Filio recte sentiant, quod unius sint ejusdemque substantiæ vel essentiæ; sed de Spiritu Sancto hoc nolunt credere, creaturam eum esse dicentes.”—Augustine, *Hæres.* 52. Of the share of Macedonius in propagating this heresy, but little is known. “His name makes no figure in the history of the controversy beyond its use in designating the sect.”—Swete, p. 53.

³ *E.g.* The four Synods at Rome under Damasus, between 368 and 381. See Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 287 *seq.*

⁴ Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, §. 118. Compare also the other form of the creed given immediately afterwards by Epiphanius (§ 119) as that current since the days of Valens and Valentinian. In this the article on the Holy Ghost is still fuller. “And we believe in the Holy Ghost, who spake by the law and preached by the prophets, and came down at the Jordan, speaking by the apostles, dwelling in the saints. Thus we believe in Him that He is Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, perfect Spirit, the Spirit the Paraclete, uncreated, proceeding from the Father, and receiving of the Son, and believed on.” There are also appended to this

and sanctioned by the Council of Constantinople in 381, a question which will have to be considered in connection with Article VIII. But however this may be, the Council in its first canon emphatically condemned and anathematised the heresy of the Macedonians, which from this time found place only without the Church; and henceforth the Divinity of the Holy Spirit and His place in the Godhead as the Third Person of the blessed Trinity was fully recognised and acknowledged as that which had been the implicit faith of the Church from the beginning, and which was now distinctly expressed in her formal and dogmatic decisions.

III. *The Doctrine of the Procession.*

In treating of the procession of the Holy Spirit, it will be convenient to consider—(a) the scriptural grounds for the doctrine, and its meaning; and (b) the history of its expression in the creed.

(a) *The Scripture grounds for the doctrine, and its meaning.*—The term “proceeding” is used by the Church to denote the manner in which the Holy Spirit derives His eternal Being from the Father, who is alone unoriginate (*ἀναρχος*).¹ As the property of the Son is “to be begotten,” so the property of the Spirit is “to proceed.” *What* the word ultimately denotes must ever remain a mystery in this life. But we cannot doubt that there is some real truth, and an eternal fact in the divine nature, indicated by the way in which Holy Scripture, while speaking of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity as God’s *Son*, and *begotten*, never makes use of these terms when speaking of the Third Person in the Godhead.

creed, anathemas of those who say that the Spirit once was not, or that He is of a different substance from the Father, or is liable to change or alteration.

¹ See Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxix.

Consequently the Church, following the guidance of Holy Scripture, has never ventured to employ them. Some word, however, was required to express the scriptural truth that the Spirit is not unoriginate, but issues forth from the Father. Early in the second century, Ignatius had spoken of the Spirit as being from God (*ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ὄν*),¹ but it was impossible to avoid the use of some definite term. In the course of the fourth century we meet with various ones, especially *ἐκπεμφις*, *πρόοδος*, and *ἐκπόρευσις*, all of which are employed by writers of repute to describe the property of the Holy Spirit. The first of these terms, however, is open to the objection that it may lead to some confusion between the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit, who is "sent" in time by the Father and the Son, and His eternal procession as the Third Person of the Holy Trinity. Accordingly the term which finally obtained widest acceptance and found a place in the creeds was "proceeding," *ἐκπορευόμενον*.² It was evidently suggested by the use of the expression in our Lord's discourse in S. John xv. 26. "When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, *which proceedeth from the Father* (*ὃ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται*), He shall testify of Me." It is, however, not at all certain that in this passage our Lord intends to indicate the eternal relation of the Spirit to the Father by His use of the expression. It is possible that the phrase applies to His temporal mission to men, which is certainly the main subject of the discourse. But however this may be (and divines are not all

¹ Ignatius, *Ad Philad.* vii.

² For *ἐκπεμφις*, see S. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* xxiii., *Ἰδιον πατρὸς μὲν ἢ ἀγεννησία, υἱοῦ δὲ ἢ γέννησις, πνεύματος δὲ ἢ ἐκπεμφις*. *Πρόοδος* occurs in *Orat.* xiii. and *πνεῦμα πρόοδον* in *Orat.* i. Elsewhere in *Orat.* xxxix we read: *Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἀληθῶς τὸ πνεῦμα, προῖδν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, οὐχ υἱκῶς δὲ· οὐδὲ γὰρ γεννητῶς, ἀλλὰ ἐκπορευτῶς*.

agreed on the point¹) the selection of the term by the Church was a wise one, for it is entirely free from any associations of *Sonship*, and leaves the manner in which the Spirit "proceeds" or "issues forth" from the Eternal Fount of Deity unexplained. The Church makes no attempt to be wise above what is written, but is content to leave the mystery where Scripture leaves it.

But it may be urged that the creed as used in the Western Church, while borrowing our Lord's phrase to express this eternal fact, *does* attempt to be wise above what is written, and is not content to take the phrase as it stands in S. John's Gospel, but adds an important word to it, repeating it in the form "proceeding from the Father *and the Son*." How this last word (*Filioque*), which has never been received by the Eastern Church, came into the creed of the West will be explained later on. For the present we are concerned with the doctrine rather than the history. It must be admitted that the exact phrase is nowhere found in Scripture. But it is maintained that the *doctrine* which the phrase is intended to express is abundantly taught in Scripture.² One passage, indeed, approaches very near to being a verbal expression of it. In Rev. xxii. 1, we are told that S. John saw "a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal,

¹ Bishop Westcott, who takes it of the temporal mission, lays stress on the fact that the preposition used in the Gospel is not (as in the creed) *ἐκ*, which would naturally be required to define the source, but *παρά*, "from the side of," which is habitually used of the mission of the Son. Godet, however, points out that it is difficult to refer the words, *who proceedeth from the Father* to the same fact as the former, *whom I will send to you from the Father*, as this would be mere tautology. Besides the future, *πέμψω*, *I will send*, refers to an historical fact to take place at an undefined period, while the present, *ἐκπορεύεται*, *proceedeth*, seems to refer to a permanent, divine, and therefore eternal relation.

² "The procession of the Spirit in reference to the Father is delivered *expressly*, in relation to the Son is *contained virtually* in the Scriptures." Pearson *On the Creed*, Art. viii.

proceeding out of (ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ) the throne of God and of the Lamb." And that the "river of water of life" is intended to symbolise the Holy Spirit is shown by the evangelist's comment on the very similar phrase used in the Gospel by our Lord himself. "He that believeth on Me . . . out of his belly shall flow *rivers of living water*. But this spake He *of the Spirit*, which they that believe on Him should receive" (S. John vii. 38, 39). If the "rivers of living water" in the one passage symbolise the Spirit, we can scarcely doubt that the "river of water of life" in the other has the same significance. And, if so, "proceeding out of the throne of God and the Lamb," forms a complete justification of the language of the creed. But, apart from this text, there is ample proof in Holy Scripture of the doctrine, for the relation of the Spirit towards the Son is habitually set forth in the very same terms that are used of His relation to the Father. Our Lord speaks of the Spirit as "sent" now by Himself, and now by the Father (compare S. John xiv. 26 with xv. 26). So clear is this, that the Greeks have never denied the *mission* of the Spirit from both the Father and the Son. Again we find that the Spirit is spoken of sometimes as the "Spirit of God" (1 Cor. ii. 11), or the "Spirit of the Father" (S. Matt. x. 20), sometimes as the "Spirit of Christ" (Rom. viii. 9), the "Spirit of Jesus Christ" (Phil. i. 19), the "Spirit of God's Son" (Gal. iv. 6). Christ also said of the Spirit "He shall receive of Mine" (S. John xvi. 14), and when He imparted the gift of the Spirit to His apostles after the resurrection He "breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost" (S. John xx. 22), apparently thus signifying that the Spirit proceeds from Him as the breath from man.

From all these passages, and from the use of similar language elsewhere, it may be gathered that even though

the procession from the Son be not expressly stated in the Scriptures, it may yet be reasonably inferred from them. Only, care must be taken in order to avoid a misunderstanding of the article in the creed. Much of the objection which has been taken to the doctrine of the "double procession" has arisen from the notion that the phrase gives a sort of sanction to the idea of there being two *ἀρχαί*, or sources of the Godhead, as if the Spirit were said to proceed from the Father and the Son in the same manner. Any such notion is an entire mistake. The Western Church, which alone makes use of the formula, "proceeding from the Father and the Son" has always disclaimed such an interpretation of it, and has been careful to explain that its meaning is precisely the same as that of the formula, which many among the Greeks have been willing to adopt, namely, "proceeding *from* (ἐκ) the Father *through* (διὰ) the Son." Some words of the late Archdeacon Freeman may be cited here to illustrate this and make it clear.

"It is commonly and widely imagined that there was direct and irreconcilable opposition between East and West; the Greeks holding that the Holy Spirit does not come forth, in any sense, from all eternity from the Son; the Latins, that He comes forth from both in the same sense and way. Whereas Greeks and Latins held alike, that the Spirit came forth from the Son as well as from the Father, only in a different sense and way. Tertullian, who is early enough and central enough to be counted neither Greek nor Latin, in any strict sense, states the whole relation with admirable clearness, so far as human language and earthly types can shadow forth a mystery: 'Tertius est Spiritus a Deo et Filio; *sicut tertius a fonte rivus ex flumine*: ita Trinitas per connectos gradus a Patri decurrens monarchiæ nihil obstrepit.' The Holy

Land furnishes us with a magnificent illustration of what is meant. Not far from Cæsarea Philippi the primary *spring* of the Jordan rushes forth with great violence, and immediately forms a deep and large *fount*; the largest, probably, says Mr. Tristram, in the world. From this fount or well the Jordan proper flows. It *issues* forth, that is, from the spring, and from that alone, as its primary source; but it proceeds also, in strictest truth, from the fount or well, only *not* as its primary source. In this most real sense the Holy Ghost "proceedeth from the Father and the Son." And the ancient Greek Fathers, while stedfastly maintaining that God the Father is the only original fountain of Deity, did not hesitate (so S. Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius, John Damascene) to acknowledge that God the Son, as being eternally consubstantial with the Father, is mediately a fountain (πηγή) of the Holy Spirit; that He flows to us eternally *through* God the Son (δι' αὐτοῦ), although not *out* of Him in the sense in which He does flow out of the Father."¹

Any illustration is capable of misleading if pressed too far. And this one is no exception to the rule. But if all thought of *time* and *separation* be excluded, the type of the stream is perhaps the best that can be found to shadow forth the heavenly mystery,² and will probably convey to the reader's mind the clearest notion of what is intended to be expressed by the clause in the creed which we have been considering.

(b) From the explanation of the doctrine we pass to the history of its expression in the creed.

¹ Letter to the *Guardian*, Nov. 6, 1872. The statement in the text about the *ancient* Greeks is strictly true. The modern Greeks, however, appear to hesitate to admit anything more than a temporal mission from the Son.

² Πῶς ἐκπορεύεται τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς; ὡς ἀπὸ πηγῆς ὕδαρ. Chrysostom Hom. lxxii. quoted in Suicer's *Thesaurus*, vol. i. p. col. 1069.

The Creed of Nicæa, it will be remembered, contained no statement whatever on the subject of the procession, for it ended abruptly with the words, "And in the Holy Ghost." It has been commonly stated that all the clauses which follow these words were added at the Council of Constantinople, in 381. This, however, is certainly erroneous. The Council cannot have "added" what was there already, and we know that the additional clauses were in existence and had found a place in the creed some years before the Council of Constantinople was held. More will be said on this subject later on, in connection with the Eighth Article. In this place it will be sufficient to point out that the words, "the Lord and Giver of Life, proceeding from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets," are found for the first time in the year 373 or 374, when they are given by Epiphanius in his *Ancoratus*. Whatever be the truth concerning the acceptance of the enlarged creed containing them at Constantinople there is no doubt that it was accepted at Chalcedon in 451, under the impression that it had been previously sanctioned at Constantinople, and henceforward it is known for some centuries as the "Constantinopolitan Creed." But previous to the date of the Council of Chalcedon there is no trace of a knowledge of it—as distinct from the original Nicene Creed—in the West, nor do we find notices of its *use* there for some time to come. In 589, however, was held the famous Third Council of Toledo, at which Spain publicly proclaimed its catholicity. The Visigoths in Spain had up to this time professed an Arian Creed. But now under King Reccared the heresy was renounced, and the Catholic faith was formally accepted. The Council was called by Reccared shortly after his conversion for the purpose of publicly proclaim-

ing the orthodoxy of the Gothic Church in Spain. Accordingly, the assembled bishops, to testify their adhesion to the Catholic faith, recited (1) "the Creed published at the Council of Nicæa" [*i.e.* the original Nicene Creed of 325], and (2) "the holy faith which the hundred and fifty fathers of the Council of Constantinople explained, consonant with the great Council of Nicæa" [*i.e.* the Creed in our Communion service, which is commonly termed Nicene]. But in this latter form, as recited at Toledo, there occur two variations from the true text as current in the Greek Church then and at the present day—(1) The words *Deum de Deo* are inserted. These correspond to the $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ of the original Creed of Nicæa, but they are wanting in the larger Constantinopolitan Creed. (2) *Et Filio* is added in the article on the Holy Ghost after the words *a patre* in the clause *a patre procedentem*. Thus there appears for the first time in a formal creed of the Church the expression which has since been the subject of so much controversy. The question at once arises: To what cause was the addition of the words "And the Son" due? To this it is believed that the only answer that can be returned is that the insertion was *purely accidental*, that is, that it was made without the slightest intention of "adding" anything, and in the full belief that the words formed part of the creed as generally received by the Catholic Church. There was at the time of the Council no controversy whatever on the subject of the procession of the Holy Spirit,¹ and no good reason has ever been assigned

¹ Some controversy on the subject there had been previously in the far East during the fifth century, when Theodoret had objected to S. Cyril's statement that the Spirit is $\textit{\text{ἰδιον τοῦ υἱοῦ}}$, saying that it was blasphemy if it meant that the Spirit was $\textit{\text{ἐξ υἱοῦ ἢ δι' υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχων}}$. The Council of Ephesus (431) not only approved Cyril's language, but had also condemned a creed ascribed to Theodore of Mopsuestia, which denied to the Spirit a *ὑπαρξίς διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ*. But the controversy had proceeded no

why the words *Et Filio* should have been of deliberate purpose added to the creed. Moreover, the language of the bishops assembled at Toledo on the decrees of the General Councils, as well as on the Creed the use of which they adopted, is such as to preclude any idea of their having made any conscious alteration of its terms. They anathematise any who believe "that there is any other Catholic faith and communion besides that of the universal Church, that Church, to wit, which holds and honours the decrees of the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, the first of Ephesus, and Chalcedon." Again, after confessing the error of their past belief, they anathematise, among others, those who despise the faith of the Nicene Council, those who say "that the faith of the hundred and fifty bishops of the Council of Constantinople is not true," and those who do not receive "all the Councils of orthodox bishops consonant to the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, the first of Ephesus, and Chalcedon." After which they proceed as follows: "The constitutions of the holy Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, which we have heard with well-pleased ear, and have approved as true by our confession, we have subscribed with our whole heart and our whole soul and our whole mind: *thinking that nothing can be more lucid for the knowledge of the truth than what the authorities of the aforesaid Councils contain. Of the Trinity and the Unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, nothing can ever be shown to be clearer or more lucid than these.*"

And as if this was not sufficient, they order that in future, "for reverence of the most holy faith, and for the strengthening of the weak minds of men . . . throughout all the churches of Spain and Galicia, the

further, and it is quite impossible that the assertion of the double procession at Toledo in 589 can have had the slightest connection with it.

symbol of faith of the Council of Constantinople, *i.e.* of the hundred and fifty bishops, should be recited, *according to the form of the Eastern Church.*"

In the face of these very precise and definite statements it appears inconceivable that they could have set themselves deliberately to make material alteration in the form of one article of the creed, and, as Dr. Pusey says, "the only solution seems to be that the Spanish bishops knew of no other expression of doctrine, and that accordingly it [*i.e.* the *Filioque* clause] had in some way found its way into their Latin translation of the creed. For the liturgical use of the creed, which by the multiplication of copies and its universal use, made variation impossible, dated from this Council."¹

There is really no sort of difficulty in this supposition. The creed is so familiar to us, its exact words are so jealously guarded, and copies of it are so numerous, that it is hard to throw ourselves back into the position of the Spanish bishops to whom, as coming over from Arianism, the form was probably novel. But the ease with which such an insertion might be made is shown by the parallel case of the clause *Deum de Deo*. This was evidently the result of accident. But the clause has since then been adopted universally by the Western Church, although it is still wanting in the form of the Constantinopolitan Creed in use in the East. Nor must it be forgotten that the whole Catholic Church of the West, at least since the days of Augustine, had been accustomed to speak of the Holy Ghost as "proceeding from the Father and the Son."² More particularly was the phrase a familiar one

¹ "Letter to the Rev. H. P. Liddon on the clause 'And the Son,' p. 49, where much information will be found on the Council of Toledo. Compare also Mansi, ix. p. 977, and Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, p. 158 *seq.*

² The double procession had been asserted by Western writers even before Augustine. Hilary of Poitiers had spoken of the Spirit as *ex Patre*

to the orthodox in Spain, since it had been definitely adopted in a profession of faith set forth at a previous Council held at Toledo, under the influence of Leo the Great, in 447. "We believe"—so runs the "rule of the Catholic Faith against all heresies, and especially against the Priscillianists"—"in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one Trinity of Divine Essence . . . The Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son, but *proceeding from the Father and the Son*. The Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten, the Paraclete *proceeding from the Father and the Son*."¹ Thus the doctrine of the double procession would appear to those who had but just abjured the Arian heresy as an acknowledged part of that Catholic faith to which they had given in their adherence. They would naturally give expression to it, and when the creed was translated into Latin for their use, the translator would almost inevitably insert it either by inadvertence, not noticing its absence from the Greek, or else in perfect simplicity and good faith, believing that it *ought* to be in the creed, and that its omission from his copy must have been an accident.² Anyhow *there* the phrase is for the *per Filium* (*De Trinit.* xii. 55, 57). S. Ambrose had said that the Spirit proceeds from (*ex*) the Son, as well as from the Father; though he apparently intended by this the *temporal* mission as distinct from the *eternal* procession. (See Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto*, i. 11). Augustine, however, is very clear on the subject (see especially *De Trinitate* xv. 47): "Filius de Patre natus est, et Spiritus Sanctus de Patre principaliter, et, ipso sine ullo temporis intervallo dante, communiter de utroque procedit." Other passages from Augustine may be seen in Pusey ("On the Clause, 'And the Son'"), p. 142 *seq.*, and earlier in the same work (pp. 53-59) quotations are given from a number of other Western writers, previous to Toledo, who had given expression to the doctrine, *e.g.* Eucherius of Lyons (434), S. Leo the Great (440), Vigilius, Fulgentius, and others. Compare also Swete's *History of the Doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, ch. vii.

¹ See *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. iii. p. 129, and cf. Hahn, p. 130. The profession has been assigned to the year 400. It is now generally believed to belong to the Council of 447.

² Dr. Pusey writes as follows: "It seems to me morally certain that

first time in the creed, and there it has remained ever since, although it only made its way gradually from Spain into the other churches of Western Christendom. It is most remarkable how long the addition remained unnoticed. During the seventh century there are one or two faint murmurs of controversy between Easterns and Westerns, concerning the *doctrine* of the procession,¹ but no hint is given that the interpolation of the creed in Spain has been discovered. In the Lateran Council of A.D. 649 the Constantinopolitan Creed was recited without the *Filioque*, as it was also at the Sixth General Council at Constantinople in 680; although curiously enough, we find that the year before this the doctrine of the double procession had been distinctly asserted at our own English Council of Hatfield, held under Archbishop Theodore, a fact which is all the more remarkable, as Theodore, who was himself a Greek from Tarsus, seems to have accepted it without the slightest difficulty.² After this we hear of nothing further which bears upon the subject until the latter half of the eighth

whoever inserted it supposed that the *Filioque* had dropped by mistake out of the Latin translation of the Nicene Creed, to which alone they probably had access in Spain at that time. Anyone in the least familiar with the collation of MSS., will be aware of this cause of change in the text of a Father, that a scribe, *bona fide*, inserts what he thinks has been accidentally omitted. Thus, when the whole context relates to some contrast between the Father and the Son, a scribe will insert '*et Spiritu Sancto*' to complete the confession of the Trinity; the insertion has sometimes found its way into the printed text. In like way, I doubt not, the *Filioque* came into the translation, which was before the bishops of the third Council of Toledo, under a misapprehension that it *must* be there."—*Op. cit.* p. 64.

¹ See Swete, *History*, etc. p. 183.

² See Bæda, *H. E.* IV. xvii.: "Glorificantes Deum Patrem sine initio, et Filium ejus unigenitum ex Patre generatum ante sæcula, et Spiritum Sanctum procedentem ex Patre et Filio inenarrabiliter, sicut prædicaverunt hi quos memoravimus supra, sancti apostoli et prophetæ et doctores." Whether the interpolated creed was already accepted in this country is a matter on which we have no evidence whatever.

century, and even then the question is only with regard to the *doctrine*, and no notice is taken of the interpolation of the creed. In A.D. 767 a Council (of which the records have perished) was held at Gentilly, near Paris ; and at this, according to a writer of the following century, Ado of Vienne (†874), the question was discussed between the Greeks and Romans concerning the Trinity, and whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son in the same way as He proceeds from the Father (*utrum Spiritus Sanctus sicut procedit a Patre ita procedit a Filio*). This notice, however, stands by itself, and of the details of the discussion we have no knowledge. Twenty years later (A.D. 787) was held a great Council at Nicæa in connection with the Iconoclastic Controversy. At the third session of the Council a letter was read from Tarasius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, containing the words, "I believe . . . in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father through the Son."¹ This, which had been previously approved by the Pope Hadrian, was formally accepted by the Council, which was closed by the recitation of the *uninterpolated* Constantinopolitan Creed. The proceedings of the Council were then communicated to the West. With Rome there was no difficulty. Not so with Gaul, and under the influence of Charlemagne, a capitular was sent to Rome objecting strongly to various statements made or permitted by the Council, and among other matters calling attention to the doctrine of Tarasius upon the procession, and pointing out that it was not in agreement with the Nicene Creed,² by which is

¹ πιστεύω . . . εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ Κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς δι' υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον.—Swete, p. 206 ; Mansi, xii. 122.

² "Quod Tarasius non recte sentiat qui Spiritum Sanctum non ex Patre et Filio Secundum Nicenum Symbolum, sed ex Patre per Filium procedentem in suæ credulitatis lectione profiteatur."—*Migne*, vol. xcviii. p. 1257.

evidently intended the Constantinopolitan Creed, which Charles only knew with the interpolated clause, *Filioque*. This is the first indication that we have that the interpolation has spread from Spain. The Franks, we thus discover, were already using the creed with the *Filioque* clause, and since about this time the creed appears, also under the influence of Charles, to have been adopted in the liturgy of the Gallican Church, its use rapidly spread.¹ Hadrian, in his reply to the capitular, contents himself with defending the doctrinal orthodoxy of the statements of Tarasius, but does not touch on the question of the clause in the creed. This was not enough for Charles, and we find the doctrine of the double procession strongly affirmed by the third of the Caroline books,² and also by the Council of Frankfort (A.D. 794), at which Charles brought together bishops from Italy, Gaul, Aquitaine, and Britain. Two years later at Friuli (A.D. 796) "the interpolation of the creed was for the first time openly defended before a Synod of the Church."³ The Council, however, was merely a provincial one of the suffragans of Aquileia, by whom the doctrine and the interpolation of the creed was accepted without difficulty, and as yet, although the clause has been adopted by the whole Western Church except Rome, the Easterns have apparently not discovered the fact. It came out, however, early in the next century. In A.D. 809 Charles assembled a Council at Aachen, for the express purpose of considering the doctrine of the procession. This was rendered necessary by a dispute which had arisen at Jerusalem between the Greeks and a colony of Latin monks residing there. The former accused the latter of heresy, alleging among other matters, that they chanted the creed with *Filioque*. The Latin monks appealed to the Pope, Leo III., urging

¹ See Walafrid Strabo, *De rebus Eccles.* ch. 21.

² *Migne*, vol. xcvi.

³ Swete, *History*, etc., p. 213.

in justification of their practice — (1) that the creed as sung in the Emperor's chapel contained the clause in question; (2) that it was also contained in the *fides Athanasii*, as well as in books which they had received from the Emperor. The reply of the Pope to this appeal is lost, but there is still extant a profession of faith sent by him to the East, containing no allusion to the interpolation of the creed, but strongly asserting the *doctrine* of the double procession. Shortly after this the above mentioned Council was held at Aachen. At this, as might have been expected, the doctrine was steadily maintained by the Franks, and legates were appointed to confer with the Pope concerning the interpolation of the creed. To the doctrine as asserted by the Council Leo readily agreed. Indeed he denounced the wilful rejection of the belief of the Western Church on this subject as heresy. But when he came to discuss with the legates the interpolation of the creed he drew back, and steadily refused to admit the clause. The Roman Church had never received it, and he could not consent to it. The legates urged that if it was now cut out of the creed used in the mass, the doctrine would naturally be thought to be erroneous. With the words the truth itself would be lost. Leo admitted the danger, and in order to avoid it advised the discontinuance of the custom of chanting the creed in the mass. It was not so used at Rome; why should it be in Gaul? If its public use was thus dropped, then after a time the excision might be made without danger, and the correct text of the creed restored. Of this advice Charles appears to have taken no notice whatever. The use of the creed was certainly not discontinued by the Franks, nor was the excision of the clause made. But so resolute was the Pope to guard against the unauthorised addition in his own Church that "for the love which he bore to the orthodox faith, and

out of his care for its preservation" he caused two silver shields to be made, on which was engraved the creed in Latin and in Greek; and these were set up on either side of the confession in 'S. Peter's. This plan appears to have succeeded for a time, and "it has been thought that the interpolated symbol obtained no recognised footing at Rome until, exactly two hundred years after the death of Charlemagne, the Emperor Henry II. prevailed upon Benedict VIII. (A.D. 1014), to adopt the German use of chanting the symbol at the holy mysteries."¹ It was, however, long before this that the controversy which led to the final schism between East and West had broken out, and among the subjects of dispute the interpolation of the creed occupied a prominent position, although by no means the only matter of controversy, nor indeed the real cause of the schism.

This brief sketch of the history will serve to show—(1) how the doctrine of the double procession has always been held by the Latins, and (2) how the interpolated creed gradually made its way from Spain till it was accepted in every part of the Western Church. Into the history of the dispute between the East and West, which originated in the quarrels of Photius of Constantinople with Pope Nicholas the First, it is unnecessary to enter here. But something must be said, in conclusion, on the objections which have been raised in both ancient and modern times to the insertion of the additional phrase, "And the Son" in the creed.

(1) The principal objection raised by Photius (A.D. 850) was that it implied the existence of two sources (*ἀρχαί*) of divinity, and thus destroyed the unity of the Godhead.

To this it is replied that such an interpretation of the phrase has always been rejected by the Westerns, who have consistently maintained that it is intended to

¹ Swete, p. 225.

express the very same doctrine taught by the formula "from the Father through the Son," which, as has been already shown, many Greeks have been willing to admit.

(2) A second objection sometimes raised is, that it is contrary to the seventh canon of the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), which, we are told, forbade any addition to be made to the creed in future.

An obvious answer to this is, that if the canon in question forbids the words "and the Son," it equally forbids "proceeding from the Father," because the only creed recognised at Ephesus was the original creed of Nicæa, which ended with the words "and in the Holy Ghost." Both parts of the following clause, "proceeding from the Father and the Son," are equally "additions" to this, and therefore both fall equally under the condemnation of the canon, if it was really intended to forbid any addition to be made to the creed. But a reference to the terms of the canon, and the circumstances under which it was drawn up, is enough to render this interpretation of it extremely questionable. The circumstances were these: A Nestorian Creed, attributed to Theodore of Mopsuestia, had been pressed upon some Christians of the East, and Charisius, a presbyter of Philadelphia, who had refused to accept it, had been excommunicated in consequence. He now appealed to the Council against his excommunicators. The Nestorian Creed was produced and read before the assembled Fathers, as well as the original creed of Nicæa, after which the canon in question was passed. It runs as follows:—

"These things having been read [namely, the two creeds, the heretical Nestorian and the orthodox Nicene], the holy Synod has determined that no person shall be allowed to bring forward or to write or to compose another creed beside that defined by the holy Fathers who were assembled at the city of Nicæa with the Holy Spirit

(ἐτέραν πίστιν . . . παρὰ τὴν ὀρισθεῖσαν κ.τ.λ). But those who shall dare to compose any other creed (ἐτέραν πίστιν), or to exhibit or to produce any such to those who wish to turn to the acknowledgment of the truth, whether from heathenism or from Judaism, or from any heresy whatever, if they are bishops or clergy, shall be deposed, the bishops from the episcopate, the clergy from their office (ἀλλοτρίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ τοὺς κληρικούς τοῦ κλήρου), but if they are of the laity, they shall be anathematised. In like manner if any, whether bishops or clergy, shall be discovered either holding or teaching the things contained in the exposition (ἐκθέσις) exhibited by the presbyter Charisius concerning the Incarnation of the only begotten Son of God, or the impious and profane doctrines of Nestorius, which have been put down, let them be subject to the sentence of this most holy and Œcumenical Synod; so that if it be a bishop who does so, he shall be removed from his bishopric and be deposed: and in like manner, if he belong to the clergy, he shall forfeit his clerical rank; but if he be a layman, he shall be anathematised, as has been before said."

From this two things are clear—*first*, that the canon simply refers to the private action on the part of *individuals*. It forbids any *person* to bring forward another creed. It was not intended to refer to any possible action of the Church in future, or to bind it for all time to make no addition to the terms of the creed. Indeed, *secondly*, it is clear that the object of the canon was simply to prohibit the substitution of a different, that is, a heretical creed for the Nicene. It was with a definite reference to the attempt to force a Nestorian Creed on some Christians that the canon was passed, and it may safely be said that the thought of forbidding any addition to be made to the Nicene Creed in future cannot possibly

have been present to the minds of those who are responsible for it. It does not touch the case of the *Filioque* clause at all, and it is to be hoped that we have heard the last of this objection, which was due to an entire misconception of the terms and purpose of the canon, but which has been raised not only to the addition to the Constantinopolitan Creed, but also to the use made by the English Church of the (so-called) Athanasian Creed.

(3) One more objection remains. It may be urged that the clause was inserted in the creed irregularly, without any proper ecclesiastical authority, and that it is beyond the competence of any one branch of the Church to add in this manner to a creed of the universal Church.

There is some force in this objection, and considerable weight might be attached to it, had the clause been in the first instance an *intentional* addition, though even so, its insertion might plausibly be defended by the treatment which the original Nicene Creed received after its acceptance by the whole Church at Nicæa. Local branches of the Church certainly *did* add to it without incurring censure, or having fault found with their action, for additional clauses on the Incarnation, as well as those in the latter part of the creed, were current for a considerable time before they could claim any proper and regular ecclesiastical sanction,¹ and any objection to the *Filioque* on the score of irregularity would at one time have equally applied to them. But in the case of the *Filioque* the objection is still more effectually removed by the further consideration that the "addition" was *unintentional*, and that it was not discovered to be an addition, nor called in question for more than two centuries after the Council of Toledo, to which it has

¹ See below on Article VIII. p. 320.

been traced. The Western Church does not seem ever to have made any public use—at least on a wide scale—of the creed without the clause; and to have omitted it at a comparatively late date would have looked very much like a repudiation of the doctrine contained in it. The clause, when rightly understood, as has been already shown, expresses a real truth of Scripture, which the Western Church had been for centuries accustomed to teach in the formula now found in the creed. It was impossible for her to alter the form which she publicly used without thereby endangering the doctrine. It was clearly an act of unwarrantable tyranny on the part of the Latins to attempt to force the acceptance of the clause on the Greeks, as was actually done by Pope Nicholas III. (A.D. 1277).¹ The Greeks had never received it, and were accustomed to express the doctrine by a different formula. To *them* its adoption would have seemed a change of doctrine in the direction of heresy. But it is too much to ask the Latins to give up the use of the clause, since they would thereby practically disown the doctrine which it contains. A parallel case is afforded by the difficulty connected with the word *hypostasis* in the fourth century, and the treatment which this received at the Council of Alexandria indicates the proper solution of the difficulty connected with the varying forms of the creed in the East and the West. There was a difference of phraseology between different portions of the Church as regards an important matter of faith. But so soon as it was discovered that, in spite of varying language, the meaning of both parties was identical, it was felt that a difference of phraseology was, after all, but a minor inconvenience, which might well be endured without causing any schism in the Church, and it was agreed that both parties might keep to their own traditional mode of

¹ See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. vi. p. 412.

expressing the doctrine which they both held in common. So also, if Greeks and Latins are really at one in the doctrine, it is possible to look forward to the day when similar wise counsels may prevail, and the acceptance of the Constantinopolitan Creed, either with or without the *Filioque*, may be admitted as a basis for intercommunion between the long-estranged branches of the Church in the East and West.

ARTICLE VI

De Divinis Scripturis, quod sufficiunt ad salutem.

Scriptura sacra continet omnia quæ ad salutem sunt necessaria, ita ut quicquid in ea nec legitur, neque inde probari potest, non sit a quoquam exigendum, ut tanquam Articulus fidei credatur, aut ad salutis necessitatem requiri putetur.

Sacræ Scripturæ nomine eos Canonicos libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti intelligimus, de quorum autoritate in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est.

De nominibus et numero librorum Sacræ Canonice Scripturæ Veteris Testamenti.

Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite necessary to salvation.

In the name of holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Of the names and number of the canonical books.

Genesis.	Prior Liber Paralipom.	Genesis.	The First Book of Chronicles.
Exodus.	Secundus Liber Paralipom.	Exodus.	The Second Book of Chronicles.
Leviticus.	Primus Liber Esdræ.	Leviticus.	The First Book of Esdras.
Numeri.	Secundus Liber Esdræ.	Numbers.	The Second Book of Esdras.
Deuteronom.	Liber Hester.	Deuteronomy.	The Book of Esther.
Josue.	Liber Job.	Joshua.	The Book of Job.
Judicum.	Psalmi.	Judges.	The Psalms.
Ruth.	Proverbia.	Ruth.	The Proverbs.
Prior Liber Samuelis.	Ecclesiastes vel Concionator.	The First Book of Samuel.	Ecclesiastes or the Preacher.
Secundus Liber Samuelis.	Cantica Salomonis.	The Second Book of Samuel.	Cantica or Songs of Solomon.
Prior Liber Regum.	IV Prophetæ Majores.	The First Book of Kings.	Four Prophets the Greater.
Secundus Liber Regum.	XII Prophetæ Minores.	The Second Book of Kings.	Twelve Prophets the Less.

Alios autem libros (ut ait Hieronymus) legit quidem Ecclesia ad exempla vitæ et formandos mores, illos tamen ad dogmata confirmanda non adhibet: ut sunt

And the other books, (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners: but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine. Such are these following:—

Tertius Liber Esdræ.	Baruch Propheta	The Third Book of Esdras.	Baruch the Prophet.
Quartus Liber Esdræ.	Canticum trium Puerorum.	The Fourth Book of Esdras.	The Song of the Three Children.
Liber Tobię.	Historia Susannæ.	The Book of Tobias.	The Story of Susanna.
Liber Judith.	De Bel et Dracone.	The Book of Judith.	Of Bel and the Dragon.
Reliquum Libri Hester.	Oratio Manasses.	The rest of the Book of Esther.	The Prayer of Manasses.
Liber Sapientię.	Prior Liber Machabæorum.	The Book of Wisdom.	The First Book of Maccabees.
Liber Jesu filii Sirach.	Secundus Liber Machabæorum.	Jesus the Son of Sirach.	The Second Book of Maccabees.

Novi Testamenti omnes libros (ut vulgo recepti sunt) recipimus, et habemus pro Canonicis.

All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them for Canonical.

The original Article of 1553 contained only the *first* paragraph of our present one, and that in a slightly different form: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is neither read therein, nor may be proved thereby, *although it be some time received of the faithful as godly, and profitable for an order and comeliness*: yet no man ought to be constrained to believe it as an article of faith or repute it requisite to the necessity of salvation." The words in italics were omitted in 1563, and the language of the following sentence slightly changed. At the same time Archbishop Parker added the remaining part of the Article, with the exception of the *complete* list of the books of the Apocrypha, which was only added at the final revision in 1571, when the present title was

prefixed, and one or two trifling verbal changes introduced into the Article itself.¹

Very similar language to that employed in the first paragraph of the Article is found in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, in which, after a list of the canonical books of both Testaments, we read as follows: "Hæc igitur generatim est sancta Scriptura, qua omnia creditu ad salutem necessaria, plene et perfecte contineri credimus, usque adeo ut quicquid in ea non legitur nec reperitur, nec denique ex eadem aut consequitur, aut convincitur, a nemine sit exigendum ut tanquam articulus fidei credatur."²

The wording of the second paragraph on the canonical books is traced entirely to the Confession of Würtemberg, while that on "the other books" follows very closely the statement of St. Jerome to which it expressly refers us:

"Sicut ergo Judith, et Machabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia sed eos inter canonicas Scripturas non recepit: sic et hæc duo volumina [*sc.* Ecclesiasticus et Sapientia] legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam."³

The object of this Article is to state the exact position taken up by the Church of England with regard to the *use* and *extent* of Holy Scripture, in the face of two opposite errors which she was called upon in the sixteenth century to oppose.

1. The opinion of some among the Anabaptists or "Anti-book religionists," who were described in the

¹ The only books of the Apocrypha mentioned in 1563 were 3 and 4 Esdras, Wisdom, Jesus the Son of Sirach, Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Maccabees. In 1553 and 1563 the title was, *Divinæ Scripturæ doctrina sufficit ad salutem*—"The doctrine of Holy Scripture is sufficient to salvation."

² *De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica*, ch. ix.

³ Prologus in *Libros Salom.*

Nineteenth Article of 1553 as those who "affirm that Holy Scripture is given only to the weak, and do boast themselves continually of the Spirit, of whom (they say) they have learnt such things as they teach, although the same be most evidently repugnant to the Holy Scripture."¹

2. The teaching of the Church of Rome, which places tradition on a level with Holy Scripture as a source of doctrine, and regards as canonical all those books which the Church of England relegates to an inferior position in the Apocrypha, with the exception of the Third and Fourth Books of Esdras,² and the Prayer of Manasses.

The principal subjects which require consideration in connection with this article are the following:—

1. The position of Holy Scripture as the sole source of necessary doctrine.
2. The canon of Scripture.
3. The position of "the other books."

I. *The Position of Holy Scripture as the Sole Source of Necessary Doctrine.*

On this subject the statement of the Article is, so far as it goes, clear enough. **Holy Scripture**

¹ To much the same effect we read in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*: "In quo genere teterrimi illi sunt (itaque a nobis primum nominabuntur) qui sacras Scripturas ad infirmorum tantum hominum debilitatem ablegant et detrudunt, sibi sic ipsi interim præfidentes, ut earum autoritate se teneri non putent, sed peculiarem quandam spiritum jactant, a quo sibi omnia suppeditari aiunt, quæcunque docent et faciunt."—*De Hæres.* ch. iii.

² Or, as they are called in our Bibles "the First and Second Books of Esdras." The titles given to the books in the Sixth Article are mainly drawn from the Vulgate, in which Ezra and Nehemiah appear as the "First and Second Books of Esdras," and the apocryphal books are consequently enumerated as the "Third and Fourth." In our English Bibles the titles are drawn from the Hebrew, and so Ezra and Nehemiah appear under their own names, and consequently the apocryphal books of Esdras become the "First and Second."

contains all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite necessary to salvation. The meaning of this statement is perfectly plain. It "only implies the historical fact that the same body of saving truths which the apostles first preached orally, they afterwards, under the inspiration of God the Holy Ghost, wrote in Holy Scripture, God ordering in His providence that, in the unsystematic teaching of Holy Scripture, all should be embodied which is essential to establish the faith."¹ It equally condemns any theory which would regard Holy Scripture as given "only to the weak," and as unnecessary for the "enlightened Christian," and, on the other hand, any view which would base necessary doctrine not ultimately on the written word, but on the traditions or teaching of the Church.

The statements of the Article may be illustrated from the promise required from all the clergy before their ordination to the priesthood.

The bishop.—Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ? and are you determined, out of the said Scriptures, to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing, as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scripture?

Answer.—I am so persuaded, and have so determined by God's grace.

The statement of the Article, like the question addressed to the clergy, refers only to *necessary* doctrine; and it will

¹ Pusey, *The Truth and Office of the English Church*, p. 40.

be noticed that the Article is absolutely silent on the question who is to decide what may be proved from Holy Scripture, and fails to state with whom the power resides to enforce *anything* to be believed as an article of faith. For the teaching of the Church of England on these very important subjects we must turn to Article XX., where we are expressly told that ‘the Church . . . hath authority in controversies of faith,’ and where it is evidently implied that it rests with the Church to decide what may be proved from Scripture, and thus be required to be believed as an article of faith. The consideration of this subject is therefore postponed, and will be taken later on in connection with Article XX. It will be sufficient here to have thus reminded the reader that the teaching of this Sixth Article requires to be supplemented by the later one, if the position taken up by the Church of England is to be properly understood and appreciated.

The subject of the authority to be assigned to the Holy Scriptures was considered by the Church of Rome at the fourth session of the Council of Trent, which was held in April 1546, some years before the Anglican Articles were drawn up. The decree was, therefore, before the compilers of the Edwardian as well as the Elizabethan series. It runs as follows:—

“The sacred and holy Œcumenical and General Synod of Trent . . . keeping this always in view that, errors being removed, the purity itself of the gospel should be preserved in the Church, which (gospel) before promised through the prophets in the Holy Scriptures, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, first promulgated with His own mouth and then commanded to be preached by His apostles to every creature, as the fountain both of every saving truth and also of the discipline of morals; and perceiving that *this truth and discipline is contained in the written books and in the unwritten traditions which,*

received by the apostles from the mouth of Christ Himself, or from the apostles themselves, the Holy Ghost dictating, have come down even to us, transmitted as it were from hand to hand; (the Synod) following the example of the orthodox Fathers, *receives and venerates, with equal affection of piety and reverence, all the books both of the Old and also of the New Testament*—seeing that one God is the author of both—as also the *said traditions, both those appertaining to faith as well as those appertaining to morals*, as having been dictated either by Christ's own word of mouth, or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved by a continuous succession in the Catholic Church.”¹

The terms of this decree are not altogether free from ambiguity, for the assertion that the “truth and discipline are contained in the written books and in the unwritten traditions” is capable of bearing two widely different interpretations. It may be taken to mean that the whole faith is contained in the Scriptures, and is also taught by tradition; and if it be taken in this way, there is nothing in it to which any Anglican need take exception. But, on the other hand, it may mean that Scripture alone is the source of some part of the faith, and tradi-

¹ “Sacrosancta Œcumenica et generalis Tridentina Synodus . . . hoc sibi perpetuo ante oculos proponens ut sublati erroribus puritas ipsa Evangelii in Ecclesia conservetur; quod promissum ante per prophetas in Scripturis Sanctis Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, proprio ore primum promulgavit; deinde per suos Apostolos, tanquam fontem omnis et salutaris veritatis et morum disciplinæ, omni creaturæ prædicari jussit; perspicuensque hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ipsius Christi ore ab apostolis acceptæ, aut ab ipsis apostolis, Spiritu Sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditæ, ad nos usque pervenerunt, orthodoxorum Patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, nec non traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas et continua successione in Ecclesia Catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur.”—*Conc. Trident. Sessio Quarta. Decretum de Canoniciis Scripturis.*

tion alone the source of some other part, and this, of course, is a position to which an Anglican could by no means subscribe. This ambiguity is not altogether removed when we turn from the decree of Trent to the writings of representative divines of the Roman communion, for while Cardinal Wiseman asserts that "there is no other groundwork whatever for faith except the written word of God,"¹ and Cardinal Newman uses language to much the same effect;² on the other hand, Moehler tells us that "it is asserted by the Catholic Church that many things have been delivered to her by the apostles which Holy Writ either does not at all comprise or at most only alludes to,"³ and Perrone is equally emphatic in laying down that there are some dogmatic traditions which are *a Scriptura plane distinctæ*, as well as those explanatory and interpretative traditions which he calls *inhæsiivæ et declarativæ*.⁴ These quotations may serve to show the real difficulty that there is in stating precisely what the Church of Rome stands committed to. But we shall not probably be wrong if we assert that though the majority of Roman divines would welcome support and illustration from Scripture for all articles of faith, including the most recent developments, namely, the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin Mary, and that of the papal infallibility, yet they would make the basis on which these doctrines rest the teaching of the Church. Anglicans, on the other hand, while always looking for support and illustration from "hermeneutical tradition," maintain that in the last resort Scripture is the sole source of the faith. The Church of England has most certainly never

¹ *Lectures*, ch. iii. p. 60.

² "Letter to Dr. Pusey on the *Eirenicon*," p. 14, quoted in Bp. Forbes on the *Articles*, p. 97. Cf. *Development*, ch. vii. 1, sec. 4.

³ *Symbolism*, p. 286. (Ed. 1).

⁴ *Prælectiones*, vol. ii., p. 148 seq.

underrated the importance of the appeal to antiquity. The very same canon of the Convocation of 1571, which imposes subscription to the Articles on the clergy, requires all preachers to "see that they never teach aught in a sermon, to be religiously held and believed by the people, except what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, and what the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops have collected from the same doctrine."¹ But it is one thing to use tradition as a help towards arriving at the true sense of Scripture, and quite another thing to make it a source of Christian doctrine. All the articles of faith are not expressly set down in Scripture in so many words, but there can be no hesitation in asserting that they "may be proved thereby." This, however, immediately opens out the question, How are we to know in what sense the words of Scripture are to be understood? And here, without anticipating what must be said on this subject under the Twentieth Article, it may be pointed out that the value of tradition, where it can be ascertained, is enormous, as showing how the words of Scripture have ever been understood by the Church. So much it seemed necessary to say here, in order to make it clear that the Sixth Article is not meant in any way to cast a slight upon tradition and the appeal to antiquity. It is only designed to protect jealously the rightful position of the Scriptures, as containing, though in an informal way, the "faith once for all delivered to the saints,"² and to guard against any additions or accretions to the original deposit committed to the care of the Catholic Church.

¹ The Canon *Concionatores*. "Imprimis vero videbunt, ne quid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris aut Novi Testamenti, quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina Catholici patres, et veteres Episcopi collegerunt."—Cardwell's *Synodalia*, vol. i. p. 126.

² S. Jude, ver. 3, τῇ ἀπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἀγίοις πίστει.

We have next to consider the arguments in favour of the position thus maintained in the Article.

(a) And, first, *how far can it be proved from Scripture?* It must be confessed that the texts which are sometimes quoted in support of the "sufficiency of Holy Scripture" are in themselves extremely inconclusive, *e.g.* "the law of the Lord is perfect" (Ps. xix. 7); "the Holy Scriptures which are able to make thee wise unto salvation" (2 Tim. iii. 15); "if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book" (Rev. xxii. 18). Of these passages the first, if it were (as it manifestly is not) capable of being used as formal proof, would prove too much, for "the law," if taken of the written word, could not be strained to mean more than the Pentateuch. The second obviously refers only to the Old Testament, with which alone Timothy could have been familiar from his childhood; while the third has no reference to any portion of Holy Scripture, except the Apocalypse, to which it is appended. It will be wise, therefore, not to rely on isolated and detached passages in endeavouring to establish the statement of the Article, but to be content with an indirect rather than a direct scriptural proof. That Holy Scripture "contains all things necessary to salvation" is nowhere laid down directly in the Bible, but it appears to be a fair and reasonable inference from the general teaching of Scripture with regard to the final character of the revelation made in the New Testament, as well as from the fact that the Scriptures were in the providence of God committed to writing.

There are frequent indications in Scripture that the written law has a *security* which is wanting in the case of oral tradition. S. Luke's Gospel was written expressly in order that Theophilus might know *the certainty* of the things in which he had previously been orally instructed

(S. Luke i. 4). S. John's Gospel was also written for Christians who must have received much oral teaching, and yet he gives this as his reason for writing: "That ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in His name" (S. John xx. 31).

Again, the severity with which our Lord denounces the Jews for "making the word of God of none effect through their traditions," and the way in which He sets aside the accretions which they had allowed to grow up around the written law (see especially S. Mark vii. 1-13) supply us with a warning against trusting to oral tradition; while, on the other hand, the constant habit of our Lord Himself, and His apostles after Him, of appealing to the written Scriptures of the Old Covenant, using these as "proof," and commending those who "searched" them (*e.g.* the Bereans, Acts xvii. 11), leads us to conclude that, in the absence of express statement to the contrary, the same method is to be followed, now that there is committed to the care of the Church a "New Testament" corresponding to the Old.

That the revelation made in Christ was final is assumed throughout the New Testament. Had it not been so, it is hard to understand how the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews could have written the opening verses of his epistle as he did (Heb. i. 1-3), or how S. Jude could have employed the striking phrase already quoted, and have spoken of "the faith" as "*once for all* committed to the saints" (ver. 3). No writer of the New Testament ever gives us the slightest ground for looking for any further revelation. And if the final revelation was made in Christ, and the Scriptures were written for the purpose of preserving an authentic record of that revelation, it seems impossible to believe that any necessary doctrine can be omitted from them. It

has been pertinently remarked, in illustration of this, that "if a legislator desires to commit his laws to writing, in order that an authentic record of them may remain to all future times, it is not to be supposed that he will omit a portion of them. He will indeed provide some mode of interpreting and executing those laws, but he will not designedly leave any portion of them out of the record."¹

(b) Thus the teaching of the Article rests ultimately on the Scriptures themselves. But in support of it an appeal may safely be made to *the general consent of Christians and the authority of the Fathers*. That the Fathers appeal freely to tradition is undeniable, but it will be found that their appeals to it are of two kinds—(1) referring to matters of custom and ritual, where they appeal to it precisely as an Anglican would do, independently of Scripture, and (2) referring to *doctrine*, where they appeal to it not as teaching truths which are nowhere contained in Scripture, but as illustrating and determining the sense of Scripture.² While on the other hand, they constantly appeal to Scripture in such a way as to show that they regarded it as the sole ultimate source of all necessary doctrine.

Catenæ of passages from patristic writings, asserting the sufficiency of the Scriptures have been so frequently compiled, and are so easily accessible, that it is not pro-

¹ Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*, pt. iii. ch. i.

² In the passages of Irenæus and Tertullian referring to the *κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας*, or *regula fidei*, the allusion is not to any authority independent of Scripture, but to the Creed, which summarises the principal doctrines of Scripture (see Irenæus, I. i. III. ii-iv; Tertullian, *De Præscript.* xiii. xiv.), while the famous passage, in which Tertullian rhetorically maintains that "no appeal must be made to the Scriptures, on them no contest should be instituted," is easily explained by the fact that he was writing against heretics who perverted the Scriptures, nor does it in any way imply that tradition handed down matters of faith not contained in the Scriptures.—See *Præscript.* xix.

posed to add another to the number here. Reference is made in the footnote to standard works on the subject,¹ and it will accordingly be sufficient here to quote but two passages from representative writers of the East and West, and to add to them a striking passage from a third writer of repute, which admirably sets forth the true relation of tradition to Scripture.

Of the views of the Eastern Fathers S. Athanasius (c. A.D. 318) may be taken as the exponent, and he tells us distinctly that "the holy and divinely inspired Scriptures are sufficient of themselves to the declaration of the truth."² For the West no better spokesman can be found than S. Augustine (A.D. 430). In his work *On Nature and Grace* he is compelled to reply to objections to his teaching drawn by Pelagius from quotations out of "certain treatises of Catholic writers," and in answer to this he says boldly that in writings of such authors he feels himself free to use his own judgment, "*owing unhesitating assent to nothing but the canonical Scriptures.*"³ The third quotation shall be drawn from the writings of S. Vincent of Lerins (A.D. 450), himself the author of the famous canon of truth, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*.

At the beginning of his *Commonitorium* he writes as follows: "Inquiring often with great earnestness and attention of very many excellent, holy, and learned men, how and by what means I might assuredly, and as it

¹ Usher's *Answer to a Jesuit*, ch. ii. Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*, pt. ii. bk. i. § 2. Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*, pt. iii. ch. i. Browne on the *Articles*, p. 140 seq.; and cf. Gore's *Roman Catholic Claims*, p. 60.

² *Adv. Gentes*, § 1: Ἀνάρκεις μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ ἀγίαι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γράφαι πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν.

³ *De Natura et Gratia*, ch. lxi: "Maxime quoniam me, in hujusmodi quorum libet hominum scriptis liberum (quia solis Canonicis debeo sine ulla recusatione consensum) nihil movet quod de illius scriptis, ejus nomen non ibi inveni, ille posuit," etc.

were by some general and regular way, discern the true Catholic faith from false and wicked heresy, to this question I had usually received this answer from them all, namely, that whether I or any other desired to find out the fraud of heretics daily springing up, and to escape their snares, and willingly would continue in a sound faith, himself safe and sound, he ought in two ways by God's assistance to defend and preserve his faith, namely, *by the authority of the law of God*, and secondly, *by the tradition of the Catholic Church*.

"Here some one, perhaps, may ask, seeing the canon of Scripture is perfect, and of itself most abundantly sufficient for all things, what need is there to join to it the authority of the ecclesiastical interpretation? The reason is this, that the Scripture being of itself so deep and profound, all men do not understand it in one and the same sense, but divers men diversely, this man and that man, this way and that way, expound and interpret the sayings thereof, so that to one's thinking, so many men, so many opinions almost may be gathered out of it . . . and therefore it is most necessary, because of the vagaries of errors so various, that the line of expounding the prophets and apostles be drawn according to the rule of the ecclesiastical and Catholic sense."¹

Again, at the end of the same treatise he sums up its teaching: "We said above that this has always been, and even at this day is, the custom of Catholics to try and examine the true faith by these two methods: first, by the authority of the divine canon; secondly, by the tradition of the Catholic Church; not because the canonical Scripture is not as to itself sufficient for all things, but because very many, expounding God's word at their own will, do thereby conceive divers opinions and errors. And for this cause it is necessary that the

¹ *Commonitorium*, ch. ii.

interpretation of the heavenly Scripture be directed according to the one only rule of the Church's understanding; only, be it observed, especially in those questions upon which the foundations of the whole Catholic doctrine depend."¹

These two arguments—(a) the general teaching of Scripture, its nature and end, and (b) the general consent of the Church and the authority of the Fathers are, it is believed, fully sufficient, when carefully considered and weighed, to establish the truth of the statement made in the first part of the Article, that "Holy Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite necessary to salvation." A few words may, however, be added on the argument, sometimes alleged, that Scripture proves its own insufficiency by its statements in the following passages:²

2 Thess. ii. 15: "Therefore, brethren, stand fast and hold the traditions (*παράδοσεις*, Vulg. *traditiones*) which ye have been taught whether by word or our epistle."

1 Tim. vi. 20.: "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust" (*τὴν παραθήκην*).

2 Tim. i. 13: "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me."

Acts i. 3: "Christ showed Himself alive after His passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God."

¹ *Commonitorium*, ch. xxix.

² Other arguments such as these, that "tradition was the original rule," and that "Scripture is obscure and liable to be misunderstood," are plainly beside the mark when the Anglican position is rightly understood. Answers to them may, however, be found in Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*, pt. iii. ch. i., and Browne on the *Articles*, p. 136 *seq.*

St. John xxi. 25: "There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written."

In answer to the argument drawn from the occurrence of these passages in the New Testament it may be observed that the last two cited might equally well be urged on behalf of the insufficiency of tradition; since no one has ever pretended that tradition has handed down every word which our Lord uttered, or even all that He uttered during the great forty days. The passages, however, plainly do not touch the question whether the whole of revealed truth necessary to salvation has or has not been committed to writing.

With regard to the passages from the epistles, it is sufficient to point out that the short epistle in which the first of them occurs, certainly does not contain the whole truth, and the "traditions" to which the apostle refers may perfectly well be understood as comprising the main articles of faith which are committed to writing in other parts of the Scripture; while the two passages in the Epistles to Timothy evidently refer to some definite form of words or summary of the articles of faith, such as that found at a later date in the creed of the Church, but it does not in the very least follow that the doctrines contained in it are not also comprised in Holy Scripture.

There is, then, no valid argument to be drawn from Scripture itself against the position maintained in our Article; nor have any other satisfactory arguments been put forward by Romanists on behalf of the view that tradition is, apart from Scripture, a source of necessary doctrine. The following weighty words from two of the ablest Anglican divines of the first half of the present century seem to put the whole matter on its right footing, and will form a suitable close to this discussion.

1. *On the sufficiency of Scripture.*—"While it is certainly true that it was not by Scripture that these Christian truths were delivered to the churches by the apostles, nor are they ordinarily thus learnt in the first instance by any; yet in that sole inspired record, of which the Church was the early recipient and constant guardian, it is her belief and affirmation that the whole body of life-giving doctrine is essentially contained; that the Spirit of God has provided that no saving truth should be there wanting. And however some important accessory facts may have been left to be proved altogether from minor ecclesiastical sources (such as the determination of the canon of Scripture itself, the apostolic observance of Sunday as the Lord's Day, that of the Christian Pascha and Pentecost, etc.), yet with matters of doctrine, properly so called, this has never been the case; whatever claiming to be such a integral part of the faith once delivered to the saints, cannot be proved by sure warranty of the Christian Scriptures is by that circumstance alone convicted of novelty and error."¹

2. *On tradition.*—"If we mistake not the signs of the times, the period is not far distant when the whole controversy between the English and Romish Churches will be revived, and all the points in dispute again brought under review. Of these points none is more important than the question respecting tradition; and it is, therefore, most essential that they who stand forth as the defenders of the Church of England should take a correct and rational view of the subject—the view, in short, which was taken by our divines at the Reformation. Nothing was more remote from their intention than indiscriminately to condemn all tradition. They knew that in strictness of speech Scripture is tradition, written tradition. They knew that, as far as external evidence

¹ W. H. Mill, *Five Sermons on the Temptation*, Sermon i. p. 16,

is concerned, the tradition preserved in the Church is the only ground on which the genuineness of the books of Scripture can be established. . . . What our reformers opposed was the notion that men must, upon the mere authority of tradition, receive as necessary to salvation doctrines not contained in Scripture. Against this notion in general, they urged the incredibility of the supposition that the apostles, when unfolding in their writings the principles of the gospel, should have entirely omitted any doctrines essential to man's salvation. The whole tenor, indeed, of those writings, as well as of our blessed Lord's discourses, runs counter to the supposition that any truths of fundamental importance would be suffered long to rest upon so precarious a foundation as that of oral tradition. With respect to the particular doctrines, in defence of which the Roman Catholics appeal to tradition, our reformers contended that some were directly at variance with Scripture; and that others, far from being supported by an unbroken chain of tradition from the apostolic age, were of very recent origin, and utterly unknown to the early Fathers. Such was the view of this important question taken by our reformers. In this, as in other instances, they wisely adopted a middle course; they neither bowed submissively to the authority of tradition, nor yet rejected it altogether. We in the present day must tread in their footsteps, and imitate their moderation, if we intend to combat our Roman Catholic adversaries with success. We must be careful that, in our anxiety to avoid one extreme, we run not into the other, by adopting the extravagant language of those who, not content with ascribing a paramount authority to the written word on all points pertaining to eternal salvation, talk as if the Bible—and that, too, the Bible in our English translation—were, independently of all external aids and evidence, sufficient to prove its

own genuineness and inspiration, and to be its own interpreter.”¹

II. *The Canon of Holy Scripture.*

There are so many different topics claiming attention under this head that it will be convenient to subdivide it and consider the following points separately:—

- (a) The meaning of the terms canon and canonical.
- (b) The method of determining what books are canonical.
- (c) The question at issue between England and Rome concerning the canon of the Old Testament.
- (d) The canon of the New Testament.

(a) *The meaning of the terms canon and canonical.*—The Greek word *κάνων* means primarily a straight rod, and so generally a carpenter’s rule. Hence it is applied metaphorically, like the Latin *regula* and *norma* to anything which serves to regulate or determine other things, *i.e.* a rule or standard. In this sense it is used by S. Paul in 2 Cor. x. 13, 15, 16 and Gal. vi. 16,² as by other early Christian writers, such as S. Clement of Rome.³ But it very soon came to have a definite meaning stamped upon it in the Church as the “rule of truth or faith” (*ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, τῆς πίστεως*),⁴ *i.e.* that by which the faith of Christians was regulated, the standard by which their orthodoxy was measured; and so it is applied especially to the creed as containing this rule or standard. From this the transition is natural to that use of the word which is very familiar to us in the expression

¹ Bishop Kaye, *Tertullian*, pp. 299–304.

² In Phil. iii. 16 it is an interpolation. In the Septuagint the word is only found three times, namely, in Micah vii. 4; Judith xiii. 6; 4 Maccabees, vii. 21; Aquila has it also in Job xxxviii. 5; Ps. xviii. (xix.) 5.

³ Clem. Rom. *Ad Cor.* i. i. vii. xli.

⁴ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. p. 676; Tertullian, *regula* (= *κάνων*); *De Monog.* ii.; *Apol.* xlv. etc.

"Canons of Councils," namely, decisions on particular points which were thus ruled by the Church. The substantive *κάνων* being so used, the adjective *κανονικός* and the verb *κανονίζειν* also came into familiar use in connection with what was so ruled. And it is in these derivatives that we meet with the earliest application of the word to the Scriptures, the books of which are spoken of by so early a writer as Origen, if we may trust the Latin translation of his works, as *Scripturæ Canonicae*, *Canonizatae Scripturæ*, and *Libri Canonizati*,¹ i.e. the books *which have been admitted by rule*. Not till towards the close of the fourth century does the substantive "canon" occur of the Holy Scriptures, but from its appearance then, in a number of different writers, it must already have been a recognised term for some little time. The earliest instance of its occurrence that has been traced is in the catalogue of the Scriptures by Amphilochius (*circa* 380). After giving a list of the books this writer proceeds to say, "This would be the most unerring rule (*κάνων*) of the inspired Scriptures,"² i.e. the *standard or measure* by which all books claiming divine authority might be tested. Hence the word came to be used of the *whole collection of books thus admitted by rule*—the books accepted by the Church were said to be "in the canon." So the phrase is used by Rufinus³ and other writers of the close of the fourth century. And, finally, the adjective "canonical" was used no longer in a passive sense, meaning that the books were *authorised*, or *ruled to be accepted* by the Church, but rather in an active sense, of the same books, regarded as *authoritative*, or *giving the rule of faith*, the sense in which the term is

¹ Origen, *De Principiis*, iv. 33; *Com. in Matt.* § 28 *cf.* § 117. The phrase *haberi in canone* also occurs in the Latin translation (*Prol. in Cant.*), but it is thought to be only the translator's version of *κανονίζεσθαι*.

² *Amphiloch.* vii.

³ Rufinus in *Symb. Apost.* § 37.

familiarly used by us when we speak of a book as "canonical"—the "canonical books" being those books to which the ultimate appeal lies in matters of necessary doctrine, and the "Cānon of Scripture" representing the collection of such books. It is probably owing to their use in the writings of Jerome and Augustine¹ that both terms "canon" and "canonical" passed into the common language of Western Christendom.²

(b) *The method of determining what books are canonical.*
—On this matter the language of the Article is perfectly clear. **In the name of Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.** The Church of England appeals to the historical evidence of reception by the visible Church, which, as Article XX. states, is "a witness and keeper of Holy Writ." This method of determining the canonicity of the books is in complete accordance with the general appeal which the Church of England makes to antiquity. It stands in sharp contrast to the method adopted by most of the Protestant communities in the sixteenth century, who preferred to base their acceptance of the books of Scripture on the "inner witness of the Spirit,"³ a witness which, however comforting and assuring to the believer who is conscious of

¹ Jerome, *Præf. in Libr. Salom. Proh. Galeatus*; cf. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*. xvii. 24; xviii. 38.

² See on this subject Westcott's *Bible in the Church*, p. 110, and Bishop Ellicott's *New Testament for English Readers*, vol. i. p. xii.

³ See the *Galic Confession*, Art. iv. : "Nous connoissons ces livres estre canoniques et reigle tres certaine de nostre Foy non tant par le commun accord et consentement de l'Eglise, que par le tesmoionage et intérieure persuasion du S. Esprit, qui les nous fait discerner d'avec les autres livres Ecclésiastiques, sur lesquels (encore qu'il soyent utiles) on ne peut fonder aucun Article de Foy." So the *Belgic Confession*, ch. v. : "Hos libros solos recipimus tanquam sacros et canonicos, quibus fides nostra inniti, confirmari et stabiliri possit. Itaque absque ulla dubitatione ea omnia

feeling it in himself, is yet scarcely likely to convince any who still need convincing, and which is practically useless as a test for deciding what books are to be accounted canonical. Indeed, as Alford points out, "any reasoning must be not only in itself insufficient, but logically unsound, which makes the authority of a book which is to set us our standard of doctrine, the result of a judgment of our own respecting the doctrine inculcated in it."¹

But the question may be, and has been, raised, How does this appeal to the authority of the Church in settling what is Holy Scripture agree with the teaching of the Article itself that Holy Scripture "contains all things necessary to salvation?" The question was one which was apparently often put to the Anglican apologists in the sixteenth century. Accordingly, it is touched upon by Hooker in the first book of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. "It may be, and oftentimes hath been, demanded, how the books of Holy Scripture contain in them all necessary things, when, of things necessary, the very chiefest is to know what books we are bound to esteem holy; which point is confessed impossible for Scripture to teach." The question thus fairly proposed by Hooker is by him as fairly answered. After pointing out that in every art or science *something* must be taken for granted to start with, he proceeds as follows:—"Albeit Scripture do profess to contain in it all things which are necessary to salvation; yet the meaning cannot be simply of all things which are necessary, but all things that are necessary in some certain kind or form; as all things which are neces-

credimus, quæ in illis continentur. Idque non tam quod ecclesia illos pro canonicis recipiat et comprobet; quam quod Spiritus Sanctus nostris conscientiis testetur illos a Deo emanasse; et eo maxime quod ipsi etiam per se sacram hanc suam auctoritatem et sanctitatem testentur atque comprobent; quum et ipsi cæciterum omnium, quæ in illis scriptis prædictæ fuerunt, implementationem et executionem clare conspiciere et veluti sensibus percipere possint.'

¹ *Greek Testament*, vol. iv. p. 85,

sary, and either could not at all or could not easily be known by the light of natural discourse; all things which are necessary to be known that we may be saved; but known with presupposal of knowledge concerning certain principles whereof it receiveth us already persuaded, and then instructeth us in all the residue that are necessary. In the number of these principles one is the sacred authority of Scripture. *Being therefore persuaded by other means that these Scriptures are the oracles of God, themselves do then teach us the rest, and lay before us all the duties which God requireth at our hands as necessary to salvation.*"¹ In other words, while Holy Scripture contains everything essential that is a matter of revelation, in order to discover in what books this revelation is contained we have recourse to ordinary historical evidence, and inquire what books have been accepted without doubt by the Church.

(c) *The question at issue between England and Rome concerning the canon of the Old Testament.*—Of the canonical books of the Old Testament, the Article gives a complete list. There is, therefore, no room for doubt what is the mind of the Church of England on this point. For the view taken by the Roman Church, the decree of the Council of Trent is equally explicit. After the passage with regard to the authority of Scripture and tradition already cited, the decree proceeds to say that "it has been thought meet that a catalogue of the sacred books be inserted in this decree, lest doubt should arise in anyone's mind as to which are the books received by the Synod." [Then follows the list, including Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, First and Second Maccabees.] "But if anyone receive not, as sacred and canonical, these same books *entire with all their parts*, as they have been used to be read in the Catholic Church, and *as they are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition*, and knowingly

¹ *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. I. ch. xiv. § 1.

and deliberately despise the traditions aforesaid, let him be anathema." The words placed in italics show us that we are intended to add to the books counted as canonical by the Church of Rome those additions to the books of Esther and Daniel which are found in the Septuagint and Vulgate, but which, as having no place in the Hebrew text, are relegated to a position in the Apocrypha by the Church of England, under the titles of *The Rest of the Book of Esther*, *Bel and the Dragon*, *The Story of Susanna*, and *the Song of the Three Children*.

Here, then, is a clear and decided difference between England and Rome, the latter counting as canonical almost all those books which the Church of England uses "for example of life and instruction of manners," but refuses to "apply them to establish any doctrine."

The origin of this difference lies far back, and must be sought in the Greek version of the Scriptures of the Old Covenant, to which were appended various books (some translations from the Hebrew, others originally written in Greek), which were certainly not regarded as sacred by the Jews of Palestine, and probably not even by those of the dispersion. That the Jewish Church has never admitted into the canon those books to which we refuse a place in it, may be proved with abundant evidence. Josephus (A.D. 70), who is our earliest direct witness on the subject, reckons up the "two and twenty books which are justly believed to be divine; five books of Moses, thirteen of the prophets extending to the reign of Artaxerxes, and four which contain hymns and directions of life";¹ while of later books he says that they are not esteemed worthy of the same credit, "because the accurate succession of the prophets was not preserved." The witness of the Talmud (A.D. 500) is to the same

¹ *Contra Apion.* 1, § 8. The thirteen prophets must be Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, *Chronicles*, *Ezra with Nehemiah*, *Esther*, *Job*,

effect,¹ while Philo supplies indirect evidence that the Jews of the dispersion agreed with their brethren in Palestine in this matter.² In the New Testament, though there are occasionally striking coincidences of language and thought with some of the books of the Apocrypha, yet there is not a single direct and acknowledged quotation from any one of them, while quotations from, and references to, almost all the books of the Hebrew canon abound.³ Against this there is nothing to be set on the other side, and so we may conclude that there can be no reasonable doubt that at the beginning of the Christian era the Jewish canon contained the same books which it does at the present day, namely, those enumerated as canonical in our Articles, and none others.⁴

In the Christian Church our earliest witnesses all point to this list, and to this alone, as formally and distinctly recognised. But at the same time it needs very little Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, *Daniel*, and the minor prophets. The four others are Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes. Other Jewish authorities generally reckon those in italics not among the prophets, but among the "Hagiographa," the third class of Josephus.

¹ *Baba Bathra*, fol. 14b.

² "His language shows that he was acquainted with the Apocryphal books, and yet he does not make a single quotation from them, though they offered much that was favourable to his views. On the other hand, in addition to the law, he quotes all the books of 'the prophets,' and the Psalms and Proverbs from the Hagiographa, and several of them with clear assertions of their 'prophetic' or inspired character. Of the remaining Hagiographa (Nehemiah, Ruth, Lamentations, First and Second Chronicles, Daniel, Ecclesiastes, Canticles) he makes no mention, but the first three may have been attached, as often in Hebrew usage, to other books (Ezra, Judges, Jeremiah), so that four writings alone are unattested by him."—Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 504 (Ed. 2).

³ The only books of the Old Testament to which the New gives no direct attestation are Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

⁴ For the history of the gradual growth of the Jewish canon, and of the doubts which existed in early days among Jewish doctors as to the canonicity of a few of the books, namely, Esther, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, reference may be made to Professor Ryle's *History of the Canon of the Old Testament*. Cf. also the *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 503.

research to discover that quotations from the Apocrypha are abundant in the writings of the Fathers, from the earliest days. This, however, is easily accounted for. The Fathers were, with scarcely an exception, ignorant of Hebrew, and dependent on the Septuagint Version for their knowledge of the Scriptures of the Old Covenant. In this version, as we have seen, the books of the Apocrypha found a place. It was, therefore, only natural that the Fathers should fall into the habit of employing and quoting all the books in the collection with which they were familiar, and thus should gradually lose their sense of the distinction between the books of the Hebrew canon and the additions of the Septuagint. The "old Latin version" was made from the Septuagint, and consequently included the additional books. Hence the confusion passed over into the Western Church. But in spite of this growing recognition of the books of the Apocrypha, and the popular use of them, it remains that during the first four centuries every Father who gives a deliberate judgment on the subject, and has the slightest claim to occupy a representative position, accepts the Hebrew canon alone. In its behalf may be quoted the testimony of the Syriac (Peschito) version which is limited to the books of the Hebrew canon; the witness of Melito of Sardis (A.D. 180), who made the number of the books of the canon a subject of special inquiry;¹ Origen (220);² Cyril of Jerusalem (348);³

¹ See Eusebius, *H. E.* IV. xxvi. Melito does not mention *Esther* separately, but the suggestion has been made that it may have been reckoned with Ezra, as Nehemiah almost certainly was. See Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. i. p. 136.

² See Eusebius, *H. E.* IV. xxv. Origen gives the Hebrew canon exactly as we have it.

³ *Catech.* iv. § 35. Cyril includes Baruch in the canon, taking it as an appendix to Jeremiah; otherwise his list of the Old Testament coincides exactly with our own.

Athanasius (367);¹ Gregory Nazianzen (390)² in the East; and of Hilary of Poitiers (368);³ Rufinus (390)⁴ and Jerome (430)⁵ in the West. Especially important is the testimony of the last-mentioned writer. He gives a complete and accurate list exactly coinciding with our own, and ends by saying, "Whatever is without the number of these must be placed among the Apocrypha."⁶ Contemporary with Jerome was Augustine, and it is to his varying and uncertain language that the claim of the Apocrypha to be ranked as canonical must be traced. Not only does he freely quote (as others had done before him) books of the Apocrypha as Scripture, but (as others had *not* done before him) when formally enumerating the books contained in the canon of Scripture he includes these books among them without drawing any clear distinction between them,⁷ although else-

¹ *Festal Epistles*, No. xxxix. Like Cyril, Athanasius includes Baruch, but he expressly excludes Esther from a place among the canonical books.

² *Carmina*, xii. 13. Esther is not mentioned in this list.

³ *Prologus in Psalmos*, § 15. Hilary's list is identical with our own, though he mentions that some added to it the books of Tobit and Judith.

⁴ In *Symbolum Apostolorum*, § 37. The list is exactly the same as ours, and expressly says that Tobit, Judith, etc., are "not canonical, but ecclesiastical."

⁵ *Prologus Galeatus*.

⁶ No reference is made in the text to the Fifty-ninth canon of the Council of Laodiceæ (A.D. 363), which is often quoted as determining the canon of Scripture; because there appear to be very strong grounds for questioning the genuineness of that part of the decree which contains the list of the books. See Westcott *On the Canon*, p. 498. Hefele, however, accepts it as genuine (*History of the Councils*, vol. ii. p. 322 *seq.*, English translation). The list given in it is, however, exactly the same as our own. It ought to be added that many of the authorities quoted in the previous notes as accepting the Hebrew canon rather than the enlarged one of the Septuagint as authoritative, yet make use of the other books, and cite them from time to time as Scripture. This was under the circumstances only natural, and the same thing is equally true of our reformers. Habit and custom were often too strong for them. Hence the Apocrypha is freely quoted as "Scripture" and "the word of God" in the Homilies, and yet distinctly separated off from the canonical books of Scripture in the article.

⁷ *De Doctrina Christiana* II. viii. : Totus autem Canon Scripturarum

where he seems occasionally to use language which implies that he recognised a distinction ;¹ from which it has been inferred that possibly he really differed from Jerome only in language. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), at which Augustine himself is thought to have been present, recognised and adopted the enlarged canon of the Septuagint, including

. . . his libris continetur; quinque Moyseos, id est Genesi, Exodo, Levitico, Numeris, Deuteronomio ; et uno libro Jesu Nave, uno Judicum, uno libello qui adpellatur Ruth, qui magis ad Regnorum principium videtur pertinere ; deinde quatuor Regnorum, et duobus Paralipomenon, non consequentibus sed quasi a latere adjunctis, simulque pergentibus. Hæc est historia quæ sibimet adnexa tempora continet atque ordinem rerum. Sunt aliæ tanquam ex diverso ordine, quæ neque huic ordini neque inter se connectuntur, sicut est Job et Tobias, et Esther, et *Judith* et *Machabæorum libri duo*, et Esdræ duo, qui magis subsequi videntur ordinatam illam historiam usque ad Regnorum vel Paralipomenon terminatam. Deinde Prophetæ, in quibus David unus liber Psalmorum, et Salomonis tres : Proverbiorum, Cantica Canticorum, et Ecclesiastes. Nam illi duo libri, unus qui *Sapientia*, et alius qui *Ecclesiasticus* inscribitur, de quadam similitudine Salomonis esse dicuntur ; nam Jesus Sirach eos conscripsisse constantissime perhibetur ; qui tamen, quoniam in auctoritatem recipi meruerunt, inter propheticos numerandi sunt. Reliqui sunt eorum libri qui proprie prophetæ adpellantur duodecim prophetarum libri singuli, qui connexi sibimet, quoniam nunquam sejuncti sunt, pro uno habentur, quorum prophetarum nomina sunt hæc : Osee, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Michæas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggæus, Zacharias, Malachi; deinde quatuor prophetæ sunt majorum voluminum : Isaias, Jeremias, Daniel, Ezekiel. His quadraginta quatuor libris testamenti veteris terminatur auctoritas." The books of the Apocrypha are italicised in this list. It will be noticed that there is no mention of Baruch. This probably does not indicate rejection, but may be accounted for by supposing that it was reckoned along with Jeremiah. Cf. *De Civitate Dei*, xviii. 33, c. *Faustum*, xii. 43.

¹ In *Contra Gaudentium*, i. 38, Augustine speaks of the books of the Maccabees "as received by the Church not without profit, if they be read with sobriety." In the *De Civitate Dei*, xviii. 36, he says that a reckoning is found "not in the Holy Scriptures which are called canonical, but in others, among which are also the books of the Maccabees—which the Church and not the Jews account canonical, on account of the wonderful sufferings of the martyrs, etc." He thus draws a distinction between the books recognised by both the Jewish and the Christian Church, and those held in honour by the Christians only. Cf. *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 505.

the books of the Apocrypha.¹ The same is true of the decretals which bear the names of Innocent, Damasus, and Gelasius, and of many later writers, so that it may fairly be said that from the fifth century onwards, at least in the Western Church, the distinction between the two classes of books was generally obliterated. Nevertheless it has been pointed out with truth that in spite of this wide recognition of the Apocrypha as canonical "a continuous succession of the more learned fathers in the West maintained the distinctive authority of the Hebrew canon up to the period of the Reformation," and "repeat with approval the decision of Jerome, and draw a clear line between the canonical and apocryphal books."² It was thus reserved for the Council of Trent in 1546 to decide finally against this continuous stream of testimony, and, in giving its verdict against all the more critical of the Fathers, to stereotype the confusion which could never have arisen except in an age devoid of the first principles of criticism.³

It is remarkable that notwithstanding the decision of the Council of Trent taken so early to include the Apocrypha among the canonical books, Cranmer was content

¹ *Conc. Carth.* iii. Canon xxxix., repeating the decree of the Council of Hippo, A.D. 393. See Hefele, *History of Councils*, vol. ii. p. 400, English Translation.

² Bp. Westcott in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 507 (Ed. 2). The whole article should be consulted. Among the later writers who are there noted as drawing a distinction between the canonical books and the Apocrypha are S. Gregory the Great, Bede, Nicholas de Lyra, Cajetan, and Ximenes. The last mentioned in the preface to the great *Complutensian Polyglot*, published in 1517, describes the books of which he can only print a Greek and not a Hebrew text, as "the books outside the canon, which the Church receives rather for the edification of the people than to confirm the authority of ecclesiastical dogmas."

³ Of the distinction which is drawn by some Roman divines between Protocanonical and Deuterocanonical books, the latter having only an ethical authority, there is not the shadow of a trace in the Tridentine decree.

to issue the Anglican Articles in 1553 without any reference whatever to the question, for the list of books was, as has been already mentioned, not inserted until the revision by Parker in Elizabeth's reign. The omission in the earlier series is not easy to account for. That it cannot have been due to any hesitation felt by the Reformers is shown by the separation of the Apocrypha from the other books in the English Bibles published in the reign of Henry VIII. They are so separated in the edition of Coverdale (1535), and in the "Great Bible" of Cranmer (1539, 1540), and in both are described as "Apocrypha," for though the latter, by a curious blunder, has "Hagiographa" on the title-page of the section containing them, yet the running heading at the top of each page is "Apocrypha." Moreover, the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* devotes a section to the subject, and carefully distinguishes them from the books of the Hebrew canon, styling them "sacred but not canonical," assigning to them the very same position which was subsequently given to them in the Articles.¹

It may be well to add a few words on the view taken by the Eastern Church on the canon of the Old Testament, although it is by no means clear what is binding on members of that communion, owing partly to the absence of authoritative symbolical books, and partly to the fact that conflicting judgments on this subject may be quoted. The Confession of Cyril Lucar in the seven-

¹ *Ref. Legum Eccl.* "De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica," ch. 7. *Libri sacri non tamen Canonici.* Liber vero qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur, Ecclesiasticus, item Judith, Tobias, Baruch, tertius et quartus Esdræ, libri Machabæorum, cum Apocryphis Hester et Danielis, leguntur quidem a fidelibus et in ecclesia recitantur, quod ad ædificationem plebis plurima in illis valeant, quibus tamen non tantum authoritatis tribuitur, ut fidei nostræ dogmata ex ipsis solis et separatim citra alios indubitatæ Scripturæ locos constitui, constabilirique, vel possint, vel debeant. Sunt ergo et cum judicio et sobrie isti tum audiendi tum legendi.

teenth century assigns an inferior rank to the additions of the Septuagint, and the same view is taken in the Confession of Metrophanes Critopulus put forth in 1625, especially for the information of the reformed bodies. "As to the other books which some would combine together with Holy Scripture, such as Tobit and the like, we do not hold that they are to be rejected, for they contain much that is moral and worthy of all praise. But as canonical and authentic they were not formerly received by the Church of Christ . . . wherefore we do not seek to establish our dogmas by them, but from the three and thirty canonical and authentic books which we call the inspired and Holy Scripture."¹ This judgment is repeated with approval by later writers, and probably represents the general opinion in the Greek Church; but on the other hand the Synod of Jerusalem (A.D. 1672), held "against the Calvinists," and violently hostile to Cyril Lucar, pronounced that the books which he had foolishly, ignorantly, or maliciously called Apocrypha, were to be received with the other genuine books of Holy Scripture, and to be acknowledged as "Canonical and Holy Scripture."²

The "Longer Catechism of the Russian Church" follows S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Athanasius, and S. John Damascene, in adopting the Hebrew canon, quoting S. Athanasius expressly as saying that the books which "do not exist in the Hebrew" are "appointed by the Fathers to be read by proselytes who are preparing for admission into the Church";³ and we are told that "the officially-printed Russian Bibles contain the apocryphal

¹ Metrophanes Critopulus, *Confessio*. ch. vii., quoted in Winer's *Confessions of Christendom*, p. 61.

² *Synodus Hierosolymitanus, Dosithei Confessio*, Q. 3. Kimmel, *Libri Symbolici*, p. 467.

³ *The Doctrine of the Russian Church*, translated by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore, p. 38.

books, with a note to the effect that they are taken from the Greek version or are not found in the Hebrew text.”¹

(d.) *The canon of the New Testament.*—It is obvious that in the very limited space which alone can be devoted to the subject in a work of this character, it is impossible to do more than give the briefest summary of the evidence which has led the Church to accept the canon of the New Testament as it has come down to us. Fuller details must be sought in such works as Bishop Westcott’s *History of the Canon of the New Testament*, or Dr. Salmon’s *Introduction to the New Testament*. All that can be attempted here is to indicate the main outlines of the evidence, which may be summed up under four different heads, namely, the witness of (1) MSS., (2) Versions, (3) formal catalogues of the books, and (4) citations in early ecclesiastical writers. These four distinct branches of evidence all combine to establish the fact that the books of the New Testament, which we receive to-day, have come down to us from the days of the apostles; that, with the partial exceptions noted below, they have been recognised as sacred by the Church from the beginning; and that in very early days they were formed into a definite collection, so as to constitute a “New Testament” corresponding to the “Old.”

1. **Manuscripts.** — The total number of manuscripts of the Greek Testament that are known to exist and have been examined with more or less care, amounts to something like twelve hundred. They are divided into two classes, known respectively as “uncial” and “cursives.” The former class, written in capital letters, comprises all the more ancient among them, ranging from the fourth to the tenth century. The “cursives” are written in a small running hand, which began to come into use about the ninth century, and include the great

¹ *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 510.

bulk of the existing MSS. from that date to the sixteenth.

The oldest MSS. are the four great Bibles of the fourth and fifth centuries, containing the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, as well as the original Greek of the New. These are known to scholars under the following titles:—

i. *Codex Vaticanus* (B), in the Vatican Library at Rome, containing all the books of the New Testament except the later chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, Philemon, and the Revelation of S. John.

ii. *Codex Sinaiticus* (א), discovered by Tischendorf in the convent of S. Catherine at Mount Sinai in 1859, now at St. Petersburg. This contains all the books of the New Testament without exception.

Both of these MSS. are unhesitatingly assigned to the middle of the fourth century.

iii. *Codex Alexandrinus* (A), in the British Museum. This, like the Sinaitic MS., contains every book of the New Testament, though several leaves are wanting at the beginning of S. Matthew's Gospel, as well as two or three in other parts of the volume.

iv. *Codex Ephraemi* (C), at Paris. This MS., in which the works of an eastern Father, Ephraem the Syrian, have been written over the Greek text of the Scriptures, is in a very fragmentary condition; but sufficient remains to show us that it also originally contained the whole New Testament. Together with *Codex Alexandrinus* it is set down as belonging to the fifth century.

Of later MSS. there is no need to give any account here. While to the textual critic many of them are of the highest value, they can scarcely be said to add materially to the evidence for the point that is here under consideration. But the existence of these four MSS. just enumerated is of itself sufficient to establish the existence

of the New Testament as a collected whole—a definite Canon—placed on a footing of equal authority with the Old Testament, some time before the date to which the earliest of them is assigned. And it may be added that the fact that there are such a number of MSS. remaining, many of them belonging to an early date, enables us to place far greater reliance on the correctness of the text of the New Testament than we can do on the text of any of the great classical writers of antiquity, whose works often rest on the evidence of one or two MSS., and those of a comparatively recent date.

2. **Versions.**—While the MSS. of the Greek Testament thus testify to the existence of the collection before the middle of the fourth century, we are enabled, by the aid of the versions, to prove its acceptance by the Church some two centuries earlier still. For we find that before the second century had come to a close the books of the New Testament had been already translated into the vernacular in more than one country. The two oldest and most important versions or translations known to us are the Old Latin and the Syriac. Of these the former was in use in North Africa, probably in the days of Tertullian (A.D. 200), and certainly a considerable time before the days of S. Cyprian, by whom it is frequently quoted some fifty years later. It is, perhaps, scarcely correct to speak of the Old Latin as a single version. The MSS. of it which remain fall into distinct groups, from which scholars have concluded that besides the African text, used by Cyprian and others, there was another current, generally known as the European, which may have been originally an *independent* version.¹ Should

¹ From the European was probably formed the Italic, the third form in which the Old Latin is known to us. On these versions and their relation to each other see Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, vol. ii. ch. iii. (Ed. 4)

this prove to be correct it will supply us with a fresh evidence to the existence and widespread use of the books of the New Testament in early days.

No *complete* Old Latin version remains to us. It has come down in a partial and fragmentary form in the existing MSS. ; but enough remains to enable us to state with certainty that the version contained all the books of our present canon, except the Second Epistle of S. Peter, and (at least in the first instance) the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Still older, perhaps, than the Old Latin is the original Syriac translation. The Peshito or Simple version is the Vulgate of the Syriac Church, and of itself can claim a high antiquity, although its actual date in the revised form in which it has come down to us is hard to determine. It has been placed by some scholars as early as the end of the second century ; by others some time later. But portions of a still more ancient Syriac version have lately come to light. In 1842 a few fragments of a MS. of the fifth century were brought to England, and found to contain a limited number of passages from each of the four Gospels in a Syriac translation, different from that previously known. These were edited by Dr. Cureton, from whom the version is known as the Curetonian Syriac. It is thought to contain an older unrevised text, and to be *not later than the middle of the second century*. Since Cureton's day a second MS. of a recension of the same version has been discovered at Mount Sinai.¹ which, happily, contains the whole of the Gospels. Whether this oldest Syriac version ever contained more than this it is impossible at present to determine. But in its revised form in the Peshito the canon of the Syriac Church comprises the

¹ In 1892 by Mrs. Lewis, by whom an English translation of the Gospels has been published (1894).

whole of the New Testament except 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse.

A third group of versions must also be mentioned, namely, the Egyptian. Of these there are various forms known to us, now generally termed "Boharic," "Sahidic" (or "Thebaic"), and "Bashmuric," as well as fragments in other dialects. The early history of these is very obscure, but it has been said by a competent authority that we "should probably not be exaggerating if we placed one or both the Egyptian versions, the Boharic and Sahidic, or at least parts of them before the close of the second century."¹ Nor is there room for doubt that these versions contained the whole of the books of our present canon with the exception of the Apocalypse.

3. Catalogues.—Besides MSS. and versions, a third important branch of evidence is furnished by the formal lists of the books of Scripture drawn up in the early centuries. Of these several have come down to us from the fourth century, when the canon of Scripture was made a special subject of inquiry and was finally settled in the Church. The list of the books of the New Testament, exactly as we have them at present, was definitely ratified at the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397).² The catalogues given by Rufinus³ (390) in Italy, by Gregory Nazianzen⁴ (389) and Amphilochius⁵ (*circa* 380) in Asia Minor, by Athanasius⁶ (367) in Alexandria, and Cyril of Jerusalem⁷ (348) in Palestine supply further evidence reaching back to the first half of the same century. In these the only book concerning the acceptance of which there is any hesitation expressed is the Apocalypse. While it is definitely recognised as canon-

¹ Scrivener, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 98.

² *Conc. Carth.* Canon xxxix.

⁴ *Carmina*, § 1, xii. 5.

⁶ *Ep. Fest.* xxxix.

³ *In Symb.* § 37.

⁵ *Ad Seleuch.*

⁷ *Catech.* iv. 36.

ical by Rufinus and Athanasius, it is passed over in silence by Cyril,¹ and expressly rejected by Gregory Nazianzen and Amphilochius.

For the earlier part of the fourth century we have a still more important witness in the list of the books given by Eusebius in the third book of his *Ecclesiastical History*,² in which he sums up the results of his investigation on the subject of the canon. In this he tells us that all the books for which any claim to divine authority has been made may broadly be divided into two classes—(1) the acknowledged books (*ὁμολογούμενα*), and (2) those which were disputed (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*). In the first class (which he elsewhere describes as “canonical and acknowledged”)³ he places the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of S. Paul, the First Epistle of S. Peter, and the First of S. John, and (with some hesitation) the Apocalypse. In the second class he finds it necessary to make a subdivision. (*a*) Some of the disputed books, or Antilegomena, were nevertheless “recognised by most,” and these form a separate class, including the Epistles of S. James and S. Jude, 2 and 3 John, and 2 Peter. (*b*) The remaining Antilegomena are set aside as spurious (*νόθα*), *e.g.* the Acts of Paul, the Pastor of Hermas, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the so-called “Teaching of the Apostles,” and the Revelation of S. John, “which some reject, but others class with the acknowledged books.” Nothing is said expressly in this passage concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews. But as there is no mention of it among the disputed books it may be supposed to be included among the Epistles of S. Paul,

¹ As it is also in the list appended to the fifty-ninth canon of the Council of Laodicea.

² Eusebius, *H. E.* III. xxv.

³ III. iii. περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθέκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων.

as it apparently is in an earlier chapter of the same book,¹ although elsewhere it is spoken of as one of the *Antilegomena*.²

The importance of this passage of Eusebius can hardly be exaggerated. Eusebius had made the reception of the various books of the New Testament a subject of special inquiry; and the outcome of his researches was that he was aware of no doubts whatever as to the genuineness and authenticity of the great bulk of the books which have come down to us. Concerning *seven* books only, were doubts expressed by some of the authors whom he consulted. But for all these he was able to quote testimonies from earlier writers, and his deliberate judgment concerning them was that they were generally known and recognised.

There appear to be no formal catalogues of the Scriptures belonging to the third century. But of a second century list one precious fragment remains. It is commonly known as the "Muratorian Fragment on the Canon," from its discoverer and first editor, Muratori.³ Its date, which is fixed by internal evidence, must be placed in the latter part of the *second* century.⁴ The beginning of the document is unfortunately lost, and in other parts it appears to be mutilated. But that if we possessed it entire we should find that the Gospels according to S. Matthew and S. Mark were recognised

¹ III. iii. "Paul's fourteen epistles are well-known and undisputed (πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφείς). It is not, indeed, right to ignore the fact that some have rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying that it was disputed (ἀντιλέγεσθαι) by the Church of Rome, on the ground that it was not written by Paul."

² *H. E.* VI. xiii.

³ The fragment is printed in Westcott's *History of the Canon*, Appendix C, and in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. i. p. 393.

⁴ Dr. Salmon seems to stand alone in assigning it to the *third* century, see the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. iii. p. 1002.

there can be no reasonable doubt—for the opening sentences of what remains assign the *third* place to the Gospel of S. Luke, and the *fourth* to that of S. John. Besides these the fragment mentions the Acts of the Apostles; thirteen Epistles of S. Paul; the Epistle of S. Jude; two (or three)¹ Epistles of S. John; the Apocalypses of John and Peter, “which last some will not have read in the Church.” There is no mention in the fragment of the Epistles of S. Peter, the Epistle of S. James, or (apparently) of that to the Hebrews.² But as the MS is only a fragment, no great stress can be laid on these omissions, and we may feel sure that in its original form it must at least have included the *first* Epistle of S. Peter, as we never hear of doubts expressed elsewhere concerning the reception of this.

This is the earliest catalogue of the Scriptures that has come down to us. It proves conclusively two things—*first*, that before the close of the second century a definite canon of the New Testament had been formed; and, *secondly*, that this was substantially the same as our own, although, as we have seen, so late as the fourth century, some hesitation was felt in various quarters concerning the canonicity of a limited number of the books.

4. Citations in early writers.—In order (1) to bridge over the interval between the latter part of the

¹ “Though only two Epistles of John are here mentioned, the opening sentence of the First Epistle has been quoted in the paragraph treating of the Gospel; and it is possible that our writer may have read that epistle as a kind of appendix to the Gospel, and is here speaking of the other two.”—*Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. iii. p. 1001. It is certainly hard to think that anyone could have accepted either the Second or Third Epistle without the other.

² It has been suggested that the Epistle to the Hebrews may be referred to as the Epistle to the Alexandrians, which the writer speaks of as “forged under the name of Paul, bearing on” (or “in the interest of”) “the heresy of Marcion.”

second century and the apostolic age, and also (2) to establish the genuineness of the "Antilegomena" recourse must be had to the fourth branch of evidence.

To the same age as the writer of the Muratorian fragment belong Tertullian and Irenæus; both of whom bear witness to the acceptance by the Church of a definite "canon" of Scripture.¹ But earlier than about the year A.D. 170, although there is ample evidence of the existence of all or almost all the books, the indications of a definite *collection* of them are but slight. In this period the canon of the New Testament was only being gradually formed by the separation of the genuine and authentic writings of apostles and apostolic men from all others.

That a "fourfold gospel" was acknowledged at a comparatively early date is shown by the *Diatessaron* of Tatian (A.D. 150–160), the recent discovery of which has placed beyond dispute the fact that it was a harmony of our four canonical Gospels.² Nor can there now be reasonable grounds for doubt that these four were known and used by Tatian's master, *Justin Martyr* (140), by whom they are spoken of as the "Memoirs of the Apostles," and said to have been written by "apostles and apostolic men."³ To a still earlier date (*circa* 130) we are taken by the fragments which remain of the work of *Papias of Hierapolis*, one of which, preserved by Eusebius, describes the origin of Gospels attributed to Matthew and Mark, which it is only natural to identify with those which

¹ On the evidence of Tertullian and Irenæus see Sanday's *Gospels in the Second Century*, ch. xiii.

² See *The Earliest Life of our Lord*, by H. Hill; and Hemphill's Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

³ *Apol.* I. lxvi. lxvii.; cf. ch. xxxiii.; *Dial.* lxxxviii. c. etc. See on the evidence of Justin Martyr Westcott's *Canon of the New Testament*, p. 86, and for proof that Justin was acquainted with the Gospel of S. John, reference may be made especially to Ezra Abbot's *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*.

certainly passed under these names a few years later.¹

This brings us very near to the date at which the Gospels were written, and when it is added that in the writings of the apostolic Fathers and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,² there are many striking coincidences of language with passages found in all the four Gospels, we need not hesitate to set these down as proofs of their existence and acceptance by the Church, from the days of those who were themselves the pupils and companions of the apostles.

Equally clear is the witness of citations from early writers for the remainder of the books which Eusebius ranked as "acknowledged,"³ and although it is clear that

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.* III. xxxix.; cf. Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 142 *seq.*

² S. Matt. xx. 6 is actually quoted in the Epistle of Barnabas, ch. iv., as Scripture, being quoted with the formula *ὡς γέγραπται*. There is a possible allusion to the Four Gospels in the *Pastor of Hermas*, vis. iii. 13. With S. Matt. vii. 1, 2, and S. Luke, vi. 36-38, cf. Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.* I. xiii., *Ep. Polyc.* ch. ii.; with S. Matt. xxvi. 24, and S. Mark xiv. 21, cf. Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.* ch. xlv.; with S. Matt. xxvi. 44, and S. Mark xiv. 38, cf. Polycarp, ch. vii.; with S. John vi. 32, 51, 53, vii. 38, cf. Ignatius, *Ad Rom.* vii.; with S. John x. 7, *Ad Philad.* ix. The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* appears to borrow freely from S. Matthew's Gospel. It also has coincidences with S. Luke (see ch. i., ix.); and S. John.

³ From the *Acts of the Apostles* we have a clear quotation in Polycarp i., cf. Acts ii. 24; and coincidences with Clement of Rome, ch. ii. (cf. Acts xx. 35), and Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.* iii.; cf. Acts x. 41.

The *First Epistle to the Corinthians* is expressly quoted as St. Paul's by Clement of Rome (ch. xlvii.), that to the *Philippians* by Polycarp, ch. iii. In Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* ch. xii., there is a reference to "every epistle" of S. Paul's, which seems to imply a collection of them. Besides these there are numerous verbal coincidences so close as to be marked by Bishop Lightfoot as quotations. Thus for *Romans* see Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* xix.; Polycarp, *Ad Philip.* vi. x.

1 *Corinthians*, Clement of Rome, xxxiv. Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* xvi. xviii.; *Ad Rom.* v.; *Ad Philad.* iii.; Polycarp, *Ad Philip.* iv. v. x. xi.

2 *Corinthians*, Polycarp, *Ad Philip.* ii. vi.

Galatians, Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* xvi. Polycarp *Ad Philip.* iii. v.

the "disputed" books only gradually won their way to universal recognition, yet it is believed that the final judgment of the Church in each case was correct, and that their genuineness can be satisfactorily established both from external and from internal evidence.¹

The brief sketch which has here been given, slight as it is, will be sufficient to show the nature of the grounds on which the Church has accepted the Canon of the New Testament. It will have made it clear that the great majority of the books must have been received from the days of the apostles without question, but that *seven* were not universally received until the latter part of the fourth century. Turning now to the text of the Article to see what is said on the canon of the New Testament, we are met by a difficulty. No list of the books is given, as in the case of the Old Testament. But two distinct statements are made which it is not

Ephesians, Ignatius, *Ad Polyc.* v. Polycarp, *Ad Philip.* i. xii.

Philippians, Polycarp, *Ad Philip.* ix. xii.

Colossians, Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* x.

2 *Thessalonians*, Polycarp, *Ad Philip.* xi.

1 *Timothy*, Polycarp, *Ad Philip.* iv. xii.

2 *Timothy*, *ibid.* v. ix.

Titus, Clement of Rome, ii.

1 *Peter*, Clement of Rome, xxx. (?) Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* v. (?) Polycarp, *Ad Philip.* i. ii. v. vii. viii. x.

1 *John*, Polycarp, *Ad Philip.* vii.

¹ Of the disputed books there is strong attestation to both the *Epistle to the Hebrews* and the *Epistle of S. James* in Clement of Rome. See ch. xxx. xxxvi. xliii. xlix. There are *doubtful* allusions to 2 Peter in the same epistle. For 2 and 3 John and S. Jude nothing earlier than the Muratorian Fragment can be quoted. But for the Apocalypse there is ample evidence in Justin Martyr (*Dial.* lxxxi.; cf. *Apol.* xxviii.), Hermas (*Vis.* ii. 4; iv. 2), and Papias (see Lightfoot, *Supernatural Religion*, p. 214). For 2 Peter the external evidence is weaker than for any other book of the New Testament. The "clear evidence begins with Origen, who, however, mentions that the epistle was doubted." See Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 382, and on the whole subject of the Genesis of the New Testament, see *ibid.* Lectures, vi, vii.

altogether easy to reconcile with each other. It is first stated that **in the name of Holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church;** and finally, at the close of the Article, there is another statement on the subject, saying that **all the books of the New Testament as they are commonly received we do receive and account canonical.** Now there is no question that at the date at which the Article was drawn up all the Antilegomena were "commonly received," and therefore to judge by the last paragraph of the Article they ought to be received now, whereas if the terms of the earlier statement be interpreted strictly they should be excluded, for most certainly doubts have been expressed concerning their authority in the Church.

It is hard to find a satisfactory explanation of this ambiguity. A suggestion has been made that it was of set purpose that the terms of the Article were not made more precise. There certainly was at that time an inclination in some quarters to form a "canon within a canon," or even to reject one or two of the books of the New Testament altogether. Luther, for instance, finding that S. James' language on justification by works was scarcely in harmony with his own theory on the subject was at one time disposed to reject this epistle,¹ while

¹ "With bold self-reliance he created a purely subjective standard for the canonicity of the Scriptures, in the character of their "teaching of Christ," and while he placed the Gospel and First Epistle of S. John, the Epistles of S. Paul to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and the First Epistle of S. Peter, in the first rank, as containing the "kernel of Christianity," he set aside the Epistles to the Hebrews, S. Jude, S. James, and the Apocalypse at the end of his version, and spoke of them, and of the remaining Antilegomena with varying degrees of disrespect, though he did not separate 2 Peter, and 2 and 3 John from the other Epistles."—*Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 518. For Luther's

others among the foreign reformers were anxious to place the Antilegomena on a lower level than the rest of the books. It is possible, therefore, that the Article was left as it now stands, in order to give some latitude for subscription, so that those scholars who were led to place any of the Antilegomena on a lower level of authority might be able to shelter themselves behind the conflicting terms of the Article. "A distinction," says Bishop Westcott, "remains between the 'canonical' books, and such 'canonical books as have never been doubted in the Church,' and it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the framers of the Articles intended to leave a freedom of judgment on a point on which the greatest of the continental reformers, and even of Romish scholars (Sixtus Sen. *Biblioth.* s. ii. 1; Cajetan, *Præf. ad Epp., ad Hebr., Jac., 2, 3 John, Jude*) were divided."¹ This view is possible, but it is perhaps over-subtle, and moreover it would involve the admission that the Antilegomena, though "canonical," are not included in what the article calls "Holy Scripture," for in the name of Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church; and it has been proposed to understand "the Church" in the clause just quoted as referring to the *Church universal*. It is on the whole true, even of the Antilegomena, that though their authority has been questioned in particular parts of the Church, yet, so far as we know, there has never been any doubt about their authority in the *Church as a whole*.²

language on the Epistle of S. James, which he actually described as a "right strawy epistle," see Huther's *Commentary on St. James* (E. T.), p. 25.

¹ *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 518.

² "Some of them, as, for instance, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse—have been the subject of much doubt in the East and West, as the case may be. But the article asserts that there has been no doubt

According to Eusebius they were "recognised by most" of the writers whom he consulted, and so the words of the Article might fairly be taken to cover them all.

III. *The Position of "the other Books."*

Under this head it will be well to consider separately—

(a) The meaning of the term "Apocrypha."

(b) The position assigned to the Apocrypha by the Church of England, and the arguments by which it may be supported.

(a) *The meaning of the term Apocrypha.*—The adjective ἀπόκρυφος is used in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament and in the New Testament in its ordinary classical sense of "hidden" or "secret" (see S. Luke viii. 17, Col. ii. 3, and cf. Eccles. xxiii. 19). From this meaning it was employed even in pre-Christian times by teachers who claimed a higher "esoteric" wisdom, which they embodied in secret, i.e. apocryphal writings.¹ The plan of embodying teaching in such "secret" books which might not be openly read and used was one against which the Church set her face from the beginning. But it was the plan adopted by many of the heretical sects, and hence the word "apocryphal" as applied to their writings rapidly came to be a word of reproach, and to denote the ideas of *spurious* and *heretical*. It has been thought that this reference of the word was facilitated by an analogous use of a Hebrew word with

about them in the Church Catholic; that is, at the very first time that the Catholic or whole Church had the opportunity of forming a judgment on the subject, it pronounced in favour of the canonical books. The Epistle to the Hebrews was doubted by the West, and the Apocalypse by the East, only while those portions of the Church investigated separately from each other, only till they compared notes, interchanged sentiments, and formed a united judgment."—J. H. Newman, in *Tract XC.* p. 6, Reprint of 1865.

¹ Cf. 2 Esdras xii. 37, 38, xiv. 44.

much the same meaning. The late Hebrew or Aramaic term *Genuzim* (=hidden) was applied by the Jews originally to the worn-out copies of the Scripture rolls, which were no longer suitable for use in the synagogue, and were therefore withdrawn and consigned to a special chamber, known as the Genizah. It thus came to denote that a book was for some cause or other unfit for public reading.¹ How far it was as a translation of *Genuzim* that Apocryphal came into familiar use in the Christian Church it is hard to say, but it is certain that during the second century it was employed as a term of reproach, as described above. In this way it is used by such early writers as Irenæus,² Tertullian,³ and Clement of Alexandria;⁴ and this sense has attached to the adjective "apocryphal" ever since, so that by the term Apocryphal Gospels are denoted the spurious Gospels forged by heretics, and rejected by the Church. This appears to be the invariable use of the word till well on in the fourth century. Before this time it was never applied to those books which were "read in the Church for example of life and instruction of manners." These were ordinarily termed Ecclesiastical, and were carefully distinguished from the discredited Apocryphal works. Rufinus writing towards the close of the fourth century describes very clearly the practice of an earlier age. After enumerating the books of the Hebrew Bible and of the New Testament, he says: "These are the books which the Fathers included in the canon, and from which they wished the assertions of our faith to be established." He then adds the following: "But you must know that

¹ See Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 105, and cf. Wildeboer, *The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament*, p. 91. Buhl, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, p. 56.

² *Adv. Hær.* bk. I. ch. xiii.

³ *De Pudic.* ch. x. xx; *De Anima*, ch. ii.

⁴ *Strom.* I. xix. 69.

there are other books which were called by our ancestors not Canonical but Ecclesiastical; that is, that which is called the Wisdom of Solomon, and another which is called the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, which book is called among the Latins by the descriptive name Ecclesiasticus, by which term not the author of the book but the kind of the writing is designated. And of the same order is the Book of Tobit, and Judith, and the Books of the Maccabees. And in the New Testament, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Two Ways, and the Judgment of Peter, all of which they wished to be read indeed in Church, but not to be brought forward for confirming the authority of the faith from them. But the rest of the writings they termed Apocryphal, which they would not have read in Church.”¹ In the fourth century, however, a wider meaning was given to the word “apocryphal.” S. Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Catechetical Lectures* contents himself with a twofold division of the books—(1) the canonical ones, which alone he would have read in Church, and (2) the apocryphal ones, against which he urgently warns his hearers.² Since the canonical books, of which he gives a list, embrace only those of the Hebrew canon, it is manifest that “apocryphal” is used by him in the sense of “withdrawn from public reading,” and indicates nothing as to the character of the books to which it was applied. Practically it becomes the equivalent of “non-canonical.” In this use of the word Cyril is followed by S. Jerome at the end of the century. In his famous “Prologus Galeatus,” the preface to his new translation of the Scriptures, he gives a list of the books of the Hebrew Canon, after which he says: “Quicquid extra hos est, *inter Apocrypha* esse ponendum. Igitur Sapientia, quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu filii Syrach liber, et Judith, et Tobias,

¹ *In Symb.* § 38.

² St. Cyril, *Catech.* iv. 35.

et Pastor *non sunt in Canone*.”¹ Here, exactly as in S. Cyril, the word means nothing more than non-canonical, and includes the books which had been usually termed Ecclesiastical, as well as those spurious and rejected ones to which the term had commonly been applied. It is probably from this passage of S. Jerome that the *substantive* Apocrypha has been formed, as the title of that collection of books which the Church of England declines to regard as canonical, but reads in the Church for example of life and instruction of manners.

The following table will serve to illustrate what has been said, and will help to make clear the varying sense of the word:—

	Hebrew Books regarded by the Jews as Authoritative.	Greek Books, not regarded by the Jews as Sacred, but read publicly by the Church.	Spurious and Rejected Books.
The Early Church	Canonical	Ecclesiastical	Apocryphal
S. Jerome (after S. Cyril)	Canonical	Apocryphal	
The Church of England	Canonical	The Apocrypha	Apocryphal
The Church of Rome	Canonical		Apocryphal

(b) *The position assigned by the Church of England to the Apocrypha, and the arguments by which it may be supported.*— It will be evident from what has been

¹ There is this difference between the use of the word in Jerome and Cyril. Jerome distinctly applies it to books which *were publicly read in church*, while Cyril would apparently have none but the canonical books read, and therefore with him the term “apocryphal” very fairly corresponds to the Hebrew *Genuzim*. Cf. also the use of the word in Origen’s “Letter to Africanus,” *Opera*, vol. i. p. 12 *seq.*

already said that the position assigned to these books by the Church of England is precisely that given to them by the early Church. **“The other books (as Hierome saith), the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine.** The statement of Jerome upon which this is based has been already quoted, as also the very similar language of Rufinus. The practice of the Church of England has been objected to on two opposite grounds. Romanists, who have obliterated the distinction between these books and those of the Hebrew canon, maintain that we do not assign proper honour to them. Protestants have complained that we show them too much respect. The sketch of the history of the canon of the Old Testament given in an earlier section will show the grounds upon which the practice of the Church of England may be justified as against Roman objections. Our contention is that the position which we assign to these books is identical with that given to them in the primitive Church. In reply to the objection brought from the opposite quarter we cannot do better than follow the guidance of Richard Hooker, who was called on to defend the practice of the Church against the Puritans, who wished to do away with the use of these books altogether. He meets the objection—(1) by the appeal to the practice of antiquity; (2) by showing that since we make clear that there is a real distinction between these books and the canonical ones, no confusion between the two can arise; (3) by pointing out “the divine excellency of some things in all, and of all things in certain of those Apocrypha”; and (4) by the pertinent question: “If in that which we are to read there happen by the way any clause, sentence, or speech that soundeth towards error, should the mixture of a little dross constrain the Church to deprive

herself of so much gold, rather than learn how by art and judgment to make separation of the one from the other ? ”¹

¹ Hooker, *Eccl. Polity*, bk. V. ch. xx. It may be added that in Hooker's day the defence of the practice of the Church was harder than it is in our own. Bel and the Dragon, and Susanna and the Elders, were scarcely edifying, nor was all of Tobit suitable for public reading in Church. That there was some ground for the Puritan objections was admitted shortly after Hooker wrote, for in the revision of the Prayer Book made after the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, Bel and the Dragon and Tobit v. vi. and viii. were omitted from the daily lessons. Most unwisely, as it seems, they were restored after the Savoy Conference in 1662, and remained in use among the daily lessons until the revision of the Lectionary in 1871. This revision materially reduced the number of lessons from the Apocrypha, and at the present day nothing is read except from Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch.

ARTICLE VII

De Veteri Testamento.

Testamentum vetus Novo contrarium non est, quandoquidem tam in veteri quam in novo, per Christum, qui unicus est mediator Dei et hominum, Deus et Homo, æterna vita humano generi est proposita. Quare male sentiunt, qui veteres tantum in promissiones temporarias sperasse confingunt. Quanquam lex a Deo data per Mosen, quoad Cæremonias et ritus, Christianos non astringat, neque civilia ejus præcepta in aliqua Republica necessario recipi debeant; nihilominus tamen ab obedientia mandatorum quæ Moralia vocantur, nullus quantumvis Christianus est solutus.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth: yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever, is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

THIS Article was brought into its present form by Archbishop Parker in 1563, being formed out of two separate articles of the Edwardian series.

Article VI. of that set was entitled, "The Old Testament is not to be refused." It ran as follows:—

"The Old Testament is not to be put away as though it were contrary to the New, but to be kept still, for both in the Old and New Testaments everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises."

Article XIX. of the same series was this : "All men are bound to keep the moral law."

"The law which was given of God by Moses, although it bind not Christian men as concerning the ceremonies and rites of the same ; neither is it required that the civil precepts and orders of it should of necessity be received in any commonwealth : yet no man (be he never so perfect a Christian) is exempt and lose from the obedience of those commandments which are called moral. Wherefore they are not to be hearkened unto, who affirm that Holy Scripture is given only to the weak, and do boast themselves continually of the Spirit, of whom (they say) they have learnt such things as they teach, although the same be most evidently repugnant to the Holy Scripture."

The object of the Article is evidently to condemn two opposite errors, which were current in the sixteenth century among some of the Anabaptist sects.

1. The opinions of those who rejected the Old Testament entirely, and claimed to be themselves superior to the demands of the moral law, as laid down in it. Of these Anabaptists there is a notice in a work of Alley, Bishop of Exeter, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, which aptly illustrates the language of the Article.

"Here I note only one thing, which is the temerity, ignorance, and blasphemy of certain phantastical heads, which hold that the prophets do write only to the people of the Old Testament, and that their doctrine did pertain only to their time ; and would seclude all the Fathers that lived under the law from the hope of eternal salvation. And here is also a note to be gathered against them which utterly reject the Old Testament, as a book nothing necessary to the Christians which live under the gospel."¹

¹ Alley's *Poore Man's Librarie*, ii. 97, quoted in Hardwick *On the Articles*, p. 395.

2. While some of the Anabaptists thus set aside the Old Testament as unnecessary, others adopted an error of a different character, and insisted that the whole civil and ceremonial law was still a matter of divine obligation for Christians. The outcome of this was seen in the extraordinary scenes, that took place soon after 1533 at Münster in Westphalia, where the Anabaptists, under John of Leyden, set up what can only be described as a parody of the Jewish commonwealth, which they termed the "New Jerusalem."¹ That the error was causing trouble in England also appears from the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, in which it is expressly condemned, together with the entire rejection of the Old Testament.

"De iis, qui vetus Testamentum aut totum rejiciunt, aut totum exigunt. Deinde quomodo priscis temporibus Marcionitarum sordes, Valentinianorum et Manichæorum fluxerunt, et aliæ similes earum, multæ faeces, a quibus vetus Testamentum ut absurdum malumque, et cum novo dissidens, repudiabatur, sic multi nostris temporibus inveniuntur, inter quos Anabaptistæ præcipue sunt collocandi, ad quos si quis vetus Testamentum alleget, illud pro abrogato jam et obsoleto penitus habent, omnia quæ in illo posita sunt ad prisca majorum nostrorum tempora referentes. Itaque nihil eorum ad nos statuunt pervenire debere. Aliorum autem contrarius est, sed ejusdem impietatis error, qui usque adeo vetus ad Testamentum adhærescunt, ut ad circumcisionem et a Mose quondam institutas ceremonias necessario nos revocent."²

The principal subjects to be considered in connection with this Article are the following:—

1. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New.

¹ See Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iii. p. 143 (Ed. Stubbs).

² *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, De Hæresibus, ch. 4.

2. The old fathers did not look only for transitory promises.

3. The ceremonial and civil law of the Jews is not binding on Christians.

4. The moral law remains of lasting and universal obligation.

I. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New.

The statement of the Article on this subject is as follows: **The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man.**

In the present day there is perhaps no probability of a revival of the view of many among the early Gnostics that the Old Testament is positively contrary to the New. Such a position could scarcely be taken up by anyone who started from the acceptance of the canon of the New Testament without mutilation. The several books of it are so interpenetrated with references and allusions to the Scriptures of the Jews, and the gospel is so manifestly built up upon the Old Dispensation that an actual contradiction between the two is almost inconceivable. But modern criticism has insisted so strongly on the inferiority of the Old Testament to the New, and has brought out into such strong relief the imperfection of the old system, that it may be well to point out that there is nothing in the Article which calls us to deny this imperfection, or to maintain that the Old Testament is not inferior to the New. The general statements made in the article were clearly never intended to decide details of criticism or to bind the clergy who sign them to a particular view of the religious development of Israel.

The principle which our Lord Himself has taught us that some things were permitted under the Old Covenant "for the hardness of men's hearts"¹ admits of a wide range of application. But if the two dispensations are both from the same God they cannot be *contrary* the one to the other. That is the main point which the Article is concerned to maintain, and room is left for whatever views the discoveries of criticism may establish or render probable as to the condition of Israel in early days, the origin of its sacred rites, and the course of its religious development.

Further, it will be noticed that the Article bases the unity of the two Testaments on the hope of redemption through the Messiah, which is common to them both. The same position is maintained in the homilies. In the "second part of the homily of faith," the writer says of the "old fathers" that "although they were not named Christian men, yet it was a Christian faith that they had ; for they looked for all benefits of God the Father through the merits of His Son Jesus Christ, as we now do. This difference is between them and us ; for they looked when Christ should come, and we be in the time when He is come. Therefore saith S. Augustine, ' The time is altered and changed, but not the faith. For we have both one faith in one Christ.'"²

It is impossible that this can have been intended to suggest that all the "old fathers" had a clear knowledge of the "merits of Jesus Christ." Such an assertion would be quite unwarrantable. But it is a simple fact of history that, under the Old Covenant, there *did* in time grow up a very clear and definite expectation of a Messiah to come. In early days, no doubt, the hope

¹ S. Matt. xix. 8.

² The *Homilies*, p. 39 (Ed. S.P.C.K.). The reference to Augustine is to *In Joan.* Tract. xlv.

was but of an indefinite character, and there was little, if any, expectation of a *personal* deliverer. But as we follow out the course of the history we are able to see how the hope was gradually narrowed down to a race, a tribe, a family, and how it tended more and more to centre in a single person. To trace out the growth of this hope, and to mark its increasing definiteness, belongs to the province of the interpreter of the Old Testament rather than to that of the commentator on the Articles. The briefest outline must suffice here.

The earliest indication of the hope is found in the Protevangelium, immediately after the fall, when the promise was made that the "seed of the woman" should bruise the serpent's head.¹ After the flood it was not obscurely hinted that the blessing should come in the line of *Shem*.² The call of *Abraham*,³ the choice of *Isaac* rather than *Ishmael*,⁴ of *Jacob* rather than *Esau*,⁵ narrowed down the line still more; while, whatever be the true interpretation of the words rendered in the English Bible 'till Shiloh come,' the exalted language used in the blessing of *Judah*, at the very least marks out this tribe for pre-eminence, and points to it as the one from which the promised blessings should be looked for.⁶

¹ Gen. iii. 15. "The Protevangelium is a faithful miniature of the entire history of humanity, a struggling seed ever battling for the ultimate victory. Here is the germinal idea which unfolds in the sufferings and sorrows, the hopes and joys of our race, until it is realised in the sublime victories of redemption."—C. A. Briggs' *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 77.

² Gen. ix. 26, 27. All the commentators call attention to the significant fact that the name of the covenant God *Jehovah* occurs alone in the blessing of *Shem*.

³ Gen. xii. 1–3.

⁴ Gen. xiii. 15, xv. 4, xvii. 1–21.

⁵ Gen. xxv. 23, cf. ch. xxvii.

⁶ Gen. xlix. 9–12. The margin of the R.V. will show the English reader how doubtful is the rendering "till Shiloh come." There is really no support whatever for it from antiquity, and it probably rests on an

The choice of the house of David marks a fresh stage in the development of the hope. From the time of the great promise made to him in 2 Sam. vii., the consummation of the kingdom of God is connected with a king of the line of David, to whom God will be in a special way a "Father," and who shall be in a special way God's "Son." But even so, for some considerable period, the thought is rather of a *line of kings* than of one individual;¹ and not till the crisis of the Assyrian invasion in the eighth century do we find that the hope is definitely connected with the thought of a *personal* Messiah. In the prophecies of Isaiah and Micah we meet for the first time with detailed predictions, which point forward with unmistakeable clearness to a child who should be born, whose name should be called "Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace," and who should reign on the throne of David.² From this time onward, the evidence of the expectation of a personal Messiah is clear and decisive, and may be traced in the writings of the later prophets, both before and after the Captivity,³ as well as in later

erroneous reading, שלה for שלה. The latter reading is implied in most of the ancient versions, and would give one or other of the following renderings: (1) "Till there come that which is his," or (2) "Till He come whose [it is]." In the latter case there is reference to a *personal* Messiah, whereas, if the former rendering be adopted, the clause must be regarded as an indeterminate expression of the Messianic hope. See, on the whole passage, S. R. Driver in the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, vol. xiv. No. 27, and Spurrell's *Notes on Genesis*, p. 335 seq.

¹ That the thought is primarily of the *line* in the original promise in 2 Sam. vii. is shown by ver. 14. "I will be his father, and he shall be my son; if he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men." It is impossible to apply these last words to the personal Messiah.

² See especially Isa. vii. 14, ix. 6, 7 and xi. 1-10; Micah iv. 8, v. 2-7.

³ In Jeremiah there are the great prophecies of "the Branch" in xxiii. 5-8, and xxxiii. 14-26, and in Ezekiel there is the promise of "one Shepherd, even my servant David," ch. xxxiv. 23, xxxvii. 24; cf. ch.

Jewish writings, such as the Book of Enoch and the Psalms of Solomon,¹ which never obtained admission within the canon.

Modern criticism may affect the interpretation of particular passages. It may show us that texts which were relied on by the older expositors as prophecies of the Messiah can no longer be appealed to with the same confidence as formerly. It may even involve a re-writing of the whole history of the Messianic hope. But the broad truth stated in the Article will remain untouched by this, for the undeniable fact that, before the Incarnation, the fathers who lived under the Old Covenant had come to look for the "redemption of Israel," and were expecting a personal Messiah of the house of David is sufficient to justify the general statement that "both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man."

II. *The Old Fathers did not look only for Transitory Promises.*

Here again it can scarcely be thought that the Article is designed to close the door to criticism on a subject on which widely different views have been held by devout scholars within the Church, namely, the belief of the Jews, under the Old Dispensation, in a future life beyond the grave. The statement that **they are not to be heard which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises** can never have

xxi. 27, where there is a probable allusion to Gen. xlix. 10. In the prophets of the return from the Captivity, the clearest Messianic prophecies are those in Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12, of "the Branch," which rest on the previous ones of Jeremiah. In Haggai ii. 6-9 the thought of a *personal* Messiah is not prominent. See the R.V. "the desirable things of all nations shall come," for "the desire" of the A.V.

¹ See the Book of Enoch, ch. xlv-lvii., which describes the coming of

been intended to compel us to maintain that the doctrine of a future life was clearly taught by Moses. We are expressly told in the New Testament that "life and immortality are brought to light by the gospel,"¹ and the whole tendency of modern criticism is to emphasise this by denying that there are sure and certain traces of a belief in a state of future bliss till a comparatively late period in the history of the Jews. It is patent to everyone that the promises of the Mosaic law, as a rule, refer exclusively to *this life* (see Ex. xx. 12, xxiii. 25-31; Levit. xxvi. etc.), and that length of days and temporal prosperity are the rewards contemplated in it. Moreover, it would seem that throughout the Old Testament, attention is for the most part concentrated on *this life*. It is "the land of the living" (see Ps. lii. 5; Isa. liii. 8; Jer. xi. 19, etc.). Death is regarded as an evil, and the dread of it is evident even among the best of the Hebrews, so that it has been said with some show of truth that they never spoke of death without a shudder (see Ps. lxxxviii. and Isa. xxxviii. in illustration of this). Nevertheless, while all this is admitted, it must not be forgotten that there is another side to it as well. Death is never regarded as *annihilation*. An existence *of some sort* after death is everywhere assumed in the Old Testament. Dathan and Abiram go down "alive" into Sheol (Num. xvi. 30). Jacob's anticipation that he will go down to Sheol to Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 35), and the familiar expression that a man was "gathered to his fathers," are evidences of a belief in a "something" beyond this life even in the

the chosen ruler of God, and ch. xc., where the Messiah is introduced under the figure of a white bullock. In the Psalms of Solomon, the Messiah of the house of David is spoken of in xvii. 23 *seq.* and xviii. 1-9, and is for the first time definitely called *χριστὸς Κύριος*.

¹ 2 Tim. i 10.

earliest days. But the state of the deceased, or the "shades,"¹ in Sheol or Hades, was in itself a state of unblestness, not worthy to be called "life"; and only very gradually did the conception of a resurrection make its way among the Jews. What the pious Jew really looked for was life in and with God; that is the "eternal life" which is offered to mankind in both the Old and New Testaments alike. It has been truly said that "the antithesis in the psalmist's mind is not between life here and life hereafter (as we speak), but between life with and life without God; and for the moment, in the consciousness of the blessedness of fellowship with God, death fades from his view."² So by degrees the Jew who had come to believe in "the living God" and his own communion with Him, came at last to see that there was involved in this the doctrine of a future life, for the communion could not be broken by death. It is, however, often hard to say whether the union of the soul with God, after which the psalmists were feeling, was contemplated by them as consummated in this life or the next. Such Psalms as xvi., xvii., xlix., and lxxiii., which contain the most exalted language on this subject, have been variously interpreted. But even if we put it at the lowest, they contain "the germ and principle of the doctrine of the resurrection." Still, however we may interpret them, it is clear that the doctrine was no article of faith to the Jews. It formed no part of the creed of the Jewish Church. There could not be a better instance of the manner in which it was worked out by the individual than that given by the Book of

¹ קָנָה, the word is used for the εἰδωλα καμόντων in Job xxvi. 5; Ps. lxxxviii. 11; Prov. ii. 18, ix. 18, xxi. 16; Isa. xiv. 9, xxvi. 14, 19. It signifies properly "relaxed" or "weak."

² Professor Kirkpatrick on the Psalms (Cambridge Bible), vol. ii. p. 274.

Job, which modern critics are inclined to regard as a late work, not earlier than the time of the Babylonish captivity. Had the doctrine of the resurrection formed a part of the traditional creed of the writer, it would not have been represented as only gradually dawning upon the mind of Job. Three distinct stages are apparent in his apprehension of it.

In chapter vii. there is utter disbelief in anything of the kind.

“ Oh remember that my life is wind :
 Mine eye shall no more see good.
 The eye of him that seeth me shall behold me no more :
 Thine eyes shall be upon me, but I shall not be.
 As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away,
 So he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more.
 He shall no more return to his house,
 Neither shall his place know him any more ” (vers. 7-10).

In chapter xiv. the longing for a resurrection has arisen in Job's heart. He sees that nature points to one, and feels that if he could only look forward to one for himself, he could endure his present sufferings with greater calmness ; but he is still very far from believing in one.

“ There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again,
 And that the tender branch thereof will not cease.
 Though the root thereof wax old in the earth,
 And the stock thereof die in the ground ;
 Yet through the scent of water it will bud,
 And put forth boughs like a plant.
 But man dieth, and wasteth away :
 Yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he ?
 As the waters fail from the sea,
 And the river decayeth and drieth up ;
 So man lieth down and riseth not :
 Till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake,
 Nor be roused out of their sleep.
 Oh that Thou wouldst hide me in Sheol,
 That Thou wouldst keep me secret, until Thy wrath be past,

That thou wouldest appoint me a set time, and remember me !
 If a man die, shall he live again ?
 All the days of my warfare would I wait,
 Till my release should come.
 Thou shouldest call, and I would answer Thee :
 Thou wouldest have a desire to the work of Thine hands "

(Vers. 7-15).

Finally, in chapter xix., he rises to the certainty that God will appear as his "vindicator," and that he shall be granted a vision of God after death.

" But I know that my redeemer liveth,
 And that He shall stand up at the last upon the earth :
 And after my skin hath been thus destroyed,
 Yet from my flesh shall I see God :
 Whom I shall see for myself,
 And mine eyes shall behold, and not another " (Vers. 25-27).¹

There are other late passages in which the hope of a resurrection appears with unmistakeable clearness, such as Isaiah xxvi. 19 : " Thy dead shall live ; my dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust ; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the dead." ²

In the vision of "the dry bones" in Ezekiel xxxvii., though it is a *national* restoration that is primarily contemplated, yet some knowledge of the resurrection is presupposed, as otherwise the passage would be almost meaningless. Clearer still is Daniel xii. 2, which in-

¹ On this passage see A. B. Davidson's commentary in the *Cambridge Bible*, and cf. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 393. Both the English and the Scotch professor agree in seeing in the passage distinct intimation of a belief in a life beyond the grave. The translation given above is that of the R. V., but "redeemer" would be more properly "vindicator," and "from my flesh" probably signifies "apart from" or "deprived of" my flesh, not as it is understood in the A. V., "in my flesh."

² Modern critics generally assign this passage to a post-exilic date.

roduces most distinctly the idea of future retribution, and shows the highest point reached by the faithful under the old covenant: “~

“Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.”¹

That there was only some such gradual development of the belief, as has been thus briefly indicated, appears to be a most certain result of criticism. But, from what has been said, it will be evident that even from early days the way was prepared for the future doctrine, and in germ and principle it was there from the earliest day on which the Jew recognised God as *his* God, and felt that life in and with him was the supreme object of desire. When once he had grasped this, it could not be said that he “looked only for transitory promises.”² Nor should it be forgotten that our Lord and His apostles teach us to see in the sayings of the Old Testament deeper and fuller meanings, unrecognised probably by those who first uttered or heard them. “That the dead are raised, even Moses showed, in the place concerning the Bush, when he called the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Now He is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for all live unto Him” (S. Luke xx. 37, 38). “These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them, and greeted them from afar, and having confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. For they that say such things

¹ See on all these passages Driver's *Sermons on the Old Testament*, Sermon 4, “Growth of Belief in a Future State.”

² On this point see a remarkable letter in the *Life of F. D. Maurice*, vol. i. p. 396.

make it manifest that they are seeking after a country of their own. And if, indeed, they had been mindful of that country from which they went out, they would have had the opportunity to return. But now they desire a better country, that is, a heavenly : wherefore God is not ashamed of them, to be called their God ; for He hath prepared for them a city" (Heb. xi. 13-16).

It has never been seriously maintained that these passages decide once for all the question of the actual amount of knowledge concerning a future state possessed by the Jews, and since the Article certainly says no more than they do, we may rest assured that it leaves us free to decide the critical question on critical grounds. And it may be added that it is a remarkable fact that when the reformers put forth the first book of the *Homilies* containing a sermon "On the Dread of Death," they could apparently find no passage to quote from the Old Testament for the belief of the Jews in a life of bliss after death earlier than the Book of Wisdom, on which, therefore, they fell back, appealing to it as "Scripture," and citing it as establishing the point in question.

"Now, the holy fathers of the old law, and all faithful and righteous men which departed before our Saviour Christ's ascension into heaven, did by death depart from troubles into rest ; from the hands of their enemies into the hands of God ; from sorrows and sicknesses unto joyful refreshing, into Abraham's bosom, a place of all comfort and consolation, as Scriptures do plainly by manifest words testify. The Book of Wisdom saith, *That the righteous men's souls be in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them. They seemed to the eyes of foolish men to die ; and their death was counted miserable, and their departing out of this world wretched ; but they be in rest.* And another place saith, *That the righteous shall live for ever, and their reward is with the Lord, and*

*their minds be with God, who is above all; therefore they shall receive a glorious kingdom, and a beautiful crown at the Lord's hand. And in another place the same book saith, The righteous, though he be prevented with sudden death, nevertheless he shall be there, where he shall be refreshed."*¹

The remaining subjects in connection with this Article admit of the briefest possible treatment.

III. *The Ceremonial and Civil Law of the Jews is not binding on Christians.*

In proof of the assertion that **the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men**, it is sufficient to refer to the account of the Apostolic Council held at Jerusalem to settle this very subject, when it was once for all decided that circumcision was not to be enforced on Gentile converts (Acts xv.), and to the whole line of argument in S. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, in which he vindicates the liberty of Christians from the burden of the law; while since **the civil precepts** of the Mosaic code were never imposed on any nation but the Jews, it cannot be supposed that they **ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth**.

IV. *The Moral Law remains of Universal and Lasting Obligation.*

If proof is wanted for the statement that **no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral**, it may be found in our Lord's assertion that he came "not

¹ The third part of the Homily of the "Fear of Death," p. 103 (Ed. S.P.C.K.). The references are to *Wisdom*, iii. 1-3, v. 15, 16, and iv. 7.

to destroy the law, but to fulfil" (S. Matt. v. 17); in the special teaching of the sermon on the mount, in which the moral law is enforced, explained, and expanded (S. Matt. v. 21-48); in the reply to the question concerning "the great commandment" (S. Matt. xxii. 37-40); and in the frequent insistence on the duties of the moral law in S. Paul's Epistles (see especially Rom. xiii. 8-10).

ARTICLE VIII

De Tribus Symbolis.

Symbola tria, Nicænum, Athanasii, et quod vulgo Apostolorum appellatur, omnino recipienda sunt et credenda. Nam firmissimis Scripturarum testimoniis probari possunt.

Of the Three Creeds.

The three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

THERE has been but little alteration in this Article since 1553. At the revision of 1563 the words "and believed" (*et credenda*) were inserted; and in 1571 in Latin the word *Apostolorum* was substituted for the adjective *Apostolicum*, which had stood there previously.

With the language of the Article may be compared that of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*:—

"Et quoniam omnia ferme, quæ ad fidem spectant Catholicam, tum quoad beatissimam Trinitatem, tum quoad mysteria nostræ redemptionis, tribus Symbolis, hoc est, Apostolico, Niceno, et Athanasii, breviter continentur; idcirco ista tria Symbola, ut fidei nostræ compendia quædam, recipimus et amplectimus, quod firmissimis divinarum et canonicarum scripturarum testimoniis facile probari possint."¹

An Article on this subject asserting definitely the adherence of the Church of England to the ancient creeds of the Church Catholic was rendered necessary

¹ *Ref. Legum. Eccl.* "De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica," ch. 5.

by the spread of Anabaptism, the leaders of which utterly ignored and set aside these summaries of the faith, together with the faith itself contained in them.

The subjects to be considered in connection with this Article are four in number :—

1. Creeds in general.
2. The Apostles' Creed.
3. The Nicene Creed.
4. The Athanasian Creed.

I. *Of Creeds in General.*

The origin of creeds must be sought in the baptismal service of the Church. Our Lord's command to His apostles had been to make disciples of all nations by baptizing them into the name

- (1) Of the Father ;
- (2) Of the Son ;
- (3) Of the Holy Ghost.

Hence comes the threefold division of all the ancient creeds,¹ referring to the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, and their work. In consequence of this command we find that from the earliest times some profession of faith was required from candidates for baptism, and that for this purpose short summaries of the main doctrines of Christianity were drawn up. It is possible to see in some passages of the New Testament indications of regular formularies in use even in apostolic days. Thus the statement in 1 Cor. viii. 6 looks very much like a reminiscence of one such :—

“To us there is *one God the Father*, of whom are all things, and we unto Him ; and *one Lord Jesus*

¹ The Athanasian Creed is, of course, an exception, but it is scarcely a creed. It should be regarded rather as an *Expositio Fidei*, or even as a Canticle.

Christ, through whom are all things, and we through Him." ¹

So the summary in 1 Tim. iii. 16 is commonly thought to contain a fragment of an early creed or hymn—

"He who was manifested in the flesh,
Justified in the Spirit,
Seen of angels,
Preached among the nations,
Believed on in the world,
Received up in glory." ²

Again, according to the received text of Acts viii. 37, when the Ethiopian eunuch says, "See, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized?" Philip's answer is, "If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest." Whereupon the eunuch makes his profession of faith: "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." These words are, however, universally regarded as an interpolation. They were probably inserted in order to bring the account into harmony with the requirements of the baptismal service. They cannot, therefore, be appealed to as a witness of the apostolic age, but as the interpolation was made before the days of Irenæus (A.D. 180), who quotes the whole passage with the inserted words,³ it may fairly be taken as a witness to the practice of the Church somewhere about the middle of the second century. About the close of this century we meet with a definite statement in the writings of Tertullian, that the profession of faith required at baptism was somewhat amplified from the simple form of belief in the threefold name enjoined in the Gospel.⁴ And since, even earlier than this, several writers,⁵ when summing up the faith of the Church, give it in a form closely corresponding to the creeds used later

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4.

² Christological confessions seem also to be implied in Rom. x. 9; 1 Cor. xii. 3; and 1 John iv. 5. ³ Irenæus, Bk. III. xii. 10; cf. IV. xxxvii. 2.

⁴ *De Corona Militis*, ch. iii.: "Dehinc ter mergitatur, amplius aliquid respondentem quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit."

⁵ E.g. Ignatius, *Ep. ad Trall.* ch. ix.

on, and appear to be alluding to something like a fixed formulary, it is more natural to suppose that they are definitely alluding to the creed, than to think that the creed was subsequently developed from the summaries of the rule of faith as given by them. Thus it is now generally acknowledged that traces of, and allusions to, the creed may be found in such early writers as Aristides and Justin Martyr (*circa* 140), as well as in Irenæus and Tertullian. The creed of the first-mentioned writer as collected from his *Apology*, and restored by Professor Rendel Harris, runs as follows :—

“We believe in one God, Almighty,
 Maker of heaven and earth ;
 And in Jesus Christ His Son
 Born of the Virgin Mary ;
 He was pierced by the Jews :
 He died and was buried ;
 The third day He rose again :
 He ascended into heaven ;
 He is about to come to judge.”¹

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Even if we cannot feel quite certain of the details in all cases there is no longer room for doubt that formal creeds were in use by the middle of the second century, varying to some extent in different churches, but all following the same general outline, and all alike based on the baptismal formula, with its threefold reference to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.² In the fourth century our knowledge of creeds became much fuller. At

¹ *Texts and Studies*, vol. i. p. 25 (Ed. J. A. Robinson).

² The “rules of faith” as given by Tertullian, Irenæus, and others may be found in Hahn’s *Bibliothek der Symbole*. One from Tertullian is added here as a specimen. *De Virg. Vel.* 1. “Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem, mundi conditorem, et Filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex Virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis, receptum in cœlis, sedentem nunc ad dexteram Patriæ,

that time the practice of the Church was for the candidates for baptism to be carefully prepared beforehand and instructed in the main doctrines of the Church by one of the presbyters especially appointed for the purpose. A few days before the actual baptism the formal creed of the Church into which they were to be baptized was taught to them, and an exposition of it in the form of a sermon on it delivered before them. This was called the "delivery of the Creed," *Traditio Symboli*. At the time of the actual baptism they were interrogated as to their belief,¹ and required to return answer to the priest's question in the form of the creed which they had received, and which they were now to "give back" at this *Redditio Symboli*.² After baptism the creed was preserved in the memory as a convenient summary, written on the heart, but not committed to paper;³ nor was it till a somewhat later period used in any other service of the Church.⁴

venturum judicare vivos et mortuos per carnis etiam resurrectionem." Other passages such as *Adv. Prax.* 2, and *De Præscript.* 13, show that Tertullian's Creed contained also the article on the Holy Spirit.

¹ In this way there grew up the interrogative creeds of the Church, such as that found in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. 86, 116 (Ed. Wilson). Other forms are given in Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 106 *seq.* It would appear that sometimes a shorter form was used at the *Redditio Symboli* than had been rehearsed to the catechumens at the *Traditio*.

² Cf. Lumby's *History of the Creeds*, p. 11 *seq.* The famous Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril of Jerusalem were delivered to candidates for baptism in the year 347 or 348. Cyril nowhere gives the creed continuously, but it can easily be collected from Lectures vi.-xviii. See Hahn, *op. cit.* p. 132.

³ See Augustine's *Sermo ad Catechumenos*, which was delivered at the *Traditio Symboli*, and begins as follows: "Accipite, filii, regulam fidei, quod symbolum dicitur. Et cum acceperitis, in corde scribite, et quotidie dicite apud vos: antequam dormiatis, antequam procedatis, vestro symbolo vos munite. Symbolum nemo scribit ut legi possit, sed ad recensendum, ne forte debeat oblivio quod tradidit diligentia, sit vobis codex vestra memoria. Quod audituri estis, hoc credituri; et quod credideritis, hoc etiam lingua reddaturi."—*Opera*, tom. vi. col. 547.

⁴ The first to introduce a creed into the Liturgy was Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of Antioch soon after 470. Constantinople followed about 510.

Another use of creeds comes prominently before us in connection with the controversies of the fourth century. From the date of the Council of Nicæa onwards we meet with them as *tests of orthodoxy*, accepted by Councils, and offered for signature to those members of the Church, the correctness of whose faith was called in question; and as time went on, and new heresies arose, amplified and enlarged with the express purpose of guarding against fresh errors.

Hence we get two different kinds of creeds—(1) the baptismal profession, which, as made by the individual, runs in the first person singular, *I believe*; and (2) Conciliar creeds, which, as containing the faith of the assembled fathers, were naturally couched in the first person plural, *We believe*. In course of time, however, when the creeds were introduced into the public services of the Church, we find that the East for the most part adopted the plural, and the West the singular, whether the creed was conciliar or baptismal in its origin,¹ and thus the distinction was almost obliterated, although it can be clearly traced in all the earlier forms.²

In the West, Spain led the way in 589. The Gallican and Anglican Churches adopted it in the seventh or eighth century; Rome possibly not till the eleventh. There is no certain indication of the use of the (Apostles') Creed in the hour services of the Church before the *ninth* century, when it is ordered to be used at Prime.

¹ Thus the Western Church has *altered* the Constantinopolitan Creed, and uses the singular in it "I believe," whereas the original Greek text has naturally enough the plural *πιστεύομεν*.

² Eastern creeds in the singular may be found in the Liturgy of S. James, the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VII. xli.), and the Coptic Liturgy. S. Cyril also has the singular in *Cat.* xix. 9, though elsewhere his words seem to imply the use of the plural. Cf. Hahn, p. 132. Western creeds in the plural are those of Augustine and pseudo-Augustine, as restored by Hahn, pp. 58, 60 (Heurtley, however, restores the singular, *Credo*); of Facundus of Hermiane (*ibid.* p. 63); pseudo-Ambrose (p. 56); and, as is only natural, the professions of several Councils, *e.g.* of Toledo, A.D. 400 and 589.

There are further differences between the creeds as ultimately formulated in the East and West respectively, which are owing to the different types and characters of the churches in different parts of the world. These may be briefly summed up as follows, and illustrated from the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds, taken as typical specimens of Eastern and Western creeds.

(a) The Eastern creeds are more *dogmatic*, the Western more *historic*. "In the Eastern creeds, to use a modern form of expression, the 'ideas' of Christianity predominate: in the Western creeds the 'facts' of Christianity stand out in their absolute simplicity."¹ Thus in the Nicene (Eastern) Creed it will be noticed that *reasons* for the facts are sometimes given, and not only is the question *what* is to be believed answered, but the question *why* receives a reply as well. It was *for us men and for our salvation* that He "came down from heaven." He "was crucified also *for us* under Pontius Pilate." He rose again the third day, *according to the Scriptures*. We are baptized *for the remission of sins*. There is nothing whatever corresponding to the clauses marked in italics to be found in any Western creed.

(b) The Eastern creeds always insert "One" before God, and add "Maker of heaven and earth." These last words, though now found in the Apostles' Creed, were, as will presently be shown, the very last words to find their way into it, not appearing till the seventh century. The reason for these additional phrases in the East is obvious. In the presence of much philosophical dualism, and of the wild speculations of many among the Gnostic sects, with their theories of the eternity of matter, and of a "Demiurge" or Creator distinct from the supreme God, the doctrine of the unity of God, and of the creation of all things, possessed a dogmatic importance in

¹ Bishop Westcott's *Historic Faith*, p. 187.

the speculative East, which was wanting in the practical West.¹

(c) The Eastern creeds dwell at greater length on the details of our Lord's nature and work before the Incarnation, and of His suffering, but never have the clause, "He descended into hell." The Apostles' Creed after the clause, "And in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord," passes straight to the Incarnation, "Who was conceived," etc. The Nicene piles clause upon clause to insist on our Lord's divinity, and adds that "By Him all things were made," before saying that He "came down from heaven, and was incarnate," etc.

(d) No Eastern creed has "the Communion of Saints," while no Western creed mentions the "One Baptism" in connection with the remission of sins.²

Of the names for the creed in use in the ancient Church the commonest is *Symbolum* or Σύμβολον. This is used in both East and West, and applied not only to the Baptismal Creed, but also to the Nicene Creed as well, though this latter is also frequently termed ἡ πίστις. The word *Symbolum*, as applied to the creed, is met with for the first time in the writings of S. Cyprian about the middle of the third century. It is used by him more

¹ Since both Irenæus (representing Gaul), and Tertullian (representing Africa), repeatedly give the rule of faith as including belief in *One* God, who is the Maker of all things, it would seem probable that these phrases were originally found in the Western creed, but were suffered to drop out of it in the course of time, as the practical need for their insertion was not felt. See Irenæus I. ii. 1; III. iv. 1; IV. liii. 1, and Tertullian *De virg. vel.* 1; *Adv. Prax.* 2; *De Præscript.* 13. The rule of faith as given by Novatian has simply *in Deum Patrem*, and apparently takes *Omnipotentem* as implying the creation of all things. "Omnipotentem, id est verum omnium perfectissimum conditorem." See Hahn, p. 6.

² Bishop Westcott, *op. cit.* Note iii. The Gallican Creed quoted below may perhaps be considered an exception, as it does mention baptism in connection with the forgiveness of sins.

than once,¹ and from his day forward is of frequent occurrence. Some doubt has been felt concerning the origin of the name and its exact significance in this connection. Various theories have been proposed in order to explain its use, some of which fall to the ground at once when it is recognised that *σύμβολον* is really a distinct word from *συμβολή*, and that the latter word is never used of the creed. This enables us to set aside at once the theory which Rufinus mentions,² and which is adopted by many of the Latin Fathers, that the creed is a "collation" or epitome of Christian doctrine, made up of the "contributions" of the twelve apostles. This theory was improved upon in later times, until the creed was shown to consist of twelve articles, one having been contributed by each of the twelve apostles.³ Apart from all other objections these views labour under the fatal mistake of confusing two quite distinct Greek words, and may be dismissed without further consideration. The true view of the origin of the term is probably that which gives it the meaning of "watchword."

¹ *E.g. Ep. lxxix. 7.*

² *In Symb. § 2.* "Symbolum autem hoc multis et justissimis ex causis appellari voluerunt. Symbolum enim Græce et indicium dici potest et collatio, hoc est, quod plures in unum conferunt. Id enim fecerunt Apostoli in his sermonibus in unum conferendo unusquisque quod sentit." Cf. Cassian, *De Incarnatione Verbi*, VI. iii.

³ Such a creed is found at the end of the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, which dates perhaps from the seventh century. "Petrus dixit: Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem. Johannes dixit: Credo in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum, Deum et Dominum nostrum. Jacobus dixit: Natum de Maria Virgine per Spiritum Sanctum. Andreas dixit: Passum sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum et sepultum. Philippus dixit: Descendit ad inferna. Thomas dixit: Tertia die resurrexit. Bartholomæus dixit: Ascendit in cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Dei patris omnipotentis. Matthæus dixit: Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. Jacobus Alphaei dixit: Credo in Spiritum Sanctum. Simon Zelotes dixit: Credo in Ecclesiam Sanctam. Judas Jacobi dixit: Per Baptismum sanctum remissionem peccatorum. Matthias dixit: Carnis resurrectionem in vitam æternam. Amen." See Migne, vol. lxxii. p. 580.

It was the watchword of the Christian soldier, carefully and jealously guarded by him, as that by which he himself could be distinguished from heretics, and that for which he could challenge others, of whose orthodoxy he might be in doubt.¹

Another term frequently found in connection with the creed is *regula fidei*. This is, however, not confined to the creed. It signifies the *credenda* or main doctrines of the Church rather than the precise form of words in which those doctrines were summed up. Thus we find that the same writer will give us the *regula fidei* in slightly different terms in different parts of his work; and though Augustine in his *Sermo ad Catechumenos*, quoted in a note on a previous page,² identifies the *regula* with the *Symbolum*, yet the former sometimes occurs in such a connection as to make it clear that its meaning is wider than that of the latter, and that it is not quite correct to regard the two as strictly convertible terms.

II. *The Apostles' Creed.*

The Apostles' Creed, in the *exact* form in which it is

¹ Rufinus (*l.c.*) gives this as one of the reasons for which the Creed was termed *Symbolum*. "Indicium autem vel signum idcirco dicitur quia in illo tempore sicut et Paulus Apostolus dicit, et in Actibus Apostolorum refertur, multi ex circumeuntibus Judæis simulabant se esse Apostolos Christi, et lucri alicujus vel ventris gratia ad prædicandum proficiscebantur, nominantes quidem Christum sed non integris traditionum lineis nunciantes. Idcirco, istud indicium posuere, per quod agnosceretur is qui Christum vere secundum Apostolicas regulas prædicaret. Denique et in bellis civilibus hoc observari ferunt: quoniam et armorum habitus par, et sonus vocis idem, et mos unus est, atque eadem instituta bellandi, ne qua doli subreptio fiat, symbola distincta unusquisque dux suis militibus tradit quæ Latine signa vel indicia nuncupantur; ut si forte occurrerit quis de quo dubitetur, interrogatus symbolum, prodatur si sit hostis vel socius. Idcirco denique hæc non scribi chartulis aut membranarum, sed retineri credentium cordibus tradiderunt, ut certum esset, hæc neminem ex lectione, quæ interdum pervenire etiam ad infideles solet, sed ex Apostolorum traditione didicisse."

² See p. 300. note 3.

familiar to us, is in all probability the latest of the three creeds, although *in general expression* it is the oldest, and the freest from terms inserted for the express purpose of emphasising and guarding the true faith against heresies.

It is strictly a Western creed, being unknown in the East,¹ and the Greek copies of its received text which exist in MSS. are of late date, and bear evident marks of being translations from the Latin.² This received text represents the ultimate form taken by the Baptismal Creed of the Western Church, and is developed from the older creed of the Roman Church.

This Roman Creed we meet with for the first time in the year 341, when it is given in a letter written by Marcellus of Ancyra to Julius, Bishop of Rome. Marcellus was accused, not without good reason, of something very like Sabellianism, and wrote to Julius to defend himself. The letter, which is preserved by Epiphanius, is in Greek, but there can be no doubt that the creed which Marcellus gives as the expression of his own belief is really the creed of the Church of Rome. With the exception of two phrases, it is identical with the Roman Creed described in the work of Rufinus some fifty years later. Marcellus omits the word "Father" in the first article, and adds "the life everlasting" at the close. Otherwise the two creeds are identical. By the help, then, of these two documents, the letter of Marcellus, and the exposition of the creed by Rufinus, we can recover the text of the old Roman Creed as it stood

¹ At the Council of Florence (1439) the Greeks expressly denied all knowledge of it, *ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν οὔτε εἶδομεν τὸ σύμβολον τῶν ἀποστόλων*. See Swainson, *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 153.

² The Greek copy in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, referred to by Pearson, is now assigned to the fifteenth century.

in the fourth century. It may be reconstructed as follows:—

“I believe in God [the Father] Almighty,
And in Christ Jesus, His only Son, our Lord,
Who was born of the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary,
Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried,
The third day He rose again from the dead,
He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father,
Thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead,
And in the Holy Ghost, the holy Church, the forgiveness of sins,
The resurrection of the flesh.”¹

Three questions present themselves for consideration:

(1) Can this creed be traced to an earlier date than the

¹ The Greek as given by Marcellus (Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxxii.) is the following:—πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὃθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, ζωὴν αἰώνιον. The Latin of Rufinus runs thus: “Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem. Et in Christum Jesum, unicum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum. Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus. Tertio die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Patris; inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem.” So Hahn, p. 24. But the text of Rufinus has the ablative throughout, *in Deo Patre*, etc. With regard to the two variations noticed above in the text, the other authorities for this old Roman form of the creed agree with Rufinus as against Marcellus. Though the latter omits *Patrem*, as does Tertullian in giving the rule of faith, yet the word is found in Novatian’s rule of faith, as also in Cyprian (*Ep.* lxix.), as well as in three MSS., two of which give the same creed as formerly used in England (Brit. Museum, Royal, 2 A. xx; Galba, A. xviii. [where the creed is given in Greek]), and one of Sardinian origin (Bodleian, Codex Laud. Gr. 35). These three MSS. also agree with Rufinus in omitting *vitam æternam*, and moreover S. Jerome expressly says that the creed ends with “the resurrection of the flesh.”—*Contr. Joannem Hieros ad. Pammach.* § 28. The African Creed, however, as early as the days of S. Cyprian, had the clause “*vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam.*” But there can be no doubt that it has rightly no place in the old Roman form.

fourth century? (2) When and where were the additions made which transformed it into its present form? (3) How came the fuller form to be substituted for the old Roman text?

1. With regard to the first of these, it is now generally admitted that the creed must have taken shape *not later than the middle of the second century*. The ground for believing this is the fact that in writers of other Western churches, from the latter part of the second century onwards, we can trace allusions and references to creeds which are very similar to, and apparently derived from, the Roman Creed. "All the Western provincial creeds," says Harnack, "are evidently offshoots of the Roman," and thus, to quote the same writer, "we may regard it as an assured result of research that the old Roman Creed came into existence about, or shortly before, the middle of the second century."¹

2. In considering the second question just raised, we note that the words and phrases wanting in the old Roman Creed, which are found in the current text of it, are these:—

1. Maker of heaven and earth.
2. Who was conceived.
3. Suffered.
4. Dead.
5. Descended into hell.
6. God . . . Almighty, in the article "Sitteth at the right hand."
7. Catholic.
8. The Communion of Saints.
9. The life everlasting.

Of these, one or two were already in use elsewhere, although not in Rome, before the close of the fourth century. We have already seen that "descended into

¹ *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss*, translated in the *Nineteenth Century*, July 1893, p. 162.

hell" was found at Aquileia in the time of Rufinus, though not at Rome, and that "the life everlasting" was adopted in very early days in the African Church. It would also seem possible that "suffered" had found its way into the African Creed before the days of Augustine.¹ But though one or two articles thus appear here and there at an earlier date, there can be no doubt that the bulk of the additions first secured a fixed position in the creed in Gaul during the fifth century, and that the Apostles' Creed, as we know it, is a *Gallican recension of the old Roman Creed*. For the creed of the Gallican Church, during the fifth and early part of the sixth century, we have three principal authorities, Faustus of Riez (*circa* 480),² Cæsarius of Arles (470-542),³ and his friend and contemporary Cyprian, Bishop of Toulon.⁴ From these three writers we can see that by the close of the fifth century the Gallican Church had received the words "who was conceived," "suffered," "catholic," "the communion of saints," and "the life everlasting." It is possible that "descended into hell," had already found its way from the Aquileian into the Gallican Creed.⁵ There is some reason also

¹ *Passus* is not given in the creed commented on in *De fide et Symbolo*, *De Genesi ad literam*, *opus imperf.*, or the *Enchiridion*. It appears, however, to have found a place in the creeds of the *Sermo de Symbolo ad Catech.*, and of Sermon cexii.; cf. Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 40.

² See Hahn, p. 70, and cf. *Fausti Reiensis Opera* (Ed. Engbrecht), *Ep.* 7, and *De Spiritu Sancto*, 1, 2.

³ That is, if the sermon in the Appendix to vol. v. of Augustine (Serm. cexliv.) is rightly assigned to him, as it is by several authorities after the Benedictines.

⁴ In his letter to Bishop Maximus, of Geneva, first printed by Gundlach in the *Monumenta Germaniæ Hist. Epistolæ ævi Merovingici*.

⁵ It is found in the sermon assigned to Cæsarius, but is not in the creed given by Cyprian of Toulon. There may be a *possible* reference to the creed in Faustus, Serm. ii., "Mortem suscepit, pretioso nos sanguine liberavit, *ad inferna descendit*."

for thinking that "dead" was already received in Gaul.¹ At any rate, both these clauses are found there shortly afterwards. And the same holds good of the remaining phrases, namely, "Maker of heaven and earth," and "God . . . Almighty" in the Sixth Article, for these are all found in the creed as given in the *Gallican Sacramentary*, assigned to the middle of the seventh century.² There are, however, slight variations between this creed and the text as now received, and the first writer to give the creed in *precisely* the words which the whole Western Church has since adopted is Pirminius, or Priminius, a bishop who laboured in France and Germany about the middle of the eighth century. In a treatise of his entitled "*Libellus Pirminii de singulis libris canonicis scarapsus*,"³ we find the legend attributing the composition of the creed to the twelve apostles, and the form given is word for word the same as that with which we are familiar.⁴ On the day of Pentecost, when the apostles were gathered together—"There appeared unto them divided tongues of fire, and sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the

¹ *Mortuus* is also found in the Creed of Cæsarius, and may have been in that of Faustus. If the sermons formerly assigned to Eusebius Gallus really belong to Faustus, he would seem to have read "was crucified, *dead*, and buried," exactly as we have the words at present. On early Gallican Creeds reference should be made to Mr. A. E. Burn's *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 222 *seq.* Mr. Burn, it should be added, thinks that the alterations which have brought the Creed into its present form were made in Rome itself rather than in Gaul.

² See the *Missale Gallicanum* in Migne, vol. lxxii. col. 349. Precisely the same creed is given in *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, *ibid.* col. 489, and, as Heurtley points out, "the occurrence of the same form in two independent documents would seem to imply that they were to some extent established."—*Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 69.

³ *Scarapsus* is explained as equivalent to *collectus*. But Heurtley suggests that it may be only a misreading for *scriptus*, *Op. cit.* p. 70.

⁴ The whole extract is printed by Dr. Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 103.

Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance: and they composed the creed. Peter: "*I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth.*" John: "*And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord.*" James said: "*Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.*" Andrew said: "*Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried.*" Philip said: "*Descended into hell.*" Thomas said: "*The third day He rose from the dead.*" Bartholomew said: "*He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.*" Matthew said: "*From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.*" James, the son of Alphæus, said: "*I believe in the Holy Ghost.*" Simon Zelotes said: "*The Holy Catholic Church.*" Jude, the brother of James, said: "*The communion of saints.*" Also Thomas said: "*The resurrection of the flesh,¹ the life everlasting.*"

The various additions, the earliest appearance of which has been now indicated, with one exception can scarcely have been made with the definite purpose of guarding against heresies. "The Communion of Saints" perhaps *was* added as an answer to the Donatist charge that there was in the Church a *communio malorum*, to which Augustine had replied, "that though in the Church the evil were mingled with the good, and the Church was to that extent a mixed body, there was

¹ It is strange that our reformers should have rendered *resurrectionem carnis* by "the resurrection of *the body*," in the translation of the creed, appointed to be recited at Matins, first printed in full in 1552, and in the Catechism (1549), whereas in the Office for Public Baptism (1549), it is correctly rendered "the resurrection of *the flesh*." The form of words is certainly non-scriptural, but it was "necessary in order to safeguard scriptural truth," and was probably adopted by the Church in order to guard against Gnostic subtilty, which could accept "the resurrection of *the dead*," but explain it away, as if it referred to baptism or a spiritual awakening. See Tertullian, *De Resur. Carnis*, 19, and cf. Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 89 *seq.*

within her a true *communio sanctorum*, in which the evil have no part, and which is not impaired by their presence.”¹ But the other clauses of comparatively late introduction are rather the natural amplifications to which such a document would be subject in course of time (especially if used for catechetical purposes), expressing with great fulness of detail what was already implied in the briefer form previously in use. It may also be remarked that in some points the Nicene Creed represents an *older* type than the Apostles’, not having received all of these later amplifications. For instance, to this day there is no mention of our Lord’s death in the Nicene Creed. It is, of course, *implied* in the words, “He suffered and was buried,” but the formal statement of the fact contained in the word “dead” is wanting; nor are the words “God . . . Almighty” found in the clause on the session “at the right hand of the Father.”

3. The third question raised above was this: How came the fuller form (which we have now seen to be of Gallican origin) to be substituted for the old Roman Creed? It is generally thought that, owing to the prevalence of Arianism among the Teutonic invaders of Italy from the latter part of the fifth century onwards, the Roman Church adopted the use of the Nicene Creed at baptism,² instead of her ancient formula, in order the more effectually to exclude the Arians, who, while willing to accept the Apostles’ Creed, would be definitely shut out by the more explicit form now tendered to them.³ The

¹ Swete, *op. cit.* p. 83, where there is a reference to Augustine, *C. Epist. Parmenian.* ii. 37, and *De Bapt. c. Donatist.* ii. 8, v. 38, vii. 49. It is, however, the *thought* rather than the actual phrase *communio sanctorum*, which is Augustinian. Zahn and others have argued that originally *sanc-torum* was neuter, “communion in the *holy things*,” *i.e.* the sacraments; but see Sanday in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. iii. p. 18.

² This seems to be shown by its appearance in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* at the *Traditio Symboli*, p. 53 (Ed. Wilson).

³ This is the view, *e.g.*, of Harnack.

old Roman Creed, however, still continued to be used in the provinces, notably in Gaul, where it received the additions which brought it to its present form, and whence it was reintroduced into Rome, *circa* 800, under the influence of Charlemagne. Further, it has been suggested that the old Roman Creed, even though deposed from liturgical honours, survived as a form of instruction, and was still used there in the days of Gregory the Great, so that it was brought into England by Augustine, and continued to be used in this country¹ until the Norman Conquest drew tighter the bonds of union with Rome, and led to the sole use of the creed in the fuller form which Rome, in common with the other churches of the West, had already adopted.²

Before leaving the subject of this creed, it remains to consider the origin of the name, which it has borne for centuries—the Apostles' Creed. The name was originally given to the old Roman Creed, and appears, so far as is

¹ Its use here would seem to be implied by its existence in the British Museum MSS. noted above, p. 307.

² See Swete, p. 13 *seq.*, where it is pointed out that the fuller form was certainly known (though apparently not exclusively used) in England before the Norman Conquest: "Traces of it may be seen in English Episcopal professions of the ninth century, and it is found with an interlinear translation in a Lambeth MS. of the same period" (No. 427). Its influence is also seen in the remarkable creed contained in the *Bangor Antiphonary*, which comes from Ireland, and belongs to the seventh century: "Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, invisibilem, omnium creaturarum visibilium et invisibilium conditorem. Credo et in Jhesum Christum filium ejus unicum, dominum nostrum Deum Omnipotentem, conceptum de Spiritu Sancto, natum de Maria Virgine, passum sub Pontio Pylato, qui crucifixus et sepultus descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in cœlis, seditque ad dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis, exinde venturus judicare vivos ac mortuos. Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum Deum Omnipotentem, unam habentem substantiam cum Patre et filio, sanctam esse ecclesiam Catholicam, abremissa peccatorum, sanctorum communionem, carnis resurrectionem. Credo vitam post mortem et vitam æternam in gloria Christi."—*Antiphonary of Bangor*, fol. 19 (Ed. Warren).

known, for the first time, in the writings of S. Ambrose.¹ S. Jerome also speaks of the symbol of faith "which was delivered by the apostles";² and Rufinus, like S. Ambrose, considers the creed to have been actually drawn up by the apostles.³ The later form of the tradition, which divides the creed into twelve articles, assigning one to each of the twelve apostles, needs no serious notice. It is sufficiently refuted by the simple fact that some of the articles were demonstrably wanting in the creed for centuries. Nor, in the face of the silence of the Acts of the Apostles and all authorities prior to the close of the fourth century, is it reasonable to maintain that the actual form of words found in the old Roman Creed was really drawn up by the apostles. It is, however, quite possible that the name of the Apostles' Creed may have been given to it in consequence of the erroneous belief that it was their work. But, on the other hand, it is equally probable that the *name* may have given rise to the *belief*, rather than the *belief* have suggested the *name*. The adjective, "apostolic," was largely used by early writers as denoting that that to which it was applied came substantially from the apostles. Thus, such expressions as "the apostolic tradition," or "apostolic preaching," did not imply that the words were "apostolic," but only that the substance was such. So, "the Apostolic Creed"⁴ would denote

¹ "Epistola Concilii Mediolanensis," *Opera*, v. p. 292.

² "Ad Pammach. c. Joann. Hier." *Opera*, ii. col. 380. "Symbolum fidei . . . quod ab apostolis traditum."

³ In *Symbolum*, § 2, where it is introduced as a tradition of the elders, "Tradunt majores nostri, etc."

⁴ The definite title, "Symbolum Apostolorum," is certainly used by S. Ambrose, and in the "Epistola Concilii Mediolanensis," which was possibly drawn up by him, see *Opera*, vol. v. p. 292. But, as a general rule, in older MSS. "Symbolum Apostolicum" is the form found. "Symbolum Apostolorum" occurs in the *Bangor Antiphonary* of the seventh century, and in most later documents.

that the creed contained the faith of the apostles, not that the *ipsissima verba* were due to them. In process of time the belief arose that the words, as well as the substance, came from the apostles, and finally the medieval legend took definite form and shape, and was unhesitatingly received throughout the whole of the Western Church until the Reformation in the sixteenth century. A third explanation of the name has been suggested. The creed, as we have seen, was the creed of the Roman Church. This was the only Church in the West which was founded by an apostle, and was emphatically termed "the Apostolic See" (*Sedes Apostolica*). Hence the creed, as being that of the Apostolic See, was termed the Apostolic Creed. This view is certainly a possible one, but it is believed that one or other of the two former explanations of the origin of the name is more probable.

Subjoined is the text of the creed in the original Latin, as formerly used in this country.¹

SYMBOLUM APOSTOLORUM.

Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Creatorem cœli et terræ. Et in Jesum Christum Filium Ejus unicum Dominum nostrum. Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine. Passus sub Pontio Pylato, crucifixus mortuus et sepultus. Descendit ad inferna:² tertia die resurrexit a mortuis. Ascendit ad cœlos: sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis. Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum; sanctam ecclesiam Catholicam.

¹ *Brevarium ad usum Sarum* (Cambridge reprint of the edition of 1531), *Psalterium*, col. 2.

² The *Roman Breviary*, like the *Bangor Antiphonary*, and most later MSS, has *inferos*.

Sanctorum Communionem. Remissionem peccatorum
Carnis resurrectionem. Vitam æternam. Amen.¹

III. *The Nicene Creed.*

In tracing out the history of the (so-called) Nicene Creed, the starting-point must be the Council of Nicæa, in the year 325.

Eusebius of Cæsarea, in writing an account of the proceedings to his flock shortly afterwards,² states that he himself proposed to the Council the creed of his own Church of Cæsarea, which he had received from the bishops who preceded him, and which he had professed at his baptism. It ran as follows:—

“We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible;

“And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the Only Begotten Son, the Firstborn of all creation; begotten of God the Father before all worlds; by whom also all

¹ Much has been written in recent years upon the creeds in general, and more especially upon the Apostles' Creed. The works of Lumby (1873) and Swainson (1875) are frequently referred to in the notes. Besides these, the collections of Heurtley (*Harmonia Symbolica*, 1858) and Hahn (*Bibliothek der Symbole*, ed. 3, 1897) will be found most valuable, as well as the great work of Caspari (*Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, 1870–1875; and *Alte und Neue Quellen*, 1879) and Mr. A. E. Burn's *Introduction to the Creeds*, 1899. On the Apostles' Creed, reference may be made to Dr. Swete's volume, *The Apostles' Creed: its Relation to Primitive Christianity* (ed. 3, 1899), in which Harnack's pamphlet, *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss* (1892) (translated into English in the *Nineteenth Century*, July 1893), is well answered. Other recent studies of the same creed from different points of view are the following: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des altkirchlichen Taufsymbols*, D. F. Kattenbusch (1892); *Das apostolische Symbol*, T. Zahn (1893, Eng. tr. 1899); *Das apostolische Symbol*, Kattenbusch (1897–1900); *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss*, C. Blume, S.J. (1893); *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss*, C. Baeumer, O.S.B. (1893); *The Apostles' Creed*, A. Harnack (Eng. tr. 1901); *Das Taufsymbol der alten Kirche*, B. Dörholt (1898); and cf. Dr. Sanday in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vols. i. and iii.

² Socrates, *H. R.* i. viii.

things were made ; who for our salvation was incarnate, and lived among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and shall come again in glory to judge the quick and dead

“ We believe also in One Holy Ghost.”¹

This creed, Eusebius tells us, was received without opposition. So far as it went, it was perfectly orthodox, and no objection could be taken to it. Only it did not express with quite sufficient clearness the great doctrine of our Lord’s eternal divinity, which it was found necessary to guard against Arianism. It was therefore proposed that the crucial term, *Homoousios*, should be inserted in it. This was agreed to ; and, finally, the following creed, which was evidently based on that proposed by Eusebius, was adopted and promulgated by the Council.

“ We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible ;

“ And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, Only-Begotten of the Father—that is, of the Substance of the Father—God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God ; Begotten, not made, Being of one substance

¹ Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς, υἱὸν μονογενῆ, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένον· δι’ οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα, τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον· καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἔρχοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον. It is curious that this creed ends so abruptly, and the probability is that Eusebius only quoted so much of the baptismal creed as was necessary for his purpose. Other early creeds always have the third division more fully developed, *e.g.*, the creed of Arius himself (Hahn, p. 255) ; of Antioch (*ibid.* pp. 141, 142) ; of the Apostolic Constitutions (p. 139) ; and that of the Council of Antioch of 341 (p. 183). It is impossible that the Baptismal Creed of Cæsarea can really have ended with the words, “ We believe also in one Holy Ghost.”

with the Father; *by whom all things were made*, both that are in heaven and that are in earth; *who* for us men, and *for our salvation*, came down, and *was incarnate*, and was made man; *suffered*, and *rose again the third day*; *ascended into heaven*; *is coming to judge the quick and dead*. *And in the Holy Ghost.*"¹

The clauses in italics are those which are also found in the creed of Eusebius, so that the amount of agreement between the two can easily be perceived. It will be seen that the fathers at Nicæa did a good deal more than merely insert the one important term *Homoousios*. As a matter of fact they framed a new creed on the basis of the creed of Cæsaræa—new in phraseology, but, as was shown above, in connection with the Second Article, not new in doctrine.

This creed, however, which was thus framed at Nicæa, is by no means verbally identical with that in use among us, which bears the name of the Nicene Creed. When or by whom, the additional clauses were inserted, and the alterations made whereby the creed assumed its present form, it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide with certainty. But it must have been *about the middle of the fourth century*. The grounds on which this conclusion rests are two. (1) The enlarged creed

¹ Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν· καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, μονογενῆ—τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς· Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ· φῶς ἐκ φωτός· Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ· γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα· ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ· δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ. τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς· ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. To these were appended these anathemas: Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἦ ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, ἢ οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, ἢ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν ἢ τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία.—Socrates, *H. E.* I. viii.

familiar to us (without the *Filioque*) is first met with in a work of Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, which was written in the year 373 or 374. It is there given in the following form:—

“We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and¹ of all things visible and invisible.

“And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-Begotten Son of God, *Begotten of His Father before all worlds*—that is of the Substance of the Father—Light of Light, Very God of Very God, Begotten not made, Being of one substance with the Father; By whom all things were made, both that are in heaven and that are in earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down *from heaven*, and was incarnate *of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary*, and was made man; *and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate*, and suffered, *and was buried*, and rose again the third day, *according to the Scriptures*, and ascended into heaven, *and sitteth at the right hand of the Father*, and is coming again with glory to judge the quick and dead; *whose kingdom shall have no end*. And in the Holy Ghost, *the Lord and Life-giver, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets: in one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church*. *We acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. We look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.*”²

¹ The clauses in italics are the new ones not found in the true creed of Nicæa.

² Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων. Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, φῶς ἐκ φωτός· Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ· γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα· ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ· δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ· τὸν δι’ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους

"This faith," Epiphanius adds, "was delivered by the holy apostles, and in the Church in the holy city, by all the holy bishops, above three hundred and ten in number." These last words indicate that the Nicene Council is intended, the traditional number of bishops present there being three hundred and eighteen. But it may be doubted whether Epiphanius meant to make the Council responsible for the *exact* words, any more than the apostles. He cannot possibly have imagined that this particular form of words was really drawn up by the apostles; and probably he is not to be understood as meaning that the creed was word for word that which came from Nicæa. It was the Nicene Creed, only in a revised and enlarged form. That the Church of the fourth century did not consider itself bound to the very words of the Creed put forth at Nicæa, except in so far as the crucial terms on the nature of the pre-incarnate Son were concerned, is shown by the fact that other versions of the Creed exist claiming, like that of Epiphanius, to be "Nicene."¹

Moreover, Epiphanius himself, in the very next para-

καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου· καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς· καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς· καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς· καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. Καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. ἀμήν. Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, § 118. Epiphanius appends to this the anathemas of the Nicene Creed.

¹ The Syriac Creed of Mesopotamia now used by the Nestorian Churches, and the Cappadocian Creed now used by the Armenian Churches, both claim to be "Nicene," though differing widely from the original creed. See Hort's *Two Dissertations*, p. 110, and cf. p. 149 *seq.*, where these two creeds are given in full.

graph of the *Ancoratus*,¹ gives another enlarged form of the same creed, expanded in order to meet more fully the heresies of the Apollinarians and Macedonians, which he tells us had sprung up from the time of the Emperors Valentinian and Valens. This enables us to fix the date of the additional clauses in our own creed with some degree of certainty. The version is evidently given by Epiphanius, as that which was current before the date of Valentinian and Valens, who succeeded to the Empire in 364.

(2) Another consideration also points to the middle of the fourth century as the date of the additions. The expansion of the article on the Holy Ghost by the addition of the words, "the Lord and the life-giver; who proceedeth from the Father; who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified; who spake by the prophets," indicates that the Macedonian heresy had already begun to attract attention; while the addition of the clause "whose kingdom shall have no end," must have been due to the heresy of Marcellus of Ancyra, who, in opposing Arianism, had become practically involved in a form of Sabellianism, and had been led to the denial of the eternity of Christ's kingdom. Now S. Cyril of Jerusalem read the last mentioned clause in the creed, which he expounded in his *Catechetical Lectures* in the year 347 or 348, and insisted on its importance, because of the heresy "lately sprung up in Galatia," for "a certain one has dared to affirm that after the end of the world Christ shall reign no longer; and he has dared to say that the Word which came forth from the Father shall be again absorbed into the Father, and shall be no more."² Thus

¹ *Ancoratus*, § 119.

² Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* xv. § 27; cf. iv. 15: "Be sure to settle your belief in this point also, since there are many who say that Christ's kingdom has an end."

the existence of these clauses against Marcellus and the Macedonians points to a date not much *earlier* than 360, while the lack of additions, expressly directed against Apollinarianism, makes it tolerably certain that the form dates from a period prior to that in which Apollinaris had formulated the heresy associated with his name.¹ It cannot, therefore, be much *later* than the middle of the century.

Thus all the evidence points to 360, or thereabouts, as the date of the enlarged Creed, which we now term Nicene.

The *place* at which the development of the Creed first took place must be a matter of conjecture. No positive evidence is forthcoming. But from the great similarity which the enlarged creed bears to the Creed of S. Cyril's *Catechetical Lectures*, it has been conjectured with much probability that the expansion must be traced to the Church of Jerusalem.

S. Cyril's Creed, as collected from his lectures, runs as follows:—

"We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of *heaven and earth*, and of all things visible and invisible.

"And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-Begotten Son of God, *who was begotten of the Father*, Very God, *before all worlds*; by whom all things were made; who

¹ This is very clearly seen by a comparison with the second of the Epiphanian Creeds, where the clauses on the Incarnation are expanded so as to insist on the *perfect* humanity of our Lord. Τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, τούτεστι γεννηθέντα τελείως ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας τῆς ἀειπαρθένου διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, τούτεστι τέλειον ἄνθρωπον λαβόντα, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ νοῦν καὶ πάντα, ἓν τι ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος κ.τ.λ. Both forms are given in Hahn, p. 134 *seq.*, and in Heurtley, *De Fide et Symbolo*, p. 11. It is possible that (as was asserted by Diogenes of Cyzicus, at Chalcedon) the words "He was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary," were added to guard against Apollinarianism (see, however, Hort's *Two Dissertations*, p. 90). But had the heresy been formidable, much more would seem to have been necessary, judging by the later form just cited,

was incarnate, and was made man; *was crucified, and buried*; rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven, *and sitteth at the right hand of the Father*, and is coming in *glory* to judge the quick and dead; *whose kingdom shall have no end.*

"And in One Holy Ghost, the Comforter, *who spake in the prophets*; and in one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, and in one holy Catholic Church, and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in the life everlasting."¹

If this be compared with the enlarged creed as given by Epiphanius, it will be seen that all the clauses which we have here put in italics, though wanting in the original Nicene Creed, are contained in the revised form of it. It would seem, then, highly probable that the said revised form is the result of a fusion of the original Nicene Creed with the local creed of the Church of Jerusalem, and (in accordance with what has been already said), that this fusion must have taken place about the middle of the fourth century.² This is perhaps

¹ Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων. Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ· τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. Καὶ εἰς ἕν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ λαλήσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, καὶ εἰς ἕν βάπτισμα μετανόας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Hahn, p. 132. Heurtley (*De Fide et Symbolo*, p. 9) reads, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα ἐκ παρθένου καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου. But where these words appear in *Cat.* iv. 9 and xii. 3, they probably form part of S. Cyril's comment and not of the actual creed; cf., however, Touttée's edition of *S. Cyril*, p. 84.

² See further the second of Hort's *Two Dissertations*, namely, that "on the Constantinopolitan Creed, and other Eastern creeds of the fourth century." Hort's view is that the creed is actually the local creed of Jerusalem, with an insertion from the Creed of Nicæa of the crucial passage on the nature of the pre-incarnate Son. "Light of Light, Very God of Very God, etc."

as far as we can go in tracing its origin. But, whatever may be thought of its connection with Jerusalem, the fact that it appears almost word for word as we have it, in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius, in the year 373 or 374, is proof positive that the additions cannot have been "made" (as the common account states), at the Council of Constantinople in the year 381. This brings us to the question, Is the Council of Constantinople in any way responsible for the creed?

Grave doubts have been recently thrown on this responsibility by the following facts:—

1. None of the three early ecclesiastical historians, who relate the history of the Council—Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret—give any such creed as set forth by it.

2. Socrates and Sozomen both expressly state that the Fathers decided that the faith of the Council of Nicæa should remain inviolate.¹

3. The first canon passed by the Council lays down in distinct terms that "the creed of the three hundred and eighteen bishops assembled at Nicæa shall not be made void, but remain firm"; and the synodical letter of the Fathers speaks in similar terms.²

4. At the Council of Ephesus in 431 no notice whatever was taken of the enlarged creed, but the genuine Creed of Nicæa was once more ratified and continued.³

On the other hand, there is to be set against this the fact that at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 the enlarged creed was quoted as emanating from the Council of Constantinople, by those who themselves came from that city or its neighbourhood, and would therefore

¹ See Socrates, *H. E.* V. viii. ; Sozomen, *H. E.* VII. ix.

² See Theodoret, *H. E.* V. ix.

³ See the seventh canon of this Council, quoted above, p. 225.

be likely to have correct information on such a matter,¹ and it was finally accepted and ratified by the assembled Fathers in addition to the Creed of Nicæa. "We, therefore," so runs the definition of faith, "declare that the exposition of the right and blameless faith by the three hundred and eighteen holy and blessed Fathers, who were assembled at Nicæa in the time of the then Emperor Constantine of pious memory, should have the first place; and that those things should also be maintained which were defined by the hundred and fifty holy Fathers of Constantinople, for the taking away of the heresies which had then sprung up, and the confirmation of the same, our Catholic and Apostolic Faith." This definition was followed by the recital of *both* creeds—(1) the original Nicene, and (2) the enlarged Constantinopolitan form of it.

On a review of the whole evidence on both sides, it would seem quite clear that even if the Council of Constantinople made itself in any way responsible for the creed generally associated with it, it never intended it to *supersede* the creed put forth at Nicæa, or to come into general circulation as *the* creed of the Church universal. The silence of all the early authorities is conclusive on this point. But its recognition at Chalcedon may very possibly imply that it really received some sort of sanction at Constantinople *as an orthodox creed*.² But that is all that can be claimed for it. Before Chalcedon there is no trace of its general use; and even after this Council it only gradually made its way into general circulation. It probably superseded the true Nicene Creed, owing to its use in the euchar-

¹ See Lumby, *The History of the Creeds*, pp. 78-81.

² Hort argues that it may have been recognised at Constantinople as the Creed of Cyril of Jerusalem, whose authority was apparently impugned at the Council. See *Two Dissertations*, etc., pp. 97-107. According to Kunze, it was brought forward as the Baptismal Creed of Nectarius.

istic service, which dates in the East from about the middle of the sixth century;¹ in the West from some time later.² The confusion of name, and the transfer to the enlarged creed of the title Nicene, would appear to belong to a still later period.³

Appended are two forms of the creed—(1) the Greek text as commonly received in the East since Chalcedon, and (2) the Latin version which has been current in the Western Church since the Council of Toledo, 589.

“Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί· δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· τὸν δι’ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐράνους, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. Καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ ζωοποιὸν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφῆτων· εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν

¹ I.e., from the time of the Emperor Justin, see Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca Ritualis*, vol. II. civ. Previously to this the true Nicene Creed had been used in some parts of the East.

² Spain adopting it first in 589.

³ The enlarged creed was carefully distinguished from the Nicene at Toledo (see above, p. 216), but is confused with it and definitely termed Nicene in Charlemagne's *Capitulari* of 787 (quoted above, p. 221).

ἁμαρτιῶν, προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. ἀμήν.”

“Credo in unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Factorem cœli et terræ, atque visibilium omnium et invisibilium: Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, et ex patre natum ante omnia sæcula, Deum de Deo, Lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum non factum, consubstantiali Patri: Per quem omnia facta sunt, Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de cœlis, et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est, crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato: passus et sepultus est, et resurrexit tertia die secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in cœlum, sedet ad dexteram Patris. Et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos: cujus regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit, qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur, qui locutus est per prophetas. Et unam sanctam Catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum, et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam venturi sæculi. Amen.”

In comparing the English translation with this, three points deserve attention.

1. “By whom all things were made.” As Bishop Lightfoot has pointed out, the expression in the English “fails to suggest any idea different from the other expression in the creed, ‘Maker of heaven and earth,’ which has before been applied to the Father.”¹ In the original, however, a distinction is accurately marked, and the preposition used (διὰ, not ὑπό, Latin *per*) describes the Son as the *mediate* agent of creation, *through* whom all things were made. The creed thus faithfully repro-

¹ Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision of the New Testament*, p. 122.

duces the teaching of Scripture, in which this preposition *διὰ* is specially used of the divine Word. *E.g.* S. John i. 3: "All things were made by (*διὰ*) Him"; ver. 10, "the world was made by Him" (*δι' αὐτοῦ*).¹

2. "The Lord and Giver of life." Again to the English reader the phrase is ambiguous, and might be taken to mean the Lord of life and the Giver of the life; whereas in the original it is quite clear, "The Lord (*τὸ κύριον* used absolutely, expressing the Divinity of the Spirit), and the Life-giver (*τὸ ζωοποιόν*).

3. "One Catholic and Apostolic Church." In this clause there is no English equivalent to the word *ἁγίαν*, or *sanctam*. It is generally thought that the omission of the word "holy" in the translation first made for the English Prayer-Book of 1549 was simply due to a printer's error. But if so, it is strange that the blunder was never corrected in any of the subsequent editions of the Prayer-Book. And it has been plausibly argued that the omission was *deliberate*, not because the Reformers made light of holiness as a note of the Church, for the word "holy" is retained in the corresponding article in the Apostles' Creed, "the holy Catholic Church" — but because they imagined on critical grounds that it had no place in the true text of the creed. It is certainly the case that the word was wanting in the creed as given in some of the early editions of the Councils which were accessible to them, and they may have thought that they were restoring a truer text than that which had been previously in use.² However this may be, whether the omission was intentional or due to inadvertence, there is no doubt that it is wrong, and that we ought to read this article with the

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. viii. 6; Col. i. 16; Heb. i. 2.

² See an article on "The Anglican Version of the Nicene Creed," *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. viii. p. 372.

four notes of the Church plainly expressed: "One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church."

IV. *The Athanasian Creed.*

As the Apostles' Creed was not composed by the apostles, and the Nicene Creed is not the Creed of Nicæa, so the Athanasian Creed is not the work of Athanasius. Not only is the creed indebted (as will presently be shown) for much of its language to the works of Augustine written some years after the death of Athanasius, but also there can be no question that the original language of the creed is Latin, whereas Athanasius wrote in Greek. "It is certain," says Lumby, "that whoever peruses the various Greek versions of the creed which are extant cannot fail to abandon the notion that the original language of this composition was Greek. The unusual words and strange constructions betray the hand of translators, and those not of great skill. That this may be apparent from different versions, the first two verses are sub-joined. . . . They vary widely from one another, as will be seen, and bear no trace whatever of a common Greek original. It is, therefore, impossible to believe that any such original ever existed."¹

"Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam fidem; quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit."

"(1) Εἴ τις θέλει σωθῆναι, πρὸ πάντων χρὴ αὐτῷ τὴν καθολικὴν κρατῆσαι πίστιν· ἣν εἰ μὴ τις ὑγιῇ καὶ ἁμωμον τηρήσειε, πάσης ἀμφιβολίας ἐκτός εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπολείται.

"(2) Τῷ θέλοντι σωθῆναι πρὸ πάντων ἀνάγκη τὴν

¹ *The History of the Creeds*, p. 189.

καθολικὴν πίστιν κατέχειν ἣν εἰ μὴ τις ἀκεραίαν καὶ ἀπαράθραυστον συντηρήσειεν ἀναμφιβόλως εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπολείται.

“(3) Ὅστις ἂν βούληται σωθῆναι πρὸ πάντων χρὴ κρατεῖν τὴν καθολικὴν πίστιν ἣν εἰ μὴ εἰς ἕκαστος σώαν καὶ ἀμώμητον τηρήσῃ ἄνευ δισταγμοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπολείται.

“(4) Ἐἰ τις βούλοιτο σωθῆναι πρὸ πάντων αὐτῷ χρεια κρατῆσαι τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν ἣν ἔαν μὴ τις ἀμόλυντον καὶ ἄφθορον τηρήσῃ αἰώνιον εὐρήσει τὴν ἀπώλειαν.”

This specimen is quite sufficient to demonstrate that the creed originated in the West and not at Alexandria. How, then, did it get its name? It has been thought that this may be accounted for by the fact that it contains an exposition of the doctrine which Athanasius so nobly defended, and of which he was the most prominent champion against Arianism; and accordingly the suggestion has been made¹ that when Arianism was rife in the West, the Arians may have termed the orthodox party Athanasians, and the creed which most fully expressed their doctrines “the Athanasian Creed.” This does not seem a very probable explanation of the origin of the names, and it is more reasonable to suppose that the name was attached to the creed because it was erroneously believed to be the work of Athanasius. In an uncritical age traditions concerning the authorship of famous documents easily grew up, often without the slightest foundation—witness the ascription of the *Te Deum* to S. Ambrose and S. Augustine—and even if we cannot now explain exactly how the title *Fides Athanasii* first became attached to the creed, whether by the carelessness of a copyist, or as a guess at authorship, there is no need to seek for any further explana-

¹ By Bishop Browne, *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 224; after Waterland, *Critical History*, ch. viii.

tion of its perpetuation than the belief that it was the work of the saint whose name was given to it.

Concerning the date of the creed, no small controversy has arisen. Its ascription to Athanasius can be traced back to the ninth century, nor does it appear that it was ever seriously questioned until the seventeenth century.¹ Almost the first to reject the traditional title of it was Gerard Voss, in his work *De Tribus Symbolis*, published in 1642. From his date onward the Athanasian authorship was generally given up, and various names were suggested by writers on the subject,² until in 1723 the *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed* was published by Daniel Waterland. This masterly work was commonly regarded as conclusive, and the controversy was set at rest for the next hundred and fifty years, and has only been reopened in recent times, largely owing to the discovery of evidence unknown to Waterland. His conclusion, based on a careful examination of both external and internal evi-

¹ It will be noticed that in the Eighth Article, Cranmer (or whoever drew it up) indicated his rejection of the tradition concerning the apostolic authorship of the Apostles' Creed, by speaking of it as "that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed," but spoke unhesitatingly of this other as "Athanasius' Creed." In the Ten Articles of 1536 it is said of the three creeds that "one was made by the apostles, and is the common creed, which every man useth; the second was made by the Holy Council of Nice, and is said daily in the mass; and the third was made by Athanasius, and is comprehended in the Psalm *Quicumque Vult*" (Article III). The rubric in the Prayer-Book which entitles it "this confession of our Christian faith, *commonly called the Creed of Saint Athanasius*," dates from 1662. In the earlier editions of the Prayer-Books there was nothing corresponding to the words in italics.

² (1) Voss himself thought that the creed was the work of a Gallican writer, possibly as late as the eighth or ninth century; (2) Paschasius Quesnel (1675) assigned it to Vigilius Tapsensis in the fifth century. So Cave, Dupin, Pagi and others; (3) Antelmi (1693) suggested Vincent of Lerins, also belonging to the fifth century; (4) Muratori (1698) gives it to Venantius Fortunatus in the sixth; while (5) Waterland himself decides in favour of Hilary of Arles.

dence, was that the creed was composed in Gaul between the years 420 and 430, and that it is very probably the work of Hilary of Arles. That it cannot be earlier than 420 may be taken as certain, for the coincidences of thought and expression between it and the writings of S. Augustine are so striking as to lead to the conclusion that the author of the creed, whoever he may have been, must have been well acquainted with the works of S. Augustine, including his books on the "Trinity," which were not published until 416.¹

Waterland's *terminus ad quem* is arrived at mainly from internal evidence. The date fixed by him as the latest possible one for the composition of the creed is 430 A.D. This year is selected because he maintains that the creed does not condemn the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies in the full, direct, and critical terms, such as would naturally have been used had it been composed after these heresies had arisen and become formidable. There is nothing, so he asserts, in the creed but what is found in earlier writers in combating the errors of Arius and Apollinaris. Even those clauses (vers. 32–35) which at first sight bear the appearance of being expressly intended to condemn the Nestorian division of Christ into "two Persons," are found on examination to be based entirely on the writings of Augustine, so that there is really scarcely a phrase contained in them which may not be paralleled in one or other of Augustine's works.²

¹ Compare Waterland, *Critical History*, ch. ix., where the creed is given with parallel passages from the Fathers, and more especially from S. Augustine.

² See Waterland, ch. ix. The following striking parallels may be quoted: "Agnoscamus geminam substantiam Christi; divinam scilicet qua æqualis est Patri, humanam qua major est Pater: utrumque autem simul non duo sed unus est Christus."—*In Johan. Evan. Tr.* lxxviii. 3. "Verbum caro factum est, a Divinitate carne suscepta, non in carnem

The *external evidence* as given by Waterland, although not necessitating quite so early a date as 430, is not inconsistent with it. If the creed is a composition of the fifth century, there is nothing surprising in the fact that no external testimonies to its use have come down to us before the sixth and seventh centuries to which Waterland assigns his earliest authorities. Recent researches, however, have shown that it is not safe to appeal without hesitation to some of Waterland's most important witnesses to the early use of the creed. Consequently the whole subject has been reopened, and the question of the date of the creed has been reconsidered in the light of modern discoveries.

The three most ancient testimonies relied on by Waterland are the following:—

1. A canon of a Council of Autun, insisting on the recitation of "the faith of the holy prelate Athanasius" by the clergy. Of this he gives the date as 670 A.D.¹

2. A MS. "mentioned by Bishop Usher, which he had seen in the Cotton Library, and which he judged to come up to the age of Gregory the Great," *i.e. circa* 600. This MS., Waterland says, was not to be found when he wrote, but he entertains no doubt that Usher had really seen it, and is inclined to trust his judgment on the question of its date.

3. A commentary on the creed, published by Muratori, and unhesitatingly assigned by Waterland

Divinitate mutata."—*Enchiridion*, ch. xxxiv. "Idem Deus qui homo et qui Deus idem homo: non confusione naturæ, sed unitate personæ."—Serm. clxxxvi. "Sicut enim unus est homo anima rationalis et caro; sic unus est Christus Deus et homo."—*In Johan. Evan. Tr.* lxxviii. 3.

¹ "Si quis presbyter, diaconus, subdiaconus vel clericus symbolum quod sancto inspirante spiritu Apostoli tradiderunt, et fidem Sancti Athanasii præsulis irreprehensibiliter non recensuerit, ab episcopo condemnatur." *Hardouin*, vol. iii. p. 13.

(as by its first editor) to Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers about 570.

Now with regard to these three pieces of evidence, it must be noted *first*, that though the canon referred to is a real canon of Autun, reasons have been given for doubting whether it actually belongs to the series passed in the Synod of 670;¹ and its date cannot be appealed to with the same confidence as formerly. *Secondly*, Archbishop Usher's lost "Cotton MS." has been discovered since Waterland's day in the library at Utrecht. It is now well known to scholars as the "Utrecht Psalter," and the opinion of experts assigns it to a date considerably later than that at which Usher put it. Indeed, there are grounds for thinking that it may have been written as late as the ninth century.² *Thirdly*, the commentary, supposed by Waterland to be the work of Venantius Fortunatus, is only assigned to "Fortunatus" in a single MS.³ But Fortunatus is not an uncommon name, and there is really nothing whatever to identify the author of the commentary with *Venantius* Fortunatus, the Bishop of Poitiers in the sixth century. Thus the reason given for dating this work about the year 570 disappears altogether.

In this way the earliest testimonies formerly brought forward have had doubts thrown upon their value, and it has been thought that the internal evidence, if unsupported by early external authorities, is not sufficiently strong to allow us to consider the creed as a work of the fifth century. Further, it has been said that there is no

¹ See Lumby, *History of the Creeds*, p. 204. Cf., however, Ommanney, *Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed*, p. 52 *seq.*, where strong reasons are given for upholding Waterland's view of the date of this canon.

² *Ibid.* p. 210.

³ The MS. which is at Milan (M. 79 *sup.*) is assigned to the eleventh century. In other MSS. of the same commentary or exposition, *e.g.* that in the Bodleian (Junius, 25) no author's name is attached to it. See Swainson, *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, ch. xxix, and Lumby, p. 208

certain reference to it as the *Fides Athanasii* till the ninth century,¹ though many striking parallels with different portions of it can be quoted from writings of an earlier date. Consequently, some writers have maintained that, even if the materials out of which it is compiled are comparatively early, yet in its completed form it must be set down as a work of the ninth century.²

This view the present writer finds it quite impossible to accept. It appears to him that although Waterland's chapters on the external testimonies, commentaries, and MSS. of the creed may require rewriting, yet a considerable portion of the early evidence adduced by him remains unshaken, and fresh evidence unknown in his day has been discovered, so that we are compelled to assign to the creed a date if not actually during the fifth century, yet at the latest in the earlier part of the sixth.

1. Manuscripts of the creed, which were undoubtedly written during the ninth and tenth centuries, are comparatively numerous, some of them being assigned by competent authorities to the *early years* of the ninth. But besides these there are at least *three* MSS. of it, which in the opinion of the highest authorities on palæo-

¹ Waterland gives three MSS. earlier than the ninth century as assigning it to Athanasius, namely, *King Athelstan's Psalter*, in the British Museum (Galba, A. xviii.), which he dates in 703. A S. Germain's MS. (257) at Paris, collated by Montfaucon, assigned to 760, and the Psalter given by Charles to Hadrian, now at Vienna (1861), which, if Charles be Charlemagne, and Hadrian the first of that name, must belong to the year 772. But the dates of all these MSS. have been questioned (see below).

² The late Dr. Swainson strongly contended that it belonged to the ninth century; and with him Lumby to some extent agreed, as he held that *in its present form* the creed was only compiled between A.D. 813 and 850; though he maintained that "before that date two separate compositions existed [one on the Trinity and the other on the Incarnation] which form the groundwork of the present *Quicumque*."—*History of the Creeds*, p. 254.

graphy were written *before the close of the eighth century*, viz. :—

(a) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 4858 (formerly 4908).—A copy of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, to which is appended at the close of the MS. a copy of the Athanasian Creed. In this it is without title, and only the first eleven verses are found, as the volume is mutilated and the remainder is torn off.* This MS. is assigned by the present authorities of the MS. department at Paris, as it was by Montfaucon, to the later part of the eighth century.¹

(b) Paris, 13159.—A Psalter with Canticles followed by the Athanasian Creed, with no title. Internal evidence seems to fix the date of this MS. beyond question to the period between 795 and 800, as, in the litany contained in it, there are prayers for Leo who became pope in 795, and for Charles as “Rex,” which shows that it was written before he was crowned Emperor in 800. This date is accepted by M. Delisle and other authorities. It may be added that this MS. was unknown to Waterland.²

(c) Milan, Ambr. O. 212.—A MS. containing various documents, including among others the Athanasian Creed without title. This MS. was assigned by Muratori to the seventh century, by Montfaucon to the eighth, and with him agrees the present librarian at Milan, Dr. Ceriani.³

Besides these three MSS., two of which contain the creed

¹ Lumby mentions this MS., but does not really attempt to prove that it is later than the date assigned to it. See *History of the Creeds*, p. 225.

² Swainson describes this MS., and was evidently perplexed by it, but honestly tells us that M. Delisle assigns it to the year 795.—*Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 350. Lumby fails to notice it at all.

³ Swainson and Lumby both try to make out that it is later, but their opinion on such a matter can hardly be set against the judgment of such experts as those mentioned in the text.

complete, the other being mutilated, there is (*d*) what is known as the "Trèves fragment." This is only known to us from a Paris MS. (3836) generally dated about 730. It contains a fragment of an address by a preacher to his congregation comprising much of the latter part of the Athanasian Creed, which address the writer says that he found in a book at Trèves. The original Trèves manuscript has not been discovered, but its date must be placed considerably earlier than that of the Paris MS. in which it was copied, and some have thought that it must have been written not later than the fifth century.¹ It has been suggested that it gives the groundwork from which the latter part of the *Quicumque* was subsequently worked up,² but it would seem to be a truer view that the preacher whose sermon is given in the MS. was actually quoting the creed, and applying it. If this is so, the document may be appealed to as bearing witness to the previous existence of the creed, the language of which it adopts and modifies.³

Mention must also be made of two other MSS. of the creed.

(*e*) Vienna, 1861.—This is the psalter presented by "Charles" to Pope Hadrian, which Waterland, identifying Charles with Charlemagne, and Hadrian with the first pope of that name, assigned to 772. It has, however, been pointed out that Charles may be identified with Charles the Bald, and the pope with Hadrian II., in which case the MS. will belong not to the eighth but to the latter part of the ninth century. It contains the creed under the title "Fides Sci Athanasii Epi Alexandrini."⁴

¹ See Lumby, *History of the Creeds*, p. 216.

² So Swainson and Lumby.

³ See Ommanney, *Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed*, pp. 4 and 461, where a copy of the fragment is given.

⁴ See Swainson, p. 372, and Lumby, p. 221.

(*f*) St. Germain's, 257, as described by Montfaucon, is placed by Waterland after him as of the date 760, and the title of the creed in it is given as "Fides Sancti Athanasii Episcopi Alexandriæ."—Unhappily the MS. is now lost,¹ and therefore the date cannot be appealed to with absolute confidence, though the opinion of Montfaucon on such a subject is not lightly to be set aside. Without, however, laying stress on the last two manuscripts enumerated (*e*) and (*f*), there remain, in addition to the Treves fragment, *three* in regard to which there is absolutely no reason for refusing to credit the judgment of experts on the question of their date.² And if the dates assigned to them be accepted we may dismiss without further consideration the notion that the creed itself can have been a compilation of the ninth century.

2. A second important branch of evidence to the antiquity of the creed is to be found in *early collections of canons* in which it finds a place.

(*a*) Paris, 3848 B.—A MS. of the early part of the ninth century contains not only a collection of canons, which includes the Autun Canon, ordering "the faith of the holy prelate Athanasius" to be learnt by heart by all the clergy, but also a series of testimonies to the faith preceding the canons. Among these the Athanasian Creed itself is given in full under the title of "Fides Sancti Athanasii Episcopi."³

(*b*) Paris, 1451, is another MS. assigned by the best authorities to the same date, being probably written before the death of Leo III. in 816. It also contains a collection of canons, and also the full text of the Atha-

¹ Unless it can be identified with Cod. q. o. t. n. i. 5 in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, which Mr. Burn tells me is probably the case.

² *King Athelstan's Psalter* in the British Museum (Galba A, xviii.), which Waterland put at the date 703, is now universally assigned to the ninth century.

³ Maassen, *Biblioth. Latina Juris Canonici*; cf. Swainson, p. 268. Ommañney, *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 92.

nasian Creed, "Incipit exemplar fidei cht̄ Sci Athanasii Epi Alexandrine ecclesie."¹

(c) Vatican, Palat. 540.—A MS. also belonging to the ninth century; contains a Gallican collection of canons assigned to the sixth century, immediately followed by some other documents, including the creed: "Incipit fides Catholica beati Athanasii Episcopi."²

(d) Further, the Canon of Autun, mentioned above, even if it cannot be unhesitatingly connected with the Synod held under S. Leger in the year 670 *cannot be later than the eighth century*. Dr. Swainson himself admits that it is found in "five manuscripts of the ninth century, and one of the eighth or ninth";³ and in the face of the evidence borne by the Paris MS. (3848 B) mentioned above, it is absurd to suppose that "the faith of the holy prelate Athanasius" can mean anything but the *Quicumque vult*.

3. Thirdly, we have the evidence of the early commentaries upon the creed. Our knowledge of these has been considerably increased of late years by the researches of Mr. Ommanney, and we are now able to state that there are several other comparatively early ones as well as (a) that which Waterland ascribed to Venantius Fortunatus. As we have already seen, there is no doubt that he was wrong in thus ascribing it to him. But though the authorship of the commentary is unknown, internal evidence is strongly in favour of its belonging to an early date. Besides this, Mr. Ommanney describes four other important commentaries—(b) the "Paris" Commentary which he holds to have been drawn up "not

¹ Maassen, *Biblioth. Latina Juris Canonici*; cf. Swainson, p. 268. Ommanney, *The S.P.C.K. and the Creed of S. Athanasius*, p. 28.

² *De Antiquis Collectionibus Canonum* (Ed. Ballerini) ii. ch. x. §§ 2, 3. Cf. Maassen and Swainson, *ubi supra*.

³ *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 272.

later than the ninth century, and not earlier than the seventh"; (c) the "Bouhier," of the eighth, (d) the "Oratorian" of the beginning of the eighth or quite the end of the seventh; and (e) the "Troyes" between 649 and 680.¹ It must be borne in mind that the dates of these commentaries are not certain. But, even if they are not earlier than the ninth century, they would still imply that the creed was then regarded as a work of considerable antiquity. Commentaries are not written on new and recent works, but on those of long-standing and repute in the Church. It is remarkable also that in two of these Commentaries, the "Oratorian" and the "Bouhier" it is said that the creed was attributed to Athanasius, *etiam in veteribus codicibus*. Now the actual MSS. of these commentaries may not be older than the tenth century: but if even then there were in existence MSS. of the creed which could be termed "old," and which contained the title referring it to the authorship of Athanasius, a further argument is supplied in support of its early date.²

4. We are now in a position to estimate the bearing of *coincidences of language* with early writers. The three branches of evidence, of which the most important items have just been enumerated, are sufficient to show that by the ninth century at the latest the creed had obtained a recognised position. It was even then beginning to be admitted into ecclesiastical Psalters, together with the Te Deum, and the Canticles of the New Testament. It was ordered to be learnt by heart by the clergy, and commentaries were written upon it. Consequently, when we find that the language of the creed appears also in sermons and professions of faith, it is only reasonable to hold that

¹ On all the commentaries reference may be made to Ommanney's *Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed*.

² Compare Ommanney, p. 184 *seq.*

such coincidences imply a knowledge of the creed on the part of the writers in question. Nor can it fairly be inferred that if a writer only quotes a portion of the creed, the remainder did not exist in the document from which his citation was drawn. It cannot be said that there is any definite external evidence of the existence of two separate compositions which formed the groundwork of our present *Quicumque vult*; and, therefore, we are justified, as in the case of any other work, in appealing to a citation as at least *prima facie* evidence of a knowledge of the document as it is found in every single MS. that contains it.

Of writers who appear thus to make use of the creed, the following may be mentioned:—

(a) Denebert, Bishop of Worcester, after his election to the bishopric in 798, made a profession of faith, which has been preserved to us, and affords clear evidence that the Athanasian Creed had already found its way into England, for in this profession he quotes a large part of it, saying that he will expound the orthodox Catholic and Apostolic faith, as he has learnt it, “for it is written, Whosoever will be saved, etc.” Since he introduces his citation with the formula, “it is written,” it is manifest that he is quoting from a recognised and familiar document, and as he proceeds to express his adherence to the decrees of the six General Councils, there was no necessity for him to quote more of the creed than the portion referring to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, as the Church’s faith in the Incarnation is fully set forth in the decrees of the Councils.¹

(b) The “Trèves fragment” referred to above must be

¹ See Haddan and Stubbs’ *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. iii. p. 526. “Insuper et orthodoxam catholicam apostolicamque fidem sicut didici paucis exponam verbis, quia scriptum est quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est illi ut teneat catholicam fidem. Fides autem Catholica hæc est ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate

mentioned again in this place, since it supplies a clear instance of a writer making use of the creed. It is, as has already been said, a portion of a sermon on the creed, the language of which is freely referred to, and applied, as it might be, by any modern preacher. This takes us back to a considerably earlier date than Denebert's profession, possibly even to the fifth century.¹

(c) Howsoever this may be, we are brought to the *sixth* century by another consideration. In the appendix to the sermons of Augustine is a discourse formerly attributed to him which the Benedictine editors of his works ascribed to Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles from 502 to 542.² Their conclusion is accepted by recent writers,³ and if it can be established, it will furnish a strong argument for Waterland's view that the creed emanated from Southern Gaul during the fifth century, for the sermon in question obviously betrays a knowledge of the *Quicumque vult*, alluding to *both* parts of it, namely, that on the Incarnation as well as that on the Holy Trinity.⁴

veneremur; neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes; alia est enim Persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti; sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est Divinitas, æqualis gloria, coæterna majestas; Pater a nullo factus est, nec creatus nec genitus; Filius a Patre solo est; non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus; Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens. In hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus, sed totæ tres Personæ coæternæ sibi sunt et coæquales; ita ut per omnia sicut supra dictum est, et Trinitas in Unitate et Unitas in Trinitate veneranda sit. Suscipio etiam decreta Pontificum, et sex synodos Catholicas antiquorum heroicorum virorum et præfixam ab eis regulam sincera devotione conservo. Hæc est fides nostra," etc.

¹ See above, p. 337.

² *Opera*, vol. v. Appendix, Serm. cexliv.

³ *E.g.* Caspari, Kattenbusch, G. F. Arnold, and Malnory. In any case, as the Baptismal Creed commented upon corresponds closely with what we know to have been the form of the Gallican Creed about the fifth century, the sermon cannot be much later than Cæsarius.

⁴ The discourse begins as follows:—"Rogo et admoneo vos, fratres carissimi, ut quicumque vult salvus esse, fidem rectam ac Catholicam discat, firmiter teneat, inviolatamque conservet. Ita ergo oportet uni-

(d) A discourse of a somewhat similar character, but, to judge from some features in the character of the Baptismal Creed commented upon in it, possibly belonging to a yet earlier date, has been discovered and printed by Mr. Ommanney.¹ It likewise seems to allude to the *Quicumque vult*, and to imply a familiarity with its contents on the part of the preacher.

On the whole, then, it is believed that the attacks made upon the antiquity of the creed have completely failed, and that there is no reason for discarding the older view, which regarded it as a work of the fifth century, composed by some writer belonging to the Gallican Church. In style it bears a strong resemblance to the writings of Vincent of Lerins (who died about 450), and if not actually his work, is probably from the hand of someone of the same school, who was familiar with his *Commonitorium*, and borrowed from it.²

cuique observare ut credat Patrem, credat Filium, et credat Spiritum Sanctum. Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus; sed tamen non tres Dii, sed unus Deus. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus. Attamen credat unusquisque fidelis quod Filius æqualis est Patri secundum Divinitatem, et minor est Patre secundum humanitatem carnis, quam de nostro assumpsit; Spiritus vero Sanctus ab utroque procedens. Credite, ergo, carissimi, in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem," etc.

¹ *Dissertation*, p. 3, and *Early History*, etc., p. 121, and cf. p. 393, where the sermon is printed in full. It is contained in the Paris MS. mentioned above, 3848 B, assigned to the early part of the ninth century, and in another of the same date, 2123. The Baptismal Creed commented on in it is curious. An early date may be inferred from the omission of the words *passus, mortuus, descendit ad inferna, sanctorum communionem, vitam æternam*. But, on the other hand, it agrees with the remarkable form found in the *Bangor Antiphonary* (fol. 19), in reading "in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, invisibilem, visibilium et invisibilium omnium rerum conditorem," and "in Spiritum Sanctum Deum omnipotentem unam habentem substantiam cum Patre et Filio"; while, like one of the creeds in the *Missale Gallicanum*, it has the phrase, "*Victor ascendit ad cælos*." These features may, perhaps, point to a later date than that which Mr. Ommanney is disposed to assign to it.

² See on the whole subject, *The Athanasian Creed and its Early Commentaries*, by A. E. Burn, in Dr. Robinson's *Texts and Studies*, vol. iv.

From the question of the date of the creed, which, after all, is a matter of comparatively small importance, we may pass in conclusion to the consideration of *the use made of the creed by the Church of England*. It has been said in the Western Church in the office of Prime certainly since the tenth century.¹ According to Roman use it is said at this service only on Sundays, but according to the Sarum use, followed in England before the Reformation, it was ordered to be said daily. Prime, however, is a service of monastic origin, and was never intended for a general congregation. Consequently, when on the publication of the first English Prayer-Book in 1549 this confession of our faith was ordered to be recited at matins immediately after Benedictus on the six great festivals of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday, a new departure was taken, and for the first time this creed was adopted for *popular* use. Owing to its position in the Prayer-Book, and its

No. 1. Mr. Burn thinks it more probable that Vincent "used and illustrated the creed than that anyone in a subsequent century of less correct scholarship picked out his phrases and wove them into a document of this nature." Compare these passages of the *Commonitorium*: "Ecclesia vero Catholica . . . et unam Divinitatem in Trinitatis plenitudine, et Trinitatis aequalitatem in una atque eadem majestate veneratur, et unum Christum Jesum, non duos, eundemque Deum pariter atque hominem confitetur. . . . Alia est Persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti. Altera substantia Divinitatis, altera humanitatis; sed tamen Deitas et humanitas non alter et alter, sed unus idemque Christus, unus idemque Filius Dei, et unius ejusdemque Christi et filii Dei una eademque Persona; sicut in homine aliud caro, et aliud anima; sed unus idemque homo, anima et caro . . . unus idemque Christus Deus et homo . . . idem Patri aequalis et minor; idem ex Patre ante secula genitus item in seculo ex matre generatus; perfectus Deus, perfectus homo; in Deo summa Divinitas in homine plena humanitas . . . Unus, autem, non corruptibili nescio qua Divinitatis et humanitatis confusione, sed integra et singulari quadam Unitate personæ."—*Commonitorium Vincentii Lerinensis*, ch. xiii. Dom Morin has recently suggested Caesarius of Arles (470–542) as the probable author of the creed. See *Revue Bénédictine*, Oct. 1901.

¹ This is rendered certain from its position in the Psalters. It is alluded to by Honorius of Autun (1136) in the *Gemma Animæ*, bk. ii. ch. 60; by Abbo of Fleury, A.D. 1001 (Migne, cxxxix. p. 462); but not by Amalarius or Walafrid Strabo in the ninth century.

use in the public service of the Church on the six great festivals, and (since 1552) on seven saints' days¹ the *Quicumque vult* is probably much more familiar to the lay members of the Church of England than to those of any other community; and since there is abundant evidence that it is often misunderstood and regarded with suspicion, it may be well to say something in explanation of it, and in answer to the popular objections which are urged against it.

The creed itself falls into two clearly marked divisions. Part 1 (verses 1–26) states the doctrine of the Trinity; Part 2 (verses 27–40) the doctrine of the Incarnation. The form in which the Church's faith is stated in each case is due to the fact that heresies had arisen and had to be met. Thus in Part 1 the two chief heresies combated are those of Sabellius and Arius. The former of these "confounded the Persons," while the latter "divided the substance." The necessity of excluding these errors is obviously present to the mind of the writer from verses 5 to 26, and accounts for most of the expressions used, so that if the character of the heresies in question be borne in mind, the meaning of this portion of the creed will be readily understood.² The second part begins with

¹ Not until 1662 was the order given for it to be *substituted* for the Apostles' Creed on those days for which it is appointed.

² In verse 9 "incomprehensible" in the English translation is misleading. The Latin is *immensus*, i.e. *infinite*. Cf. *Patrem immensæ majestatis*, "the Father of an *infinite* majesty" in the *Te Deum*. It is a little uncertain whether the English "incomprehensible" was intended by the translators to be taken in the sense of "illimitable" or infinite; or whether the rendering was meant by them to be equivalent to "inconceivable," as the translation of the Greek ἀκατάληπτος, for that they imagined the Greek to be the original, and translated from it may be taken as certain. See Bp. Dowden's *Quæstiunculæ Liturgicæ*.

In verse 19, "by Himself," represents the Latin *singillatim*, and means "severally." Cf. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XI. xxiv. "Cum de singulis quæritur unusquisque eorum et Deus et Omnipotens esse respondeatur; cum vero de omnibus simul, non tres dii vel tres omnipotentes sed unus Deus omnipotens."

Verse 24: "And in this Trinity none is afore or after other: none is

verse 27, and in it the doctrine of the Incarnation is stated at some length. Here again the thought of Arianism is present; for it and Apollinarianism are the principal heresies kept in view. As has been already shown, it is uncertain whether Nestorianism and Eutychianism were directly before the writer of the creed, though the former of these is effectually excluded by the terms (borrowed from Augustine) which are used in verses 32 to 35 :—

“Who although He be God and Man : yet He is not two, but one Christ ;

One ; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh : but by taking of the Manhood into God ;

One altogether ; not by Confusion of Substance : but by unity of Person.

For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man : so God and man is one Christ.”¹

There remain the so-called “damnatory clauses” to be considered, and to these exception is often taken. Men point to them and say that they are harsh and uncharitable. It is owing to their presence that they object to the use of the creed, and complain (1) that it expressly makes salvation depend upon the correctness of a man’s faith, and that poor simple folk can scarcely be expected to understand and hold all that is here set before them, and (2) that these “damnatory clauses” exclude from all hope of salvation not merely the heathen, but Socinians, greater or less than another.” The words are neuter, *nihil prius aut posterius ; nihil majus aut minus* (“Naught (or nothing) is afore or after : naught (or nothing) is greater or less.”) The first phrase refers to *duration*, the second to *dignity*. The next clause is explanatory of this : “But the whole three Persons are *co-eternal* together and *co-equal*.”

¹ Whatever may be thought of the bearing of these verses on the date of the creed as far as *Nestorianism* is concerned (and they are certainly very similar to language used against it by Vincent of Lerins), it seems almost impossible that they can have been written *after* Eutychianism had arisen. Verses 33 and 35 would surely have been worded differently, had the error of thinking that the manhood was absorbed into the Godhead arisen

Arians, and all others who do not believe in the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation as here expounded.

Now it will be found that these difficulties are, if not entirely removed, at any rate greatly mitigated by observing what the creed really says. The English translation is in several places by no means exact. There is a harsh ring about it, which is wanting in the Latin. Moreover, in common parlance, the sharp edges of meaning often get rubbed off words in familiar use, so that, even where the translation is really not inadequate, phrases are liable to be taken in an inexact sense instead of being given the precise meaning which is really demanded.

The opening clauses of the creed in the original run as follows:—

“Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam fidem ;

Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit absque dubio in æternum peribit.”

There are several terms here which call for a brief comment.

Quicumque vult salvus esse. It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to call attention to the fact that in the English rendering “whosoever will be saved,” “will” is not the auxiliary verb. But it would be well if the meaning of the phrase could be placed beyond the possibility of misconception by the substitution of “wishes” or “desires.” “Whosoever,” then “wishes to be *salvus*.” Here, it must be admitted, there is an ambiguity in the Latin. It is possible that the word *salvus* should be taken as the equivalent to the Greek σωζόμενος in Acts ii. 47, *i.e.* “in a state of salvation (Vulgate, *qui salvi ficerent*), or even that it should be rendered “in a sound and healthy condition” (spiritually). It is certainly used in the sense of “safe” or “in the way of salvation” by S. Vincent of

Lerins.¹ But on the other hand, it is employed in the Vulgate and in the writings of Augustine, in passages where it must mean more than this, and imply what is commonly understood by "saved."² Which was the precise sense intended by the author of the creed it may be hard to determine; nor does it seem really important to decide, when once it is fairly realised that the creed is only speaking of the *desire* for safety or salvation. But whatever be the precise shade of meaning given to this word *salvus* the significance of the verbs *teneat* and *servaverit* is perfectly clear. "Hold" and "keep" are not inadequate renderings; but if "keep" and "preserve" were substituted for them the drift of the clause would be more sharply brought out; and the English reader would feel at once that *the warning is against apostasy, i.e.* against letting go that which has actually been received. It is impossible for a man to "keep" or "preserve" that which is not previously in his possession. It would be an abuse of terms to tell an impure person to "preserve his chastity." He cannot do it, for such a phrase necessarily implies previous innocence and purity. So also when it is said of the Catholic faith that "except every one do keep [it] whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly," it is obvious that the only case contemplated is that of men who have already received it and are in possession of it.³ This indicates that

¹ *Commonitorium* ch. iv. : "Intra sacraia Catholicæ fidei salvi esse potuerunt."

² The word is constantly used in the Vulgate, not only for σωζόμενος in Acts ii. 47; 1 Cor. i. 18; 2 Cor. ii. 15, but for other parts of the verb. See e.g. S. Matt. xix. 25, xxiv. 13; Acts ii. 21, xi. 14, xvi. 30; Rom. v. 9, etc. So in Augustine it often means a good deal more than σωζόμενος. See the use of it in *Enchiridion*, ch. xciv. xcvii.; *De Spiritu et Littera*, ch. lviii.; *Contra Julian. Pelag.* iv. c. xlii. seq.

³ Archdeacon Norris takes *servare fidem* in the creed as equivalent to the same phrase in the Vulgate in 2 Tim. iv. 7, where it is used to translate S. Paul's expression τηρεῖν τὴν πίστιν, and he holds that both

the warnings of the creed do not touch the case of the heathen or of any who are brought up in hereditary error (e.g. Socinians and Arians), but they apply only to those within the Church. The Church is not called upon to judge "them that are without" (1 Cor. v. 12).¹ But she is "bound to declare the whole counsel of God"; and it cannot be denied that there is a very severe side to the teaching of Scripture, and that our Lord Himself and His apostles speak in strong terms of the loss incurred by those who reject the faith.² But though the Church is bound to state the revealed law and to assert the rule of judgment which follows on wilful rejection of the faith, yet it is not for her to assume the office of judge and apply the law to individual cases. Thus we have no right to say of any given individual, that A. B. "without doubt will perish everlastingly." This may require to be made somewhat clearer. To our Lord's words, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be damned," common sense supplies certain limitations, and those who accept our Lord's statement in the fullest loyalty, yet understand that the "damnation" spoken of will only be incurred by those who, having had His claims set before their conscience, wilfully reject Him, and disbelieve. But who shall say in any given case whether the rejection has been wilful? To us it may appear that it has been so. But there is so much invincible prejudice

this phrase and the words *integram inviolatamque* have a moral meaning, "undefiled by a bad life." "Which faith, except each one, keep in integrity and purity."—*Rudiments of Theology*, p. 257. It may be added that "before all things," *ante omnia*, does not mean more than that right faith must precede right practice.

¹ See further on Article XVIII., where more will be said on the case of the heathen.

² See especially [S. Mark] xvi. 16; S. John iii. 36; and cf. R. W. Church, *Human Life and its Conditions*, p. 101 seq.

in the world, and the force of evidence strikes different minds so differently that it is impossible to say for certain whether the man *hæ* ever had the faith fairly set before his conscience. Not till the secrets of all hearts are revealed at the last day can it be known who they are who have "not believed," and who, therefore, "shall be damned." In precisely the same way as that in which we deal with a text such as this, should we deal with the statements of the Athanasian Creed. They are of the nature of a *proclamation*. They stand, as our Lord's own words stand, as a warning to the believer of the danger of letting go that which he has received. They speak in close adherence to scriptural phraseology of the doom incurred by those who reject the Saviour of the world. But that is all. To apply them to any given individual is to assume the office of the judge, to whom alone it belongs to administer the law, and to consider how far it applies in the case brought before Him for judgment.

Verse 26: "He, therefore, that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity." Here, again, there is a harshness about the English translation which is absent from the original. If the words ran thus, "Let him, then, who wishes to be safe [or "saved"] thus think of the Trinity," no objection could reasonably be raised to the clause, and such a rendering would far more closely represent the original "*Qui vult, ergo, salvus esse: ita de Trinitate sentiat.*"¹

¹ Dr. Swainson has pointed out (on the authority of Professor Skeat) that "must" in the sixteenth century often bore a less strong meaning than is now usually attached to it, and was often used in the sense of "would have to," or "should."—*Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 495. The old English version in the Bodleian (Douce, 258), printed by Maskell (*Monumenta Ritualia*, Ed. 2, vol. iii. p. 257) gives the following rendering of the clause, "And who soeuer wele be saafe, yus fele he of ye trinite."

Verse 27: "Furthermore it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ."

In this sentence the word "rightly" is unfortunate, for to many minds it probably suggests the same idea as "correctly," and seems to imply that strict orthodoxy and correctness of belief is the main thing, making the faith spoken of a matter of the intellect, of the *head* rather than of the *heart*. The Latin, however, is this: "Sed necessarium est ad æternam salutem ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Christi *fideliter* credat"; and if this word *fideliter* were rendered "faithfully" instead of "rightly," it would be apparent that the belief spoken of is a *moral* quality, and belongs to the *heart* even more than to the *head*.¹ In this case the mistranslation, which is serious, is beyond question due to the fact that the Reformers believed that the creed was the work of Athanasius, and therefore corrected the Latin by reference to a Greek version, which they must have considered the original. The version known to them has been shown by Waterland to be that published by Nicholas Bryling at Basle about 1540, and this, we find, renders *fideliter* in this verse by ὀρθῶς.²

Finally, if, in spite of the considerations here urged, it is still maintained that the creed makes everything depend upon a man's belief, it may be well to emphasise the fact that in reality *it is the only one of the three creeds which expressly asserts judgment by works.*

"They that have *done* good [not 'thought correctly' nor even 'believed rightly'] shall go into life everlasting; and they that have *done* evil into everlasting fire."

¹ Compare Rom. x. 10, "With the *heart* man believeth unto righteousness."

² See Waterland, *Critical History*, ch. v. and x., and cf. Swainson, p. 493.

A word may be added with regard to the phrases used to describe the condemnation incurred by those who reject the faith.* “Everlastingly” and “everlasting” can scarcely be defended as renderings of *æternus*. It would be better if “eternally” or “eternal” could be substituted, as these are the true equivalents of *in æternum* and *æternum* in clauses 2 and 39. The Latin phrases adequately represent the Greek εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα and αἰώνιος, and, therefore, whatever interpretation we put upon the original sayings of our Lord, the same we are justified in putting upon the quotations of them in the creed. Now, in verse 2, the phrase *in æternum perire* occurs. This is the equivalent used in the Vulgate for ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα in S. John xi. 26. Its use in the creed may also be justified by the occurrence of the phrase “eternal destruction” (δλεθρος αἰώνιος) which is used of the doom incurred by those who “know not God and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus” in 2 Thess. i. 9.¹ Still more directly are the words of the thirty-ninth verse of the creed founded upon Scripture. They are taken from our Lord’s sayings in S. Matthew xxv. 41: “Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire” (πῦρ αἰώνιον, Revised Version, “eternal fire”), and in verse 46: “These shall go away into everlasting punishment (εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον, Revised Version, ‘eternal punishment’); but the righteous into life eternal.”²

Whatever, then, our Lord’s words mean, *the creed means the same*, for, as the late Dr. Mozley forcibly pointed out, “where the language of a doctrinal formulary and the language of the Bible are the same, whatever explanation we give, in case there is a difficulty, of the language of the Bible is applicable to the language of the formulary as well; and therefore, in such a case,

¹ Compare also the expression “the second death” in Rev. xx. 6.

² Cf. also S. John v. 29.

the statement in the formulary is no fresh difficulty, but only one which we have already surmounted in accepting the same statement in the Bible."¹ Let due weight be given to this consideration, and let it be remembered that the creed *repeats* rather than *explains* or *interprets* the phrases used in Scripture, and it is believed that much of the difficulty now felt in some quarters with regard to the acceptance of the creed will be removed.

Appended is the creed itself in the original Latin, as found in the Sarum Breviary.²

SYMBOLUM ATHANASII.³

1. Quicumque vult salvus esse: ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam fidem.

2. Quam nisi quisque integram, inviolatamque servaverit; absque dubio in æternum peribit.

3. Fides autem Catholica hæc est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate: et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur.

4. Neque confundentes personas: neque substantiam separantes.

5. Alia est enim persona Patris: alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.

¹ *Lectures and Theological Papers*, p. 220. In the same volume is contained an important lecture on the Athanasian Creed, to which reference may be made (Lecture xiii.).

² Vol. i. col. 46, in the Cambridge edition.

³ This title is not given to the creed in any ancient MS. Even where it is attributed to Athanasius it is not called *Symbolum*, but *Fides*, as in some of the MSS. referred to above. Various readings in the text of the creed are limited in number. They may be seen in Burn, p. 193.

6. Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas: æqualis gloria coæterna majestas.

7. Qualis Pater talis Filius; talis Spiritus Sanctus.

8. Increatus Pater increatus Filius: increatus Spiritus Sanctus.

9. Immensus Pater immensus Filius: immensus Spiritus Sanctus.

10. Æternus Pater æternus Filius: æternus Spiritus Sanctus.

11. Et tamen non tres æterni: sed unus æternus.

12. Sicut non tres increati nec tres immensi: sed unus increatus et unus immensus.

13. Similiter omnipotens Pater omnipotens Filius: omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus.

14. Et tamen non tres Omnipotentes: sed unus Omnipotens.

15. Ita Deus Pater Deus Filius: Deus Spiritus Sanctus.

16. Et tamen non tres Dii: sed unus est Deus.

17. Ita Dominus Pater Dominus Filius: Dominus Spiritus Sanctus.

18. Et tamen non tres Domini: sed unus est Dominus.

19. Quia sicut sigillatim unamquamque personam Deum ac Dominem confiteri, Christiana veritate compellimur:

Ita tres Deos aut Dominos dicere, Catholica religione prohibemur.

20. Pater a nullo est factus: nec creatus nec genitus.

21. Filius a Patre solo est: non factus nec creatus sed genitus.

22. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio: non factus nec creatus nec genitus, sed procedens.

23. Unus ergo Pater non tres Patres: unus Filius non tres Filii, unus Spiritus Sanctus non tres Spiritus Sancti.

24. Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius: nihil majus aut minus.

Sed totæ tres personæ: coæternæ sibi sunt et coæquales.

25. Ita ut per omnia sicut jam supradictum est: et Unitas in Trinitate, et Trinitas in Unitate veneranda sit.

26. Qui vult ergo salvus esse: ita de Trinitate sentiat.

27. Sed necessarium est ad æternam salutem: ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat.

28. Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur: quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus Dei Filius Deus et homo est.

29. Deus est ex substantia Patris ante sæcula genitus: et homo est ex substantia matris in sæculo natus.

30. Perfectus Deus perfectus homo: ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens.

31. Æqualis Patri secundum Divinitatem: minor Patre secundum humanitatem.

32. Qui licet Deus sit et homo: non duo tamen sed unus est Christus.

33. Unus autem non conversione Divinitatis in carnem: sed assumptione humanitatis in Deum.¹

34. Unus omnino non confusione substantiæ: sed unitate personæ.

35. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo: ita Deus et homo unus est Christus.

36. Qui passus est pro salute nostra descendit ad inferos: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.

37. Ascendit ad cœlos sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis: inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.

38. Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis: et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem.

¹ In this verse the majority of the older MSS. read *in Carne* and *in Deo*.

39. Et qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam æternam. qui vero mala in ignem æternum.

40. Hæc est fides Catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit: salvus esse non poterit.

ARTICLE IX

De Peccato Originati.

Peccatum originis non est (ut fabulantur Pelagiani) in imitatione Adami situm, sed est vitium et depravatio naturæ cujuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati, qua fit, ut ab originali justitia quam longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat, et caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat. Unde in unoquoque nascentium, iram Dei atque damnationem meretur. Manet etiam in renatis hæc naturæ depravatio; qua fit, ut affectus carnis, Græce *φρόνημα σαρκός*, (quod alii sapientiam, alii sensum, alii affectum, alii studium carnis interpretantur) legi Dei non subjiciatur. Et quanquam renatis et credentibus nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, peccati tamen in sese rationem habere concupiscentiam fatetur Apostolus.

Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk), but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit, and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *φρόνημα σαρκός*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized: yet the apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

THE original object of this Article is shown very definitely by the words which in the Article of 1553 followed the reference to the Pelagians: "which also the Anabaptists do nowadays renew" (et hodie Anabaptistæ repetunt). These words, omitted at the revision of 1563 (possibly because the danger was less pressing), prove

that it was designed at least primarily to meet the revival of the Pelagian error on the subject of original sin by the Anabaptists.¹ A further object was probably to state the view of the Church of England on the effect of baptism in the removal of original sin, more particularly with regard to "concupiscence," which all parties admitted to remain in the regenerate, but concerning the character and precise nature of which widely differing views were advanced.

Except for the omission of the words just noticed, the Article has stood without substantial change since it was first drawn up in 1553.² It has been sometimes thought that its language is based on that used in the Confession of Augsburg; but the resemblance is very slight.³ Nor is it much closer to the corresponding Article in the Thirteen drawn up in 1538 by a joint committee of Anglicans and Lutherans, which does little more than

¹ The same error on the part of the Anabaptists is noticed in Hermann's *Consultation*: "Fyrste they denie originally synne, and they wyll not acknowledg howe greate filthynes, how greate impietie and even pestilent corruption was broughte upon us all thorowe the fall of Adame."—English translation of 1548, fol. cxlii.

² Three slight changes in the English should be noticed. Where our present Article uses the phrase "original righteousness," the Edwardian Article had "his former righteousness, which he had at his creation"; and instead of "inclined to evil" it had "given to evil"; "baptized" was also the translation adopted in 1553 for "renatis" in both places where the word occurs. The alterations made at the revision of 1571 brought the English into closer conformity with the Latin.

³ "Item docent quod post lapsum Adæ omnes homines secundum naturam propagati, nascantur cum peccato, hoc est sine metu Dei, sine fiducia erga Deum, et cum concupiscentia, quodque hic morbus, seu vitium originis vere sit peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque æternam mortem his, qui non renascuntur per baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum. Damnant Pelagianos et alios qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum, et ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi disputant hominem propriis viribus rationis coram Deo justificari posse."—*Conf. August.* art. II. It will be noticed that the Anglican Article is far more guarded and cautious in its statements than this. See below, p. 376.

repeat the Lutheran formulary with the addition of a reference to the loss of original righteousness.¹ But though the language of our Article cannot be traced to any earlier source, the following passage from the *Reformatio Legum* illustrates its teaching, and points even more distinctly to the revival of the Pelagian heresy by a section of the Anabaptists:—

“In labe peccati ex ortu nostro contracta, quam vitium originis appellamus, primum quidem Pelagianorum, deinde etiam Anabaptistarum nobis vitandus et submovendus est error, quorum in eo consensus contra veritatem sacrarum Scripturarum est, quod peccatum originis in Adamo solo hæserit, et non ad posteros transierit, nec ullam afferat naturæ nostræ perversitatem, nisi quod ex Adami delicto propositum sit peccandi noxium exemplum, quod homines ad eandem pravitatem invitat imitandam et usurpandam. Et similiter nobis contra illos progrediendum est, qui tantum in libero arbitrio roboris et nervorum ponunt, ut eo solo sine alia speciali Christi gratia recte ab hominibus vivi posse constituent.”²

The principal subjects to be considered in connection with this Article are the following:—

1. Original sin.
2. The effect of baptism in the removal of original sin.
3. The character of concupiscence.

I. *Original Sin.*

Under this head there are various points which require elucidation—

(a) The phrase “original sin.”

(b) The Pelagian heresy, as showing what original sin is *not*.

¹ See Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, p. 261.

² *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, De Hæres, c. 7.*

(c) Original righteousness, as that from which man is "very far gone."

(d) The effect of the Fall.

(a) *The phrase "original sin"* (Peccatum originale or peccatum originis).¹ This does not occur anywhere in Holy Scripture, but is due to S. Augustine, who makes use of it in one of his earlier works;² and from his day forward it is of frequent occurrence, being made current coin through the Pelagian controversy. The phrase was perhaps suggested to Augustine by the similar expression "originis injuriam" which had been used by S. Ambrose;³ while still earlier S. Cyprian had said of a new-born infant, "secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium mortis antiquæ prima nativitate contraxit."⁴

(b) *The Pelagian heresy, as showing what original sin is not.*

This heresy originated early in the fifth century. Its founder, Pelagius, was a monk of British extraction who had settled at Rome. There he took offence at the well-known saying of Augustine, "Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt," which seemed to him to exalt the Divine at the expense of the human in the work of salvation.⁵ Subsequently he and his friend and convert, Cœlestius, elaborated the system which has since borne his name. His character may be seen from the charges which were brought against Cœlestius at a Council held in 412 at Carthage, whither the two friends

¹ The two expressions are evidently regarded as convertible terms. The latter is used in the text of the Article, the former in the title.

² *Ad Simplicianum*, I. c. i. § 10.

³ *Apol. Proph. David*, i. § 56. Cf. Aug. *Contra duas Epist.* IV. § 29.

⁴ Ep. lxiv. Cf. Bright's *Anti-Pelagian Treatises of S. Augustine*, p. ix.

⁵ "Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis," Conf. X. c. xxix. Cf. *De dono persever.* c. xx., where Augustine himself refers to this fact.

had passed from Rome. The charges (to which Cœlestius returned evasive answers) were these:—

1. That Adam was created mortal, and would have died even if he had not sinned.

2. That his sin injured himself alone, and not the whole human race.

3. That infants at their birth are in the same condition in which Adam was before the Fall.

4. That unbaptized infants as well as others would obtain eternal life.

5. That mankind neither died through Adam's death or transgression, nor would rise again through Christ's resurrection.

6. That the law had the same effect as the gospel in leading men to the kingdom of heaven.

7. That even before Christ came there had been sinless men.¹

Of these tenets the second and third are the most important, as being most intimately connected with the whole system that was subsequently known as Pelagianism. They amount to (*a*) a denial that the fall of Adam had affected his descendants; and (*b*) closely connected with this "a denial of the necessity of supernatural and directly assisting grace in order to any true service of God on the part of man."² This latter seems to have been in the order of time prior to the first mentioned, which, however, is its ground and basis. Admit in any true sense the Fall, and Divine grace becomes a necessity. Deny the Fall, and grace may perhaps be dispensed with and human nature without supernatural assistance be found equal to the conflict with sin.

¹ See on the whole subject Bright's *Anti-Pelagian Treatises*, Introd. p. xvi. seq., and Schaff's *History of the Church*, "Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity," vol. ii. p. 790 seq.

² Bright, p. ix.

There was, however, the fact of universal depravity to be explained. What account could be given of the fact that sin is found everywhere? Pelagius could only explain it by saying that it resulted from *the universal following of Adam's example*. Adam's fall, according to him, had no effect on the nature of his descendants. But by sinning he set an example which all, or almost all (for Pelagius admitted exceptions), had followed. This is the view of original sin which was revived by the Anabaptists in the sixteenth century, and which is condemned in the opening words of our Article. **Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk.** The meaning of the English phrase is made clear by a reference to the Latin, *Peccatum originis non est in imitatione Adami situm*. "Standeth not" is equivalent to "does not consist;"¹ "the following of Adam" is the imitation of him, or sinning after his example.

In support of the assertion of the Article, and the position taken up by the Church on this subject, it appears to be sufficient to appeal to the teaching of S. Paul in Rom. v. 12-15: "As through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin; and so death passed unto all men, for that all sinned: for until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam until Moses, *even over them that had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression*, who is a figure of Him that was to come."

Universal depravity is recognised as a fact throughout the Old Testament, but no explanation of it is offered. There appear to be only two possible ones. Either, as the Pelagians asserted, it results from the fact that all

¹ Compare the similar use of "standeth" in the Second Collect at Mattins: "in knowledge of whom *standeth* our eternal life."

men follow Adam's example, and sin "after the likeness of his transgression," or there is a "fault" in the inherited nature which makes sinning easy and natural. Jewish writings outside the Canon show us that though there was no consistent doctrine among the Jews on the subject, yet some among them were feeling their way towards the position laid down by S. Paul, and were inclined to hold that universal sin was due to the fact that the fall of Adam had permanently affected his descendants.¹ And on this point the teaching of the New Testament is quite clear. The passage cited above is decisive as to the apostle's view, and conclusive against the Pelagian theory, while the whole line of argument in the early chapters of the Epistle to the Romans tends to establish the fact that Adam's sin had a far-reaching effect upon mankind, that through it sin gained an entrance into the world and that all his descendants inherited a tendency to sin.²

¹ See Wisd. ii. 23 *seq.*; Ecclus. xxv. 24 [33]; 4 Ezra iii. 7, 21 *seq.*; Apoc. Baruch xvii. 3, xxiii. 4; and cf. Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i. p. 165 *seq.*, and Sanday and Headlam *On the Romans*, p. 136 *seq.*

² The question may be raised how far is the Church's doctrine on this subject, and S. Paul's teaching in particular, affected by "critical" views of the Old Testament, and the belief that in Gen. i.-iii. we have a symbolical representation of spiritual truths rather than a literal history. On this subject a valuable letter will be found in the *Life and Letters of F. J. A. Hort*, vol. ii. p. 329, and reference may also be made to Sanday and Headlam *On the Romans*, p. 146, where it is pointed out that the narrative in Genesis is "the typical and summary representation of a series of facts which no discovery of flint implements and half calcined bones can ever reproduce for us. In some way or other, as far back as history goes, and we may believe much further, there has been implanted in the human race this mysterious seed of sin, which, like other characteristics of the human race, is capable of transmission. The tendency to sin is present in every man who is born into the world. But the tendency does not become actual sin until it takes effect in defiance of an express command, in deliberate disregard of a known distinction between right and wrong. How men came to be possessed of such a command, by what process they arrived at the conscious distinction of right and wrong, we can

It may be added, that the conclusion which has forced itself upon the minds of theologians as an inference from the statements of Holy Scripture, that there is a taint in the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, is in remarkable accordance with the teaching of secular philosophers and poets,¹ and is but the theological expression of the doctrine which has been not discovered, but formulated by modern science under the name of heredity.

(c) *Original righteousness.*—Having set aside the Pelagian heresy, the Article proceeds with its account of original sin, and lays down that it is **“the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from**

but vaguely speculate. Whatever it was, we may be sure that it could not have been presented to the imagination of primitive peoples otherwise than in such simple forms as the narrative assumes in the Book of Genesis. The really essential truths all come out in that narrative—the recognition of the Divine will, the act of disobedience to the will so recognised, the perpetuation of the tendency to such disobedience, and we may add, perhaps, though here we get into a region of surmises, the connexion between moral evil and physical decay, for the surest pledge of immortality is the relation of the highest part in us, the soul, through righteousness to God. These salient principles, which may have been due in fact to a process of gradual accretion through long periods, are naturally and inevitably summed up as a group of single incidents. Their essential character is not altered, and in the interpretation of primitive beliefs we may safely remember that “a thousand years in the sight of God are but as one day.” . . . It would be absurd to expect the language of modern science in the prophet who first incorporated the traditions of his race in the sacred books of the Hebrews. He uses the only kind of language available to his own intelligence and that of his contemporaries. But if the language which he does use is from that point of view abundantly justified, then the application which S. Paul makes of it is equally justified. He, too, expresses truth through symbols; and in the days when men can dispense with symbols his teaching may be obsolete, but not before.”

¹ See the interesting lecture on this subject in Mozley's *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, p. 148 seq.

original righteousness." What, then, was this "original righteousness" from which man is "very far gone"? Following out the indications on the subject that may be gathered from Scripture, ancient writers have generally described it as being partly natural, partly supernatural,—natural in that it proceeded from free will and the power of choice, supernatural in that certain special gifts and graces in addition to free will were required for its exercise.¹ Adam could not have had concupiscence or lust, *i.e.* the direct inclination to evil which is now the incentive to sin in our nature, for he was made "in the image of God," and was "very good." On the other hand, as he was in a state of trial, there must have been something in him which sin could take hold of—a starting-point for temptation. To protect him from yielding, it is thought that he must have "had by his created disposition a pleasure in goodness, and that pleasure naturally preserved him in obedience without the need of express effort."² This natural pleasure in goodness, which is practically equivalent to an *implanted virtuous character*, is what has been called

¹ See the quotations in Bishop Bull's famous discourse "On the State of Man before the Fall" (*Works*, ii. p. 52 *seq.*). Bull concludes that "the meaning of the question [whether the original righteousness of the first man was supernatural], if it signify anything to any considerable purpose, is clearly this, whether Adam in the state of integrity needed a supernatural principle or power in order to the performing of such a righteousness as through the gracious acceptance of God should have been available to an eternal and celestial life and happiness. And the question being thus stated, ought to be held in the affirmative, if the consentient determination of the Church of God may be allowed its due weight in the balance of our judgments." "There is a sense, indeed," he adds, "wherein we may safely acknowledge the original righteousness of the first man to have been natural, and it is this, that he received the principle of that righteousness *a natiuitate sua*, from his nativity, in his very creation, and together with his nature" (*Op. cit.* p. 131). Reference should also be made to S. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, 1^{ma}, Q. xciv. *seq.*

² Mozley, *The Augustinian Theory of Predestination*, p. 91.

by divines the *donum supernaturale*. It may be best understood by regarding it as a supernatural bias towards good, so that the natural tendency of man was to do what was right in consequence of this Divinely ordered inclination of his will in that direction. "This implanted rectitude," it may be added, "or good habit it was which made the first sin of man so heinous, and caused that distinction between it and all the other sins which have been committed in the world. For the first sin was the only sin which was committed against and in spite of a settled bias of nature towards good; all the other sins which have been committed since have been committed in accordance with a natural bias towards evil. There was therefore a perversity in the first sin altogether peculiar to it, and such as made it a *sin sui generis*." ¹

In view of modern theories of development, it may be added that there is nothing whatever in Holy Scripture to make us think that man was in his unfallen condition *perfect*. Innocent he is distinctly represented as being. His state is one of primitive simplicity. But this is all. Nor is there anything in the Biblical account to lead us to imagine that he was in a high state of civilisation or of intellectual greatness. Scripture gives no countenance to the view that "an Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam"; and more than one of the early Fathers denies that Adam was created "perfect" (τέλειος). ²

¹ Mozley, *The Augustinian Theory of Predestination*, p. 91.

² Thus Theophilus of Antioch (180) says that God placed Adam in Paradise διδοὺς αὐτῷ ἀφορμὴν προκοπῆς ὅπως αὐξάνων καὶ τέλειος γενόμενος, κ.τ.λ., *Ad Autolyc.* ii. 24; while Clement of Alexandria directly raises the question whether Adam was formed perfect or incomplete (τέλειος ἢ ἀτελής), and answers that he "was not made perfect in respect to his constitution, but in a fit condition to receive virtue" (*Stromata*, VI. xii. 96), "where," as Bishop Bull says, "he plainly enough teacheth that

(d) *The effect of the Fall.*—If the condition of man in his primitive condition before he had actually sinned was as it has been described above, what, it will be asked, was the effect of the Fall? Concerning this there have been various views held, differing in regard to the extent of the depravity actually inherited by all men.

(i.) The Greek Fathers generally, and the earlier Latin ones as well, laid no great stress on the Fall, and the most that can be said is that—so far as they have any definite teaching on the subject at all—they hold that it involved the loss of the supernatural bias of the will towards good, but nothing more. Man was left with a fundamentally sound nature, with no direct bias in one direction or the other. Thus on this view “original sin” is nothing more than a loss of higher goodness; a state of defect rather than of positive sin; a *privatio* rather than a *depravatio naturæ*.

(ii.) Augustine and his followers in the controversy with the Pelagians dealt fully with the subject, and drew out more thoroughly than had yet been done the teaching of Scripture, showing therefrom that the Fall involved something more than only the withdrawal of the supernatural gifts, and left man with a corrupt nature, *a direct bias towards evil*. “The will,” says Mozley, “according to the earlier school was not substantially affected by the Fall. . . . But in Augustine’s scheme the will itself was disabled at the Fall; and not only certain impulses to it withdrawn, its power of

Adam was from the beginning not indeed made perfect, but yet endowed with the capacity whereby he might arrive to perfect virtue.” See the whole passage (*Works*, ii. p. 72), and cf. *Lux Mundi*, p. 535: “All that we are led to believe is that the historical development of man has not been the development simply as God meant it. It has been tainted throughout its whole fabric by an element of moral disorder, of human wilfulness.”

choice was gone, and man was unable not only to rise above a defective goodness, but to avoid positive sin. He was thenceforth, prior to the operation of grace, in a state of necessity on the side of evil, a slave to the devil and to his own inordinate lusts."¹

(iii.) In later days, many of the schoolmen, and after them the Roman divines of the sixteenth century, were content to regard original sin in a somewhat milder light than this, and to view it rather as a "privatio" than as a state of positive defect. Aquinas, however, after speaking of it as "quædam privatio," "carentia originalis justitiæ," terms it "inordinata dispositio, languor naturæ," and freely admits that it is more than a mere "privatio."² But the Council of Trent, following Scotus, regards it mainly as "the loss of holiness and righteousness";³ and Bellarmine distinctly teaches that it is only the result of the withdrawal of the supernatural gift.⁴

(iv.) On the other hand, both Lutherans and Calvinists have generally maintained an *entire* depravation of human nature, so that man is only inclined to evil; and they have sometimes used such strong and exaggerated language on the corruption of man's nature, as to suggest that since the Fall the image of God is wholly

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 125. For Augustine's teaching reference may be made to the *Enchiridion*, § 10; *De Natura et gratia*, c. iii.; and the treatise *De Gratia Christi et de Peccato originali*.

² "Habet privationem originalis justitiæ et cum hoc inordinatam dispositionem partium animæ, unde non est privatio pura sed et quædam habitus corruptus," *Summa*, 1^{ma} 2^æ Q. lxxxii.

³ Decree concerning original sin, Session V. (June 17, 1546).

⁴ "Corruptio naturæ non ex alicujus doni carentia, neque ex alicujus malæ qualitatis accessu, sed ex sola doni supernaturalis ob Adæ peccatum amissione profluxit," *De gratia primi hominis*, c. v.; cf. c. i.; and *Amiss. gratiæ*, iii. 1. Modern Roman teaching is on just the same lines. See Moehler's *Symbolism*, p. 43 seq.; and Perrone, *Prælectiones*, vol. iii. p. 122 seq.

obliterated, and the nature of man no better than that of the evil spirits. Thus the "Westminster Confession" says of our first parents: "By this sin they fell from their original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body. They being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity descending from them by ordinary generation. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions."¹

To which of these views thus briefly enumerated, it may be fairly asked, does the Anglican Article incline? It clearly takes a darker view than that of the Greek Fathers, and of the Roman Church as represented by the Council of Trent. Original sin is more than a "privatio." It is a "depravatio naturæ." It **"deserves God's wrath and damnation."** Such language can only be used of something positive, not simply of a withdrawal of supernatural grace. But, on the other hand, strong as the language of the Article is, it falls very far short of that of the "Westminster Confession," and of Calvinists in general. "Quam longissime" in the Latin Article, if pressed, might perhaps be taken to indicate agreement with the Calvinist notion of a *total* loss of original

¹ West. Conf. c. vi. So the *Formula Concordiæ* (1577) says that original sin "is so deep a corruption of human nature, that nothing healthy or incorrupt in a man's soul or body, in inner or outward powers," is left. Similar but even stronger language is used in the *Confessio Helvetica* II. c. 8: "Peccatum autem intelligimus esse nativam illam hominis corruptionem ex primis illis nostris parentibus in nos omnes derivatam vel propagatam, qua concupiscentiis pravis immersi et a bono aversi, ad omne vero malum propensi, pleni omni nequitia, diffidentia, contemptu et odio Dei, nihil boni ex nobis ipsis facere, imo ne cogitare quidem possumus."

righteousness; but if so, the English "*very far gone*" would appear strangely inadequate. Moreover, there is a significant silence about any imputation of Adam's sin (a prominent feature in later Calvinistic teaching); and that the Article is seriously defective from a Calvinistic point of view, is conclusively shown by the suggested emendations of the Assembly of Divines in 1643. They were not satisfied with it as it stood, but wished to insert a reference to the imputation of Adam's sin, and to materially strengthen the language of the Article, substituting "wholly deprived of" for "*very far gone from*," and insisting that man "is of his own nature *only* inclined to evil."¹

This being so, we need have no hesitation in interpreting the Latin by the English, and may rest content with the statement that man is "*very far gone from original righteousness*." So much is clearly taught in Holy Scripture. Not to lay too much stress on the language of the Psalmist, "Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me" (Ps. li. 5), or on the question of Job, "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" (Job xiv. 4), we notice that all through Scripture man is regarded as by nature corrupt. "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth" (Gen. viii. 21); "every imagination of the thoughts of his heart is only evil continually" (vi. 5); "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately sick" (Jer. xvii. 9). So also in the New Testament: "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing" (Rom. vii. 18). "The mind of the flesh is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can it be; and they that are in the flesh cannot please God" (Rom. viii. 7). But, on the

¹ See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 559, where the Article is given as amended by the Divines.

other hand, there are passages which no less clearly indicate that, in spite of this universal depravity, the "image of God," in which man was originally created, still remains since the Fall, and therefore it cannot be true to say that he is "wholly deprived of" his original righteousness. Thus in Gen. ix. 6 the law, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," is based on the fact that "in the image of God made He man." In 1 Cor. xi. 7, S. Paul speaks of man as "the image and glory of God," while S. James says that men are "made after the likeness of God" (iii. 9).

It may then be fairly concluded that on this subject the Church of England is *in the main* content to follow the teaching of Augustine: only, however, in the main, for there are statements which Augustine was led to make in the course of the controversy with the Pelagians to which we are most certainly not called upon to subscribe. To mention one point only. Augustine asserted that *as a fact* infants and others dying unbaptized meet with the punishment of hell.¹ Article IX. is careful only to state that original sin "*deserves* God's wrath and damnation,"—a statement which follows naturally from the view taken of it as something positive, involving a real taint and disorder of the nature, but which falls short of expressing any opinion on the further question whether it actually meets with that which it deserves.²

¹ *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, I. xxi., II. c. iv.; cf. Bright's *Anti-Pelagian Treatises*, p. xiv, note 4.

² See on this point a striking letter of the late Dean Church, *Life and Letters*, p. 248. "The *fact* of what is meant by original sin is as mysterious and inexplicable as the origin of evil, but it is obviously as much a fact. There is a fault and vice in the *race*, which, given time, as surely develops into actual sin as our physical constitution, given at birth, does into sickness and physical death. It is of this inherited sin in our nature, looked upon in the abstract and without reference to concrete cases, that I suppose the Article speaks. How can we suppose that such a nature looks in God's eyes according to the standard of perfect right.

As an illustration of this, reference may be made to the careful reticence of the note at the end of the Baptismal Service in the Book of Common Prayer. "It is certain by God's word that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." Nothing whatever is said of what happens in the case of those who die unbaptized, and the reticence is evidently designed; for the note in question was copied almost verbatim from the "Institution of a Christian Man" (1537), which proceeded to say "*and else not.*"¹ The cousness which we also suppose to be God's standard and law. Does it satisfy that standard? Can He look with neutrality on its divergence from His perfect standard? What is His moral judgment of it as a subject for moral judgment? What He may do to cure it, to pardon it, to make allowances for it in known or unknown ways, is another matter, about which His known attributes of mercy alone may reassure us; but the question is, How does He look upon this fact of our nature *in itself*, that without exception it has this strong efficacious germ of evil within it, of which He sees all the possibilities and all the consequences? Can He look on it, even in germ, with complacency or indifference? Must He not judge it and condemn it as *in itself*, because evil, deserving condemnation? I cannot see what other answer can be given but one, and this is what the Article says. But all this settles nothing about the actual case of unbaptized infants, any more than the general necessity of believing the gospel settles anything as to the actual case of heathens who have never heard of the gospel. If, without fear, we leave them to the merciful dispensations, unrevealed to us, of Him who is their Father, though they do not know Him, much more may we leave infants who have never exercised will or reason. But in both cases we are obliged by facts and Scripture to acknowledge sinfulness and sin. In Christians, and those who may know of the gospel, this is cured, relieved, taken away, by known means which He has given us. In those who, by no fault of their own, are out of His family and Church, we cannot doubt, both from what we know of Him and from what He has told us, that He will provide what is necessary. But still *there is* the sinfulness and the sin; and as sin, *quod* sin, we can only suppose that He looks on it with displeasure, and condemns it. I don't see that the Article, which is only treating of sin and sinfulness, and not of its remedy or God's love, does more than express what must be God's judgment on all sin, even in germ. How He deals with it is a separate matter."

¹ *Formularies of Faith*, p. 93.

omission of these three words is highly significant; and it may be added that, though the work possesses no authority, yet the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* may be appealed to as an historical witness that by the time of the reign of Edward vi. leading Anglican divines had come to see that while salvation must be denied to those who despise or reject baptism, yet in the case of children (at least of Christian parents) dying unbaptized through no fault of their own, there is room for good hope.¹

II. *The effect of Baptism in the removal of Original Sin.*

In considering the effect of Holy Baptism in the removal of original sin, it must be remembered that there are *two* evils attaching to all sin, viz. the *guilt*, which needs pardon and forgiveness, and the *power*, which needs overcoming and driving out. On the view taken by the English Church, that what we call "original sin" is something more than a loss of higher goodness, being a germ of real evil, this is true of it as of all other sin. It has its guilt, which makes us "children of wrath";²

¹ *De Hæresibus*, c. 18: "Illorum etiam impia videri debet scrupulosa superstitio, qui Dei gratiam et Spiritum Sanctum tantopere cum sacramentorum elementis colligant, ut plane affirmant nullum Christianorum infantem æternam salutem esse consecuturum, qui prius a morte fuerit occupatus, quam ad baptismum adduci potuerit: quod longe secus habere judicamus. Salus enim illis solum adimitur, qui sacrum hunc baptismi fontem contemnunt, aut superbia quadam ab eo, vel contumacia resiliunt; quæ importunitas cum in puerorum ætatem non cadat, nihil contra salutem illorum autoritate Scripturarum decerni potest, immo contra eum illos communis promissio pueros in se comprehendat, optima nobis spes de illorum salute concipienda est." See also Hooker, *Eccl. Polity*, Bk. V. c. lx. § 6.

² Compare the description in the Church Catechism of the "inward and spiritual grace" in baptism. "A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness; for *being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath*, we are hereby made the children of grace." The expression "children of wrath" is Biblical, and comes from Eph. ii. 3, τέκνα ὀργῆς.

and it has its power, which, in the form of concupiscence, draws us in the direction of evil. In baptism the guilt is pardoned. **There is no condemnation to them that believe and are baptized** ("Renatis et creditibus nulla propter Christum est condemnatio"),¹ a statement for which ample support may be found in Holy Scripture (see Acts ii. 38, xxii. 16, etc.), and which will be further illustrated under Article XXVII.² But the *power* of sin, that appetite for corrupt pleasure which is the incentive to sin in us still remains.³ **This infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerate** (etiam in renatis), **whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek φρόνημα σαρκός, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh is not subject to the law of God.** This is unhappily a truth of universal experience, for which scriptural proof is scarcely needed. All history and the facts of each man's own experience combine in testifying to the existence of the old nature even after baptism and the reception of Divine grace. The phrase φρόνημα σαρκός, and the account given in the Article of this "lust of the flesh," is based on Rom. viii. 6, 7: "For the mind of the flesh"⁴ (τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός) is death;

¹ It should be noticed (1) that *renatis* in the Latin of the Article corresponds to "are baptized" in the English, thus marking the close connection between regeneration and baptism; and (2) that there is nothing in the English corresponding to *propter Christum* in the Latin.

² The statement of the Article may be further illustrated from the Baptismal Offices in the Book of Common Prayer, in which remission of sins is throughout regarded as one of the blessings granted in baptism to infants as well as to those of riper years.

³ Compare Augustine, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, Lib. II. c. iv.: "Concupiscentia . . . cum parvulis nascitur, in parvulis baptizatis a reatu solvitur, ad agonem relinquitur."

⁴ The Vulgate translates this phrase by *prudentia* in ver. 6, and *sapientia carnis* in ver. 7. The Geneva Version has "wisdom of the

but the mind of the spirit is life and peace: because *the mind of the flesh* is enmity against God; for it is *not subject to the law of God*, neither indeed can it be."

III. *The Character of Concupiscence.*

There remains the question, What is the character of this concupiscence which, as all agree, remains even in the regenerate? Is it, before it positively breaks out into definite acts of sin, to be regarded as itself "true and proper sin," or is it merely to be reckoned as "an incentive to sin, arising from sin and inclining to it"? The question was keenly debated in the sixteenth century, the Church of Rome and the followers of Calvin returning diametrically opposite answers to it. The Roman view of concupiscence is given in the decrees of the Council of Trent, at the fifth session of which the subject was discussed, A.D. 1546, some years, therefore, before the Anglican Article was drawn up. The Tridentine divines in this decree maintain the following positions:—

(i.) In baptism the guilt of original sin is remitted, and "all that has the true and proper nature of sin" is taken away (*totum id quod veram et propriam peccati rationem habet*).

(ii.) There remains concupiscence, or an incentive to sin, which is left for us to strive against, but cannot injure those who consent not.

(iii.) "This concupiscence, which the Apostle sometimes calls sin, the holy Synod declares that the Catholic Church has never understood to be called sin, as being truly and properly sin in the regenerate, but because it

flesh"; but in the Bishops' Bible there is the following note: "*φρονούσι* and *φρόνημα*, Greek words, do not so much signify wisdom and prudence, as affection, carefulness, and minding of anything."

is of sin and inclines to sin" (quia ex peccato est et ad peccatum inclinat).¹

This position is quite clear and definite. Concupiscence, though it often leads to sin, is not "true and proper sin." Equally definite is the statement of Calvinists on the other side. According to them, concupiscence *is* "true and proper sin." So the Gallican Confession of 1561-6 asserts: "We affirm that this fault is truly sin even after baptism";² and in accordance with this, when, in 1543, the "Assembly of Divines" attempted to revise the Thirty-nine Articles in the interests of Calvinism, they proposed to substitute "is truly and properly sin"³ for the milder statement of our own Article, which, it must be confessed, is somewhat ambiguous, and wanting in the precision of both the Roman and the Calvinistic statements.

The apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin (rationem peccati). It is hard to say exactly what this means. The Tridentine phrase "ratio peccati" is used, but there is nothing about "true and proper nature"; and the Article leaves us uncertain whether it is intended that we should regard concupiscence as truly sin or not. The ambiguity is in all probability designed;⁴ nor need we regret that we are not called upon to give a more precise account of concupiscence. It is sufficient for us that it is very closely connected with sin, and that, if unchecked, it issues in sin. This is the practical matter,

¹ Canons of the Council of Trent, Session V. Decree on Original Sin.

² Niemayer, *Collectio Confessionum*, p. 332; cf. Winer, *Confessions of Christendom*, p. 109.

³ Neal, *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 560.

⁴ The Thirteen Articles drawn up in 1538 had, like the Confession of Augsburg, asserted that concupiscence is "vere peccatum." This makes the form of expression employed in our own Article still more noticeable.

and there, with wise moderation, those who drew up this Article were content to leave it.

One other question remains, to which it is not altogether easy to return a clear answer. The Article refers to "the apostle" as saying that concupiscence "hath of itself the nature of sin." To what passage or passages is allusion here made? S. Paul, who is evidently meant by "the apostle," nowhere directly terms concupiscence sin (although the Council of Trent maintains that he *does*), nor does any phrase corresponding to "*ratio peccati*" occur anywhere in Holy Scripture. On the whole, it appears probable that the passages in the mind of those who penned the Article were such as these, Rom. vi. 12, vii. 8; Gal. v. 16-24, in all of which lust or concupiscence is spoken of as closely connected with sin. Reference may also be made to the teaching of S. James on the same subject: "Each man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed. Then the lust, when it hath conceived, beareth sin; and sin, when it is full grown, bringeth forth death" (i. 14, 15).

ARTICLE X

De Libero Arbitrio.

Ea est hominis post lapsum Adæ conditio, ut sese naturalibus suis viribus et bonis operibus ad fidem et invocationem Dei convertere ac præparare non possit: Quare absque gratia Dei, quæ per Christum est, nos præveniente, ut velimus, et co-operante dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, quæ Deo grata sint et accepta, nihil valemus.

Of Free will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

THE original Article of 1553 consisted only of the latter part of our present Article, beginning with the words, "We have no power," etc.¹ Its language was evidently suggested by a passage in Augustine's work, *On Grace and Freewill*, in which he says that "we have no power to do good works without God working that we may have a good will, and co-operating when we have that good will."²

The clause which now stands first in the Article was prefixed in 1563 by Archbishop Parker, being taken by him from the Confession of Württemberg.³ The object of

¹ "Working *with* us" was substituted for "working *in* us" as a translation of "co-operante" in 1571.

² *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, xvii.: "Sine illo vel operante ut velimus **vel** co-operante cum volumus, ad bonæ pietatis opera nihil valemus."

³ "Quod autem nonnulli affirmant homini post lapsum tantam animi integritatem relictam, ut possit sese naturalibus suis viribus et bonis

the Article of 1553 is to disavow all sympathy with the Anabaptist denial of the absolute need of grace. This is indicated by a passage in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, in which, after a condemnation of the revival of the Pelagian heresy of these fanatics, we read: "Et similiter nobis contra illos progrediendum est, qui tantum in libero arbitrio roboris et nervorum ponunt, ut eo solo sine alia speciali Christi gratia recte ab hominibus vivi posse constituent."¹ But the clause added by Parker from the Confession of Württemberg seems also designed to condemn the theory of "congruous merit," which will be considered under Article XIII. There are two subjects which call for some consideration in connection with this Article—

1. Freewill.
2. The need of Grace.

I. *Freewill.*

It will be noticed that, although the title is **Of Freewill**, yet it is scarcely warranted by the substance of the Article that follows, in which freewill in the abstract is neither asserted nor denied. The title, then, of this Article, as of some others, is not quite accurate, and a more exact one would be "of the need of grace."² What is denied in the Article is the *power* and ability to turn to God and do good works without the assistance of God Himself: what is asserted is the absolute need of grace preventing and co-operating: but of "Freewill" in itself nothing whatever is directly said.

The statement of the first part of the Article follows

operibus, ad fidem et invocationem Dei convertere ac præparare, haud obscure pugnat cum apostolica doctrina et cum vero ecclesiæ Catholicæ consensu."—*De Peccato*. See Hardwick, p. 125.

¹ *De Hæres.* c. vii.

² Cf. Forbes *On the Articles*, p. 152.

naturally and directly from the view of "original sin" maintained in Article IX. It was there shown that the Church of England regards original sin as no mere "privatio" or loss of higher goodness only; but rather as a "depravatio naturæ," a real corruption of our nature, "whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil." If this is true, it follows as a necessary consequence that **the condition of man after the fall of Adam is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God.**

The position, then, taken up in the Article is that, though the will may be left free by God, yet there is in unaided man a lack of *power*. This is the teaching of the "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man" (1543), with which the Article is in substantial agreement.

"Though there remain a certain freedom of the will in those things that do pertain to the desires and works of this present life, yet to perform spiritual and heavenly things, freewill is of itself insufficient; and therefore the power of man's freewill, being thus wounded and decayed, hath need of a physician to heal it, and an help to repair it."¹

II. *The need of Grace.*

While the Article thus neither affirms nor denies the freedom of the will in the abstract, its teaching on the absolute necessity of Divine grace for the performance of works that are "grata Deo" is clear and decisive.

¹ See *Formularies of Faith*, p. 360. Cf. also the Tridentine statement on the subject (Sess. VI. c. i.): "Freewill, attenuated and bent down as it was in its powers, was by no means extinguished."

We have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

It is especially needful to remember, in studying this Article and those which immediately follow (XI.—XIII.), that they are concerned with God's method of dealing with those who are brought into covenant with Him through Christianity, and that what is said in them has little or no bearing on the case of those who live and die without ever having heard the gospel of Christ. Their case is not contemplated. Such terms as "faith and calling upon God," "good works, pleasant and acceptable to God," "grace of God by Christ preventing us . . . and working with us," etc., are expressions which properly refer to Christians; and therefore nothing that is said in these Articles need necessarily raise questions as to the "good works" of the heathen, and the light in which they are regarded by God. All that need be said is that they are not what the Articles call "good works, pleasant and acceptable to God" (*Deo grata et accepta*). This phrase, which we meet with here for the first time, is almost a technical one, used for the works of Christians done in a Christian spirit and from Christian motives. Thus it is used in Article XII. of those good works which "are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification." These are said to be "*grata Deo et accepta in Christo*"; whereas, according to Article XIII., "works done before the grace of Christ and inspiration of His Spirit" are "*minime Deo grata*." More will be said on this subject when these Articles are reached. But so much it seemed necessary to say at the outset in connection with the first occurrence of the phrase. To return now to the teaching of the Article before us: It

states that twofold grace is needed—(1) *preventing grace* (*gratia præveniens*), inclining the will to choose the good;¹ and (2) *co-operating grace* (*gratia co-operans*), assisting man to act, when the will has already been inclined to choose the good. The technical phrase “*gratia præveniens*” is apparently due to Augustine, who makes use of it several times,² and it seems to have been suggested to him by the Latin of Ps. lix. (lviii.) 10: “*Deus meus misericordia ejus præveniet me*,” a text which he quotes frequently. The term “*gratia co-operans*” is also his,³ and, like “*preventing grace*,” is based on Scripture. See Phil. ii. 13: “For it is God that *worketh* (*qui operatur*) in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure”; and compare [S. Mark] xvi. 20: “The Lord also *working with them*” (*Domino co-operante*). On the necessity of both kinds of grace, the teaching of Scripture, which is faithfully reflected in the Book of Common Prayer,⁴ as well as the Articles, is clear and definite. The beginning, the middle, and end of man’s salvation is influenced by God.

For the need of preventing grace, besides the passage just cited from Phil. ii. 13, it is sufficient to refer to our Lord’s own words in S. John vi. 44: “No man can come to Me, except the Father which sent Me, draw him,”

¹ For scholastic teaching on grace and the divisions into *gratia operans* and *co-operans*, as well as into *gratia præveniens* and subsequens, see Aquinas, *Summa* 1^{ma} 2^æ Q. cxi.

² *Serm.* 176, § 5; *De Nat. et Gratia*, § 35; *Contra duas Epist.* II. § 21. Cf. Bright’s *Anti-Pelagian Treatises*, p. xix.

³ *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, c. xvii.

⁴ See the Collect for Easter Day: “Almighty God . . . we humbly beseech Thee, that, as *by Thy special grace preventing us* Thou dost put into our minds good desires, so *by Thy continual help* we may bring the same to good effect.” The Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity: “Lord, we pray Thee that Thy grace may always *prevent and follow us*, and make us continually to be given to all good works”; and the fourth Collect at the end of the Order of Holy Communion: “*Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with Thy most gracious favour and further us with Thy continual help.*”

and to such a phrase as that used in Acts xvi. 14, where the Lord is said to have "opened the heart" of Lydia, "to give heed unto the things which were spoken by God." While for co-operating grace reference may be made to S. Paul's attribution of all that he did, not to himself, but to "the grace of God which was with" him (1 Cor. xv. 10; cf. Gal. ii. 20); and to our Lord's teaching in S. John xv. 4, 5: "Abide in Me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; so neither can ye, except ye abide in Me. I am the vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in Me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit; for apart from Me ye can do nothing."

But while we thus, on the one hand, in dependence on the teaching of Scripture, assert the absolute need of grace, and trace everything good in man to the action of Him from whom alone cometh "every good gift, and every perfect boon" (S. James i. 17); yet, on the other hand, it is equally necessary to insist, still in fullest harmony with the teaching of Scripture,—which everywhere assumes man's responsibility and power of responding to God's claim,—upon the freewill of man; for so only can any sense of human responsibility be developed.¹ We cannot, indeed, reconcile and harmonise the two counter-truths of freewill and the need of grace; but we can hold them both,² and place them side by side, as S. Paul himself does in the passage already quoted. "Work out your own salvation with fear and

¹ "There can be no question that S. Paul fully recognises the freedom of the human will. The large part which exhortation plays in his letters is conclusive proof of this."—Sanday and Headlam *On the Romans*, p. 216.

² Cf. Augustine, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, II. c. xviii.: "[Nature] forbids us so to maintain God's grace as to seem to take away freewill; and, on the other hand, so to assert its liberty as to lay ourselves open to the censure of being ungrateful to the grace of God in the arrogance of our impiety."

trembling" (there is man's freedom, for it is idle to tell him to "work" unless he is free to work or not to work), "for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure" (there is the need of grace, both preventing and co-operating).

The teaching of S. Paul in Rom. vii. shows more clearly perhaps than any other passage, the state of the case as regards the freedom of the will, and makes it apparent that, though left free by God, the will of man has since the Fall been warped in the direction of evil, and thus man finds himself, as it were, under two different and incompatible laws. On the one hand, he approves of the law of God, and acknowledges himself bound to obey it. On the other, he feels that he is under the dominion of another law which continually leads him to sin. "To will ($\tau\acute{o}$ θέλειν)¹ is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not. For the good that I would (δ θέλω) I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do. Now, if I do that which I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. I find then a law, that, when I would do good ($\tau\hat{\omega}$ θέλοντι ἐμοὶ ποιεῖν τὸ καλόν), evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members" (vers. 18–23). This double state or condition in which man finds himself is recognised by heathen poets and moralists.² It has in its favour the testimony of facts,

¹ It must be noticed that S. Paul does not use the word *βούλομαι*, which "lays the greater stress on the idea of purpose and deliberation," but only *θέλειν*, the more emotional word. See Sanday and Headlam *in loc.*

² The lines of Ovid are well known—

"Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor."

So Seneca asks: "What is it which, while we are going one way, drags

and our natural instincts which lead us while recognising our freedom and moral responsibility to refer everything that is good in us to God. But Scripture alone throws any light on its origin. Man's greatness is fallen greatness. This is the only explanation of the perpetual contrast between man's aspirations and man's achievements, the greatness and nobility of the one, and the lamentable failure of the other. The doctrine of the Fall is the key to the riddle of human nature.¹

It only remains to point out how this tenth Article avoids opposite errors in connection with the difficult subject of Grace and Freewill.

(a) By its guarded reference to Freewill, which it neither asserts nor denies, it escapes the error into which Luther fell, of using such extreme language on the slavery of the will as practically to amount to a denial of human responsibility.²

(b) By its direct assertion of the absolute need of grace preventing and co-operating, it avoids the Pelagian heresy revived by the Anabaptists, which denied the necessity of grace and supernatural assistance.

(c) The terms in which the need of grace is spoken of are so worded as to avoid altogether the unscriptural views of the Anabaptists, and the exaggerations of the Calvinists, who maintained a theory of "irresistible

us another, and impels us thither, from whence we are longing to recede? What is it that struggles with our soul and never permits us to do anything? We vacillate between two opinions: We will nothing freely, nothing perfectly, nothing always."—*Ep.* lii.

¹ Cf. Pascal, *Pensées*, arts. xviii.—xxii.

² See the language from his treatise *De Servo Arbitrio*, quoted in Bishop Browne *On the Articles*, p. 259: "In his actings towards God, in things pertaining to salvation or damnation, man has no freewill, but is the captive, the subject, and the servant, either of the will of God or of Satan." "If we believe that God foreknows and predestinates everything . . . then it follows that there can be no such thing as freewill in man or angel or any other creature."

grace.”¹ Such views were still more effectually excluded by the tenth Article of 1553, which was headed “Of Grace,” and followed the one before us.

De Gratia.

Gratia Christi, seu Spiritus Sanctus qui per eundem datur, cor lapideum aufert, et dat cor carneum. Atque licet ex nolentibus quæ recta sunt volentes faciat, et ex volentibus prava, nolentes reddat, voluntati nihilominus violentiam nullam infert. Et nemo hac de causa cum peccaverit, seipsum excusare potest, quasi nolens aut coactus peccaverit, ut eam ob causam accusari non mereatur aut damnari.

Of Grace.

The grace of Christ, or the Holy Ghost by Him given doth take away the stony heart, and giveth an heart of flesh. And although, those that have no will to good things, He maketh them to will, and those that would evil things, He maketh them not to will the same: yet nevertheless He enforceth not the will. And therefore no man when he sinneth can excuse himself, as not worthy to be blamed or condemned, by alleging that he sinned unwillingly or by compulsion.

This was certainly primarily aimed at some among the Anabaptists who “seem to have been pushing their belief in absolute predestination to such frightful lengths that human actions were esteemed involuntary, and the *evil* choice of man ascribed to a necessitating fiat of his Maker.”² Its omission by Archbishop Parker in the revision of 1563 is probably due to the less formidable character of the danger of Anabaptism at that time. But it is possible that Parker was influenced by the fact that the Article was likely to be displeasing to some of the Marian exiles, who had returned to England with strong predilections in favour of Calvinism, and whom it

¹ This is closely connected with Calvin’s teaching on Predestination, which will be considered below under Article XVII.

² Hardwick, p. 99. Cf. the letter of Bishop Hooper (quoted on p. 22), where it is said of the Anabaptists that “they maintain a fatal necessity, and that beyond and beside that will of His, which He has revealed to us in the Scriptures, God hath another will, by which He altogether acts under some kind of necessity.”

was desired to retain in the Church. The excision of the Article would remove a stumbling-block from their path, as there is nothing in our present Article to which they could take exception, though from their point of view they might consider that its statements required supplementing.

ARTICLE XI

De Hominis Justificatione.

Tantum propter meritum Domini ac Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, per fidem, non propter opera et merita nostra, justi coram Deo reputamur: quare sola fide nos justificari, doctrina est saluberrima, ac consolationis plenissima: ut in Homilia de justificatione hominis fusius explicatur.

Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

IN its present form this Article dates from the Elizabethan revision in 1563. The Edwardian Article on the same subject was much less explicit: "Justification by only faith in Jesus Christ in that sense, as it is declared in the Homily of Justification, is a most certain and wholesome doctrine for Christian men."

The Article, as finally drawn up by Parker, is indebted for some of its phrases to the Confessions of Augsburg and Württemberg. In the latter of these documents we find these words: "*Homo enim fit Deo acceptus, et reputatur coram eo justus propter solum Filium Dei, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, per fidem*";¹ while in the former we read as follows: "*Item docent quod homines non possunt justificari coram Deo propriis viribus, meritis aut operibus, sed gratis justificentur propter Christum, per fidem, cum credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata remitti propter Christum, qui sua morte pro nostris peccatis satisfecit. Hanc fidem imputat Deus*

¹ *De Justificatione.* See Hardwick, p. 125.

pro justitia coram ipso, Rom. iii. et iv.”¹ And again: “Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institutum est ministerium docendi Evangelii et porrigendi sacramenta. Nam per verbum et sacramenta, tanquam per instrumenta, donatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in iis qui audiunt evangelium, scilicet, quod Deus *non propter nostra merita, sed propter Christum* justificet hos, qui credunt se propter Christum in gratiam recipi.”² The expressions placed in italics in these extracts will show how far the Article is indebted to Lutheran sources. But while it is undeniable that Parker did to some extent borrow from these documents, yet it is significant that he stopped short, and did not transfer to the Anglican formulary what has been aptly termed “the peculiar symbol of Lutheranism,”³ viz. the statement that a man is justified when he believes himself to be justified,—an expression which occurs in these or almost identical words no fewer than seven times in the Confession of Augsburg.

The object of the Article is to state the mind of the Church of England on the subject of man’s justification, which was regarded in some quarters as the “*articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ*,” and which had unhappily given occasion for some of the worst excesses and extravagances of teaching which marked the course of the Reformation.

The subjects which call for consideration in order to a right understanding of the Article are these—

1. Justification, its meaning and relation to Sanctification.

¹ *Conf. Augustana*, art. iv. *Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 124.

² *Ib.* art. v.

³ Forbes *On the Articles*, p. 182. What makes the omission the more remarkable is the fact that the expression is actually contained in the fourth Article “De Justificatione” agreed upon by the Conference of Anglicans and Lutherans in 1538. See Hardwick, p. 263.

2. The meritorious cause of Justification.
3. The instrument or formal cause of Justification
4. The "Homily of Justification."

I. *Justification, its meaning and relation to Sanctification.*

The Article treats as convertible terms the expressions "to be accounted righteous" (*justus reputari*) and "to be justified" (*justificari*). **We are accounted righteous . . . by faith . . . Wherefore that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine.** Both phrases are founded on the language of Holy Scripture. The former is based on Gen. xv. 6: "Abraham believed God, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness" (LXX. ἐπίστευσε τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην; Vulg. *Credidit Deo et reputatum est illi ad justitiam*). From this passage the phrase is adopted by S. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, ch. iv., and throughout this chapter the Greek λογισθῆναι εἰς δικαιοσύνην is always rendered by the Vulgate "*ad justitiam reputari*" (see ver. 3, 5, 9, 11, 22, 23; and cf. Gal. iii. 6; S. James ii. 23). *Justificari*, "to be justified," is also the invariable Latin equivalent for δικαιῶσθαι,—a verb which (in the active or passive) occurs nearly thirty times in S. Paul's Epistles, although used but rarely elsewhere in the New Testament.

To discover the meaning of justification it is therefore necessary to examine and determine the sense in which δικαιῶν and δικαιῶσθαι are used in Scripture.

(a) In the Old Testament the active voice is used by the LXX. as the translation of the Hebrew דָּרַשׁ in a judicial or "forensic" sense: to "do right to a person," i.e. to do justice to his cause, and so to acquit (see Ex. xxiii. 7; Deut. xxv. 1; 2 Sam. xv. 4; 1 Kings viii. 32; 2 Chr. vi. 23; Ps. lxxxii. (lxxxii.) 3; Is.

v. 23, 1. 8, liii. 11; Jer. iii. 11; Ezek. xvi. 51, 52); in other words, its meaning is not to "make a person righteous," but to "make him out righteous," or to "treat him as righteous."¹ But in itself the word indicates nothing as to whether he is or is not righteous. So in the passive, a person is said to be "justified" when he is regarded as righteous, held "not guilty," or acquitted (see Gen. xlv. 16; Job xxxiii. 32; Ps. li. (1.) 5, cxliii. (cxlii.) 2; Is. xliii. 9, 26, xlv. 25).

(b) In the New Testament outside the Epistles of S. Paul the word is not of frequent occurrence, but wherever it is found (eleven times in all²) its meaning is just the same. "Wisdom is *justified* by her works" (S. Matt. xi. 19; cf. S. Luke vii. 35), *i.e.* not "made righteous," but *vindicated, proved* to be righteous. In S. Matt. xii. 37 it is opposed to "condemned," and thus is equivalent to "acquitted." "By thy words thou shalt be *justified*, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." The lawyer, willing to *justify* himself, says: "And who is my neighbour?" where the meaning evidently is to vindicate himself, or make himself out to be righteous (S. Luke x. 29; cf. xvi. 15). The publican "went down to his house *justified* rather than" the Pharisee (S. Luke xviii. 14). These are representative instances, and

¹ This is quite in accordance with the classical use of the word, and with what might be expected from the formation of the word. "How can *δικαιοῦν* possibly signify *to make righteous*? Verbs, indeed, of this ending from adjectives of *physical* meaning may have this use, *e.g.* τυφλοῦν, "to make blind." But when such words are derived from adjectives of *moral* meaning, as ἀξιοῦν, δσιοῦν, δικαιοῦν, they do by usage, and must from the nature of things signify to *deem*, to *account*, to *prove*, or to *treat* as worthy, holy, righteous." *The Speaker's Commentary* on 1 Cor. vi. 11, quoted in Sanday and Headlam *On the Romans*, p. 30.

² S. Matt. xi. 19, xii. 37; S. Luke vii. 29, 35, x. 29, xvi. 15, xviii. 14; Acts xiii. 39; S. James ii. 21, 24, 25. In Rev. xxii. 11, which is sometimes cited for the meaning of *infusing* righteousness, the reading is really *δικαιοσύνην ποιεῖσάτω*.

establish the meaning of the word outside S. Paul's writings. But as the phrase "to be justified by faith" is due to him, it becomes necessary to examine further into his usage of the word. It is employed in his Epistles altogether twenty-five times;¹ and while in some cases it is unambiguous and *must* mean *treat as righteous*, and so (in the case of the guilty) pardon and acquit, in no single instance can the meaning of "*make* righteous" be established for it. This statement is one that can easily be verified, and therefore only a few examples need be cited here. "To him that worketh, the reward is not reckoned as of grace, but as of debt. But to him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that *justifieth* the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness" (Rom. iv. 4, 5). "All have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God: being *justified* freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. iii. 23, 24). "With me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment; yea, I judge not mine own self. For I know nothing against myself; yet am I not hereby *justified*: but He that judgeth me is the Lord" (1 Cor. iv. 3, 4). In 1 Tim. iii. 16 the word is used of Christ, who was "manifested in the flesh, *justified* in the spirit."

From these examples the meaning of the word may be ascertained without difficulty. It is regularly employed of the sentence or verdict pronounced on a man by God, and does not in itself tell us whether the person over whom the sentence is pronounced is really righteous or not. When a man is justified he is "accounted righteous," or regarded as righteous.

This leads to the inquiry, *when* is a man "justified"?

¹ Rom. ii. 13, iii. 4, 20, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, iv. 2, 5, v. 1, 9, vi. 7, viii. 30, 33; 1 Cor. iv. 4, vi. 11; Gal. ii. 16, 17, iii. 8, 11, 24, v. 4; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Titus iii. 7.

And this raises the whole question of the relation of justification to sanctification.

Sanctifico and *sanctificatio* are in the Vulgate the regular equivalent of *ἀγιάζειν* and *ἀγνίζειν*, and of *ἀγίασμος* and *ἀγιοσύνη*, words which are all directly connected with the idea of *making holy*. Thus sanctification is a gradual work, the being really made holy in ourselves by the working of God's Holy Spirit in us. To "grow in grace" is to be sanctified. The question, then, to be decided is not whether obedience and good works are necessary for salvation, not whether sanctification is required, but at what point in the Christian life is the act of justification to be placed? in other words, the question is whether a man is first made righteous (sanctified) by God, and then declared to be so (justified); or whether God as it were *anticipates* what the man will become, and on his repentance accepts him, and for Christ's sake pronounces him "not guilty," the Divine verdict of acquittal running (as it has been said) *in advance* of the actual practice of righteousness.

In the early Church the question was not raised, as the subject of man's justification never came into controversy. But after the rise of Pelagianism it acquired a fresh importance, and assumed a new prominence, owing to the Pelagian assertion of human merit apart from grace; and in the writings of Augustine, while against Pelagianism the absolute need of grace, and the freeness of God's gift of salvation, is fully vindicated, the notion that *justifico* means to *make* righteous, and that justification is therefore an *infusion* of grace, can clearly be traced.¹ This thought was further developed by the

¹ In *De Spiritu et Litera*, § 45, Augustine admits that *justifico* may mean "reckon just," but practically his whole theory is that of an infusion of the grace of faith by which men are made just." Sanday and Headlam *On the Romans*, p. 150, where these quotations are given; *De*

schoolmen in the Middle Ages, and justification was defined as not only forgiveness of sins, but also an infusion of grace; and thus it was practically made to include sanctification,¹—a view which was finally endorsed by the Council of Trent. The subject was considered at the sixth session of the Council held in January 1547, and justification was decreed to be “not merely the remission of sins, but also the sanctification and renewal of the inner man, through the voluntary reception of the grace and gifts, whereby man from unjust becomes just, from an enemy a friend, that so he may be an heir according to the hope of eternal life.” It was also stated that (1) the *final* cause of justification is the glory of God and of Christ and eternal life; (2) the *efficient* cause is the merciful God; (3) the *meritorious* cause is the Lord Jesus Christ, Who merited justification for us by His Passion; (4) the *instrumental* cause is the sacrament of baptism, “which is the sacrament of faith, without which justification never befell any man”; (5) the *formal* cause is the righteousness (*justitia*) of God with which we are endowed by Him.² Further, the

Spiritu et Litera, § 18 : “Hæc est justitia Dei quæ in Testamento Veteri velata, in Novo revelatur : quæ ideo justitia Dei dicitur quod *impertiendo eam justos facit*.” *Enarratio*, § 6 : “Credenti inquit in eum qui justificat impium, deputatur fides ejus ad justitiam si justificatur impius *ex impio fit justus*.”

¹ See the *Summa* of Aquinas, 1^{ma} 2^æ Q. cxiii. 2.

² “Justificatio . . . non est sola peccatorum remissio, sed et sanctificatio et renovatio interioris hominis per voluntariam susceptionem gratiæ et donorum. Unde homo ex injusto fit justus, et ex inimico amicus, ut sit hæres secundum spem vitæ æternæ. Hujus justificationis causæ sunt, finalis quidem, gloria Dei et Christi, ac vita æterna : efficiens vero misericors Deus, . . . meritoria autem dilectissimus unigenitus suus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui cum essemus inimici propter nimiam charitatem, qua dilexit nos, sua sanctissima passione in ligno crucis nobis justificationem meruit, et pro nobis Deo satisfecit : instrumentalis item, sacramentum Baptismi, quod est sacramentum fidei, sine qua ulli nunquam contigit justificatio : demum unica formalis causa est justitia

eleventh Canon passed at the same session anathematizes "any who shall say that men are justified either by the sole imputation of the righteousness of Christ or by the sole remission of sins, to the exclusion of the grace and charity which is shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost and is inherent in them."¹

Thus according to the Roman view justification includes sanctification. On the other hand, as is well known, Luther and the Reformers generally insisted very strongly and even vehemently on the distinction between justification and sanctification, and on the *forensic* meaning to be given to the former. According to them, justification is the *initial* blessing, when God receives the repentant sinner, pardons, and accepts him. And on this point an examination of S. Paul's usage of the word makes it clear that they were right. The Apostle certainly does distinguish between justification and sanctification, and uses the former word, not for final salvation, nor for infused holiness, but, as the Reformers insisted, for the *initial* blessing, when God accepts a man and, pardoning him, or "not imputing his sins to him," at the outset, treats him as "not guilty." "All have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God; being justified freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. iii. 23, 24; cf. iv. 5, where God is said to justify τὸν ἀσεβῆ). To be justified, according to him, is to be pardoned and accepted; to be taken into

Dei, non qua Ipse justus est, sed qua nos justos facit, qua videlicet ab eo donati, renovamur Spiritu mentis nostræ, et non modo reputamur, sed vere justī nominamur, et sumus, justitiam in nobis recipientes."—*Conc. Trid.*, Sess. VI. c. vii.

¹ "Si quis dixerit homines justificari, vel sola imputatione justitiæ Christi, vel sola peccatorum remissione, exclusa gratia et charitate, quæ in cordibus eorum per Spiritum Sanctum diffundatur, atque illis inhæreat; aut etiam gratiam qua justificamur esse tantum favorem Dei; anathema sit."—*Ib.* canon xi.

God's favour all sinful and unworthy as we are: and justification, according to this view, contains these two ideas, (1) pardon for sin, and (2) a right and title to eternal life founded upon promise; but the idea of an infused righteousness is not contained in the term. "Being made free from sin"—there is justification—"ye have your fruit unto holiness"—there is sanctification, distinct from justification, but not independent of it.

On the whole, then, it may be safely said that if we are to follow the teaching and language of S. Paul we must at least in thought distinguish between these two blessings, the one (justification) the work of the Son of God *for* us, the other (sanctification) the work of the Holy Spirit *within* us; and so distinguishing them, must hold that in the order of the Christian life justification *precedes* sanctification. In the words of S. Chrysostom, God "crowns us at the outset, making the contest light to us."¹ And if it be said that this introduces into God's dealings with us an element of unreality, man being regarded as righteous when he is not really so, and Christ's merits being "imputed" to him by a sort of legal fiction, it may be replied that there is no more unreality or fiction *necessarily* involved than is implied in all pardon, since the forgiveness of any wrong implies the treating of the doer of it as "not guilty."² But

¹ *Hom. in Rom. xiii.*

² "There is something sufficiently startling in this. The Christian life is made to have its beginning in a fiction. No wonder that the fact is questioned, and that another sense is given to the words—that *δικαιοῦσθαι* is taken to imply, not the attribution of righteousness in idea, but an imparting of actual righteousness. The facts of language, however, are inexorable: we have seen that *δικαιοῦν*, *δικαιοῦσθαι* have the first sense and not the second; that they are rightly said to be "forensic"; that they have reference to a judicial verdict, and to nothing beyond. To this conclusion we feel bound to adhere, even though it should follow that the state described is (if we are pressed) a fiction, that God is

when so much has been said, and the two blessings have been thus distinguished in thought and assigned definite theological names, it must never be forgotten that in actual life they are inseparable. In the order of thought justification precedes sanctification. But together the blessings stand or fall. If a man is justified we may be sure that he is being sanctified, however imperfect his condition may be. If he is not being sanctified, he has fallen from his state of grace, and can no longer be regarded as "justified."

II. *The meritorious Cause of Justification.*

On this point the teaching of the Article is clear and distinct. The meritorious cause of our justification is the atoning work of Christ. **We are accounted righteous before God only for the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ** (*propter meritum Domini, etc.*), . . . **and not for our own works or deservings** (*non propter opera et merita nostra*). It will be observed that the same preposition, "for" (*propter*), is used in both clauses, whereas when faith is mentioned in connection with justification an entirely different preposition, "by" (*per*), is employed. It is

regarded as dealing with men rather by the ideal standard of what they may be than by the actual standard of what they are. What this means is, that when a man makes a great change, such as that which the first Christians made when they embraced Christianity, he is allowed to start on his career with a clean record; his sin-stained past is not reckoned against him. The change is the great thing; it is that at which God looks. As with the prodigal son in the parable, the breakdown of his pride and rebellion in the one cry, "Father, I have sinned," is enough. The father does not wait to be gracious. He does not put him upon a long term of probation, but reinstates him at once in the full privilege of sonship. The justifying verdict is nothing more than the "best robe" and the "ring" and the "fatted calf" of the parable (Luke xv. 22 f.).* —Sanday and Headlam *On the Romans*, p. 36.

important to dwell on this, because it shows that the real antithesis in the Article (as in Scripture) is not between faith and works, but between the merit and work of our Saviour and human merit and work, *i.e.* between receiving salvation as God's free gift, and *earning* it by our own efforts. That the meritorious cause of justification is the merit and atoning work of our Saviour, is recognised as fully and frankly by the Church of Rome as it is by the Church of England; and indeed it is hard to see how it can be questioned *theoretically* by any except those who would deny altogether the need of the Atonement. And yet there can be no doubt that *practically* the medieval system did tend to make men rely on their own merits as the cause of their justification,¹ and led to the notion that they could *earn* it by what they did; while in the opposite quarter there are traces of the same error among some of the Anabaptists.² This error, it is to be hoped, has entirely passed away at the present day; and we may therefore proceed at once to the next subject that demands consideration.

III. *The Instrument or formal Cause of Justification.*

This the Article asserts to be *faith*. **We are**

¹ So in the Article "Of Rites and Ceremonies," in the Ten Articles of 1536 after an enumeration of a number of "laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies not to be condemned and cast away, but to be used and continued," it was felt to be necessary to add the reminder, that "none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins are forgiven."—*Formularies of Faith*, p. 16.

² "They [the Anabaptists] boaste themselves to be ryghtuous and to please God, not purely and absolutely for Christes sake, but for theyr owne mortification of themselves, for theyr owne good workes and persecucion, if they suffre any."—Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. cxlii. (English translation of 1548), quoted in Hardwick, p. 99.

accounted righteous . . . by¹ faith (per fidem). . . . Wherefore that we are justified by faith only (sola fide) is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort.

There are several matters here which require elucidation—

(a) The meaning of "faith."

(b) The meaning of the expression "we are justified by faith only."

(c) The reason why faith is the instrument of justification.

(a) *The meaning of "faith."*—There is no Hebrew word exactly answering to our term "faith." The verb signifying to believe, to trust, is אָמַן , which the LXX. habitually render by $\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, from the important passage, Gen. xv. 6, onwards: "Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness" (LXX. $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \text{Ἀβραὰμ}\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \Theta\epsilon\hat{\omega}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\hat{\omega}\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\eta$). This is one of the two great passages on which S. Paul bases his doctrine of justification by faith. But there is in Hebrew no substantive meaning *faith as an active principle*, i.e. trustfulness, or the frame of mind which relies upon another. The nearest approach is found in אָמַן , firmness or constancy, which is variously rendered by the LXX. $\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$, $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, or by an adjective, $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\alpha\acute{\xi}\iota\omicron\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$. The word, however, is rather *passive* than *active*, signifying *trustworthiness*, or the frame of mind that can be relied on; although in Hab. ii. 4 (S. Paul's other great text) it seems to have a double or "transitional"

¹ "By" in old English is ordinarily equivalent to "through." Cf. Lightfoot *On Revision*, p. 119: "Where in common language we now say 'by' and 'through' (i.e. by means of) respectively, our translators, following the diction of their age, generally use 'of' and 'by' respectively; 'of' denoting the agent ($\nu\pi\acute{o}$), and 'by' the instrument or means ($\delta\iota\alpha$)."

sense. "The just shall live by faith" (LXX. ὁ δὲ δίκαιός μου ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται). Here it is hard to say whether ἡ πίστις and πίστις represent "trustfulness" (active) or "trustworthiness" (passive): in fact, the two ideas seem to be blended together. But when we pass from the Old Testament to the New, we find πίστις definitely stamped with the *active* sense, and as a Christian virtue it has the meaning of *trust* or *belief*.¹ Still it is employed with considerable variations of meaning, from the bare sense of "belief" or intellectual assent, as when S. James says that "the devils *believe* (πιστεύουσι) and tremble" (S. James ii. 19), rising to that "faith which worketh by love" (πίστις δι' ἀγαπῆς ἐνεργουμένη, Gal. v. 6), to which all the achievements of the Old Testament saints are attributed in Heb. xi. This last is the sense in which it is ordinarily used by S. Paul; and since he is the apostle who speaks of man being "justified by faith," it is evident that this is the sense in which the word is to be understood in the Article. Faith, then, is a principle of trust and reliance on God and His promises, which leads to practical action and issues in good works.²

(b) *The meaning of the expression "we are justified by faith only."*—This faith the Article asserts to be the instrument of our justification.

¹ See Bishop Lightfoot *On Galatians*, p. 152 *seq.*, "Excursus on the Words denoting Faith," from which the above is mainly taken; and cf. Sanday and Headlam *On the Romans*, p. 31 *seq.*

² "The centre and mainspring of this higher form of faith is defined more exactly as 'faith in Jesus Christ,' Rom. iii. 22, 26. This is the crowning and characteristic sense with S. Paul; and it is really this which he has in view wherever he ascribes to faith the decisive significance which he does ascribe to it, even though the object is not expressed (as in i. 17, iii. 27 ff., v. 1, 2). We have seen that it is not merely assent or adhesion, but *enthusiastic* adhesion, personal adhesion: the highest and most effective motive power of which human character is capable."—Sanday and Headlam, *ubi supra*.

We are accounted righteous . . . by faith (*per fidem*). The expression is strictly Biblical, and is drawn from Rom. iii. 28-30: "We reckon that a man is justified by faith (*πίστει*, Vulg. *per fidem*) apart from the works of the law. . . . He shall justify the circumcision by faith (*ἐκ πίστεως*) and the uncircumcision through faith" (*διὰ τῆς πίστεως*, Vulg. *per fidem*); cf. Gal. ii. 16. Thus the Article keeps close to the actual language of the Apostle, and assigns to faith no other position than that of an instrument. Luther unhappily was not always so careful, and actually used language which would imply that faith was the meritorious cause of justification; asserting—what Holy Scripture never says—that we are justified *on account of* (*propter*) faith.¹ In such language, it is perhaps needless to say, the Church of England has never followed him.

But the Article is not content with assigning to faith the position of *an* instrument; it speaks of it as if it were the *sole* instrument. "**We are justified by faith only**" (*sola fide*). This expression, it must be admitted, is not contained directly in Scripture. But that faith *is* (in some sense) the sole instrument may be fairly inferred from the passage quoted above from Rom. iii. 28, where S. Paul speaks of men being "justified by *faith apart from the works of the law*." Compare also Rom. iv. 2-5, ix. 30; Gal. ii. 16, iii. 5 seq. In these passages the Apostle does not merely speak of faith as instrumental in justification, but expressly excludes "works."

On the other hand, S. James in his Epistle expressly includes "works," and denies that man is justified by "faith only" (*ἐκ πίστεως μόνον*, Vulg. *ex fide tantum*), c. ii. 14-26: "What doth it profit, my brethren, if a man say he hath faith, but have not works? can

¹ See his Comment. on Gal. ii. 16, iii. 6.

that faith save him? If a brother or a sister be naked and in lack of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Go in peace, be ye warmed and filled; and yet ye give them not the things needful to the body, what doth it profit? Even so faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself. Yea, a man will say, Thou hast faith, and I have works; show me thy faith apart from thy works, and I by my works will show thee my faith. Thou believest that God is one; thou doest well: the devils also believe and shudder. But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith apart from works is barren? Was not Abraham our father justified by works, in that he offered up Isaac his son upon the altar? Thou seest that faith wrought with his works, and by works was his faith made perfect; and the scripture was fulfilled which saith, And Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness: and he was called the friend of God. Ye see that by works a man is justified, and not only by faith. And in like manner, was not Rahab the harlot justified by works, in that she received the messengers, and sent them out another way? For as the body apart from the spirit is dead, even so faith apart from works is dead."

This passage, *as far as words are concerned*, is certainly contrary to the teaching of S. Paul in the passages referred to above, especially Rom. iv., where the case of Abraham is considered, and his justification ascribed to faith and not works; and compare Heb. xi. 17, 31, where the *faith* of Rahab as well as of Abraham is praised.

But though the words are different, yet the *teaching* of the two Apostles is identical. Their reconciliation may be established by pointing out—

1. *The different senses which they give to πίστις.*—In S. James it is merely intellectual assent, an affair of the *head*, not of the heart. The devils "believe" (πιστεύουσι). In S. Paul, on the contrary, it is πίστις δι' ἀγαπῆς

ἐνεργουμένη, a "faith that worketh by love" (Gal. v. 6); and according to him, "with the *heart* man believeth (πιστεύεται) unto righteousness" (Rom. x. 10).

2. *The different senses which they give to ἔργα.*—In S. Paul's writings this word, standing without any qualifying adjective, is always used in a *depreciatory* sense. When he would speak of works which are intrinsically good, he adds the qualifying adjective καλά or ἀγαθά (see Rom. ii. 7, xiii. 3; 2 Cor. ix. 8; Eph. ii. 10, etc.). It is, however, of such *good works* that S. James is speaking,—works which are really included in that faith which is defined as one which "*worketh by love.*"

3. *The different errors before the Apostles.*—S. Paul, in contending against a self-righteous Pharisaism, which boasted of its "works," vehemently denies that such "works" can aid in man's justification. S. James, on the contrary, has before him the case of those who thought that a barren orthodoxy was sufficient, and looked for justification from the correctness of their creed. To them he therefore says that such a faith, apart from works, is dead.

There is, then, no real contradiction between the teaching of the two Apostles; and it is providential that both sides of the truth are thus stated in Scripture. The Epistle of S. James forms a valuable safeguard against the errors of the "Solifidians," who, resting on faith only (*sola fides*), denied altogether the need of good works; while the teaching of S. Paul breaks down, once for all, all human *claim* to a reward.¹

Returning now to the subject of faith as the instrument of justification, the question has to be asked: In

¹ See, further, Lightfoot *On the Galatians*, p. 162; Sanday and Headlam *On the Romans*, p. 102 seq.; and Mayor *On S. James*, p. lxxxvii seq., and 204.

what sense is it the *sole* instrument of justification? *i.e.* does it exclude good works, or the sacraments of the gospel?

With regard to the latter, if the description of justification given above is correct, and it includes (1) pardon of sin, and (2) a right and title to eternal life grounded on promise, then beyond all question it is granted in baptism: accordingly divines have frequently spoken of "first justification" as granted in it. It would perhaps be better to say that the exclusive term "alone," when we say that we are justified by faith alone, is only meant to exclude any other instrument on man's part for *receiving*, and is not intended to exclude God's instruments for *bestowing* justification. Thus faith is as it were the hand, and the *only* hand, which man can stretch forth to receive the blessing; while the sacraments of the gospel may be regarded as the channels through which God conveys the blessing to the faithful soul that is able to receive it.

With regard to *good works* the statement of the Article, that we are justified by faith only, is not meant in any way to exclude the necessity of good works, but only to shut them out *from the office* of justifying. That this is all that is intended is made perfectly clear by the statements of the Homily, to which the Article expressly refers us, as may be seen from the extracts quoted below in the next section. Repentance and obedience are necessary conditions or qualifications, but they are not the instruments for obtaining justification. Similarly, for a beneficial reception of the Holy Eucharist, charity is a necessary qualification; but "the *mean* whereby the Body of Christ is received is faith."

(c) *The reason why faith is the instrument of justification.*—It may be said without irreverence that the reason why, in God's method of salvation, faith is selected

for this office is not because there is any special virtue in it, or because it is the greatest of all Christian graces, for charity is greater (1 Cor. xiii. 2, 13), but because faith is peculiarly fit for this particular office, since there is in it that element of self-surrender, of trust, confidence, and reliance on another, which necessarily excludes all reliance on self and our own merits. Had we been justified by something else, as love, there would have been the possibility of reliance on self, and the notion of *earning* salvation would not have been in the same way shut out. Further, it is faith which enables us to realise the unseen. It is "the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen" (Heb. xi. 1); and thus it makes things distant become near, and admits them to close embraces.

Before passing on to the next section, it may be well to call attention to the fact that the Article maintains a wise silence on more than one subject connected with the doctrine of justification by faith, which was keenly disputed between the Romans and Lutherans in the sixteenth century. It has already been mentioned that the Article, seemingly of set purpose, ignores the Lutheran statement (condemned by the Council of Trent¹) that a man is justified if he believes himself to be justified; but besides this there are two important matters on which the Article is markedly silent, (1) the question of the presence or absence of charity in justifying faith, and (2) the theory of an "imputed" righteousness. The first of these subjects was keenly debated at the time of the Reformation. The school-

¹ "If anyone shall say that a man is absolved from his sins and justified because he assuredly believes himself to be absolved and justified; or that no one is truly justified save he who believes himself to be justified; and that by this faith alone absolution and justification are perfected: let him be anathema."—Sess. VI. canon xiv.

men in their teaching on justification had drawn a distinction between "fides informis," a bare faith, and "fides formata," a faith informed by charity,¹ and had maintained that the latter alone is instrumental in justifying. In this they are naturally followed by the Tridentine divines.² Luther, on the other hand, while accepting the distinction thus drawn, insisted that it is "fides informis" which justifies, and argues that to say the contrary is to maintain justification by works.³ The whole question is wisely ignored in the Article, though the Homily says pointedly that love is not excluded, but is "joined with faith in every man that is justified."

The second subject mentioned above, the theory of an "imputed" righteousness, is developed by Luther in his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. According to it, the righteousness of Christ is imputed to us, and our sins are imputed to Him. It is in connection with this that the notion of a "legal fiction" comes into most prominence, and it is difficult to free the theory as it is maintained by Protestant divines from the charge of unreality. But as (like the points just noticed) there is not a word concerning it in our own Article, there is no need to consider the subject further here.

¹ See Aquinas, *Summa*, III. Q. xlix. art. 1: "Fides autem, per quam a peccato mundatur, non est fides informis, quæ potest esse etiam cum peccato, sed est fides formata per charitatem, ut sic passio Christi nobis applicetur, non solum quantum ad intellectum, sed etiam quantum ad effectum. Et per hunc etiam modum peccata dimittuntur ex virtute passionis Christi." Cf. 1^{ma} 2^a Q. cxiii. art. 4; and see Neander, *Church History*, vol. viii. pp. 220, 221, and Moehler, *Symbolism*, p. 118.

² Sess. VI. canon xi.

³ *Commentary on Galatians*, ii. 17.

IV. *The Homily of Justification.*

It only remains to say a word or two on **the Homily of Justification**, to which the Article refers us for fuller treatment of the subject. On turning to the Books of the Homilies, however, we find that there exists no homily with this title! That which is evidently referred to is the "Homily of Salvation," contained in the first book; together with which should be read the two following ones "Of the True and lively Faith" and "Of Good Works." In reading these the student is especially recommended to notice the emphatic way in which the writer insists (1) that faith alone has the office of justifying, (2) that good works are necessary, and (3) that faith has no merit any more than any other graces or good works. A few quotations shall be added by way of specimens.

"Faith doth not shut out repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified; but it shutteth them out from the office of justifying. So that, although they be all present together in him that is justified, yet they justify not all together. Nor that faith also doth not shut out the justice of our good works, necessarily to be done afterward of duty towards God (for we are most bounded to serve God in doing good deeds commanded by him in his holy Scripture all the days of our life); but it excludeth them so that we may not do them to this intent, to be made good by doing of them. For all the good works that we can do be imperfect, and therefore not able to deserve our justification; but our justification doth come freely, by the mere mercy of God; and of so great and free mercy that, whereas all the world was not able of theirselves to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased our heavenly Father, of

his infinite mercy, without any our desert or deserving, to prepare for us the most precious jewels of Christ's body and blood, whereby our ransom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, and his justice fully satisfied."

Again: "This sentence, that we be justified by faith only, is not so meant of them [namely, the ancient writers, Greek and Latin] that the said justifying faith is alone in man, without true repentance, hope, charity, dread, and fear of God, at any time or season. Nor when they say that we be justified freely, they mean not that we should or might afterward be idle, and that nothing should be required on our parts afterward; neither they mean not so to be justified without our good works that we should do no good works at all, like as shall be more expressed at large hereafter. But this saying, that we be justified by faith only, freely, and without works, is spoken for to take away clearly all merit of our works, as being unable to deserve our justification at God's hands; and thereby most plainly to express the weakness of man and the goodness of God, the imperfectness of our own works, and the most abundant grace of our Saviour Christ; and thereby wholly for to ascribe the merit and deserving of our justification unto Christ only and his most precious bloodshedding."

And once more: "The true understanding of this doctrine—We be justified freely by faith without works, or that we be justified by faith in Christ only—is not that this our own act, to believe in Christ, or this our faith in Christ, which is within us, doth justify us and deserve our justification unto us; for that were to count ourselves to be justified by some act or virtue that is within ourselves. But the true understanding and meaning thereof is, that, although we hear God's word and believe it, although we have faith, hope,

charity, repentance, dread, and fear of God within us, and do never so many good works thereunto, yet we must renounce the merit of all our said virtues of faith, hope, charity, and all our other virtues and good deeds, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as things that be far too weak and insufficient and imperfect to deserve remission of our sins and our justification ; and therefore we must trust only in God's mercy, and in that sacrifice which our High Priest and Saviour Christ Jesus, the Son of God, once offered for us upon the cross, to obtain thereby God's grace, and remission, as well of our original sin in baptism as of all actual sin committed by us after our baptism if we truly repent and turn unfeignedly to him again. So that, as S. John Baptist, although he were never so virtuous and godly a man, yet in this matter of forgiving of sin he did put the people from him, and appointed them unto Christ, saying thus unto them, *Behold, yonder is the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world ;* even so, as great and as godly a virtue the lively faith is, yet it putteth us from itself, and remitteth or appointeth us unto Christ, for to have only by him remission of our sins or justification. So that our faith in Christ, as it were, saith unto us thus : It is not I that take away your sins, but it is Christ only ; and to him only I send you for that purpose, forsaking therein all your good virtues, words, thoughts, and works, and only putting your trust in Christ."

ARTICLE XII

De Bonis Operibus.

Bona opera quæ sunt fructus fidei et justificatos sequuntur, quanquam peccata nostra expiare et divini judicii severitatem ferre non possunt, Deo tamen grata sunt et accepta in Christo, atque ex vera et viva fide necessario profluunt, ut plane ex illis, æque fides viva cognosci possit, atque arbor ex fructu indicari.

Of Good Works.

Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment: yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, in so much that by them, a lively faith may be as evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruit.

THERE is nothing corresponding to this Article in the series of 1553. It is one of the four new Articles added by Parker at the revision in the early years of Elizabeth, a portion of the first clause being taken by him (like others of his addition) from the Confession of Würtemberg,¹ while the phrase "**follow after justification**" (justificatos sequuntur) is due to S. Augustine, who uses it in his treatise, *De fide et operibus*, c. xiv.

The object of the Article is obviously to state the mind of the Church of England on the position of "good works," with reference, perhaps, to the Roman teaching on the one hand, and the exaggerations of Luther and of some who professed to be his followers on the other.

¹ "Non est autem sentiendum quod iis bonis operibus, quæ per nos facimus, in iudicio Dei ubi agitur de expiatione peccatorum et placatione divinæ iræ ac merito æternæ salutis confitendum est. Omnia enim bona opera quæ nos facimus sunt imperfecta, nec possunt severitatem divini judicii ferre."—*De bonis operibus*. See Hardwick, p. 125.

(a) The Tridentine statements occur in the decrees and canons of the sixth session (held in January 1547). They follow naturally from the view of justification held by the Roman Church, and are very emphatic in their assertion of the "merit" of good works; *e.g.* "We must needs believe that to the justified nothing further is wanting, but that they may be accounted to have, by those very works which have been done in God, fully satisfied the Divine law according to the state of this life, and truly to have merited eternal life, to be obtained also in its due time if they shall have departed in grace."¹ Again: "If anyone shall say that the good works of a man that is justified are in such wise the gift of God, as that they are not also the good merits of him that is justified, or that the said justified, by the good works which are performed by him through the grace of God and the merit of Jesus Christ, whose living member he is, does not truly merit increase of grace, eternal life, and the attainment of that eternal life, if so be, however, that he depart in grace, and, moreover, an increase of glory: let him be anathema."²

(b) On the other hand, Luther used strong expressions on the sinful character of all man's efforts. "Even the best work is a venial sin"; and yet more strongly, "Omne opus iusti damnabile est et peccatum mortale, si iudicio

¹ "Nihil ipsis justificatis amplius deesse credendum est, quo minus plene illis quidem operibus quæ in Deo sunt facta, divinæ legi pro hujus vitæ statu satisfecisse, et vitam æternam suo etiam tempore, si tamen in gratia decesserint, consequendam, vere promeruisse censeantur."—*Conc. Trident. Sessio Sexta, c. xvi.*

² "Si quis dixerit hominis iustificati bona opera ita esse dona Deo ut non sint etiam bona ipsius iustificati merita; aut ipsum iustificatum bonis operibus quæ ab eo per Dei gratiam et Jesu Christi meritum, cujus vivum membrum est, fiunt, non vere mereri augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, et ipsius vitæ æternæ, si tamen in gratia decesserit, consecutionem, atque etiam gloriæ augmentum: anathema sit."—*Ib. canon xxxii.*

Dei judicetur.”¹ No wonder, then, that among his followers a depreciation of the need of good works of any kind was prevalent, and that Antinomianism and Solifidianism were widely spread. It is probable that it was even more in order to protect the Church against these errors than to protest against the Roman teaching that the Article was inserted,² though it is so worded as to guard against false views on either side.

The main statements of the Article may be summed up as follows:—

1. Good works are the fruits and result of faith, and the evidence of it.

2. They “follow after justification.”

3. They have no merit in themselves, and cannot endure the severity of God’s judgment.

4. Yet they are acceptable to God in Christ.

The Roman and Lutheran divines looked at good works from opposite sides, and were consequently led into exaggerated statements in different directions. The Anglican Article by its balanced statements endeavours to do justice to both sides of the whole truth on the subject of which it treats, and seems to recognise that in every “good work” there are two factors, a human and a Divine. In so far as the doer of the work is following the leadings of grace, it is good; in so far as he is not, there is an element of sinfulness in the work. The main points laid down in the Article seem to follow so natur-

¹ *Assert. omn. art. Opera*, tom. ii. fol. 325b, quoted in Moehler’s *Symbolism*, p. 158. The Council of Trent met these assertions by the twenty-fifth canon of the Sixth Session: “Si quis in quolibet bono opere justum saltem venialiter peccare dixerit, aut quod intolerabilius est, mortaliter, atque ideo pœnas æternas mereri, tantumque ob id non damnari, quia Deus ea opera non imputet ad damnationem: anathema sit.”

² Parker writes in 1559, “They say that the realm is full of Anabaptists, Arians, Libertines, Freewill men,” etc. Parker’s *Correspondence* (Parker Society), p. 61.

ally from the teaching of Article XI. on justification by faith, that they require but little explanation and no formal Scriptural proof. It may, however, be well to point out that in the statement that **good works . . . follow after justification**, the "good works" of which this Article is speaking are clearly external works, or that actual obedience which produces a course of actions. Repentance, which from one point of view might certainly be termed a "good work," cannot possibly be referred to, because it precedes and does not "follow after justification."¹ The phrase, as we have seen, is due to S. Augustine, and, as Waterland says, by it Augustine "meant no more than that men must be incorporated in Christ, must be Christians, and good Christians (for such only are justified), before they could practise Christian works or righteousness, strictly so called: for such works only have an eminent right and title to the name of good works, as they only are salutary within the covenant, and have a claim upon the promise. Works before justification, *i.e.* before salutary baptism, are not, in his account, within the promise."² The expression in the Article must be understood in the same way, and not pressed so as to make it imply that nothing good can

¹ "Bona opera" had apparently come to have almost a technical sense for definite *Christian* works. Gardiner in his *Declaration* (fol. xxxviii.) distinguishes carefully between "bona opera" which follow after justification, and "opera pœnitentiæ" which precede it. See Hardwick, p. 401; and the Tridentine decrees seem carefully to avoid speaking of "good works" as done before justification, while anathematising the view that "*all* works which are done before justification are truly sins."—Sess. VI. canon vii.

² *Summary View of the Doctrine of Justification*, Works, vol. vi. p. 21; cf. Bp. Bull, *Harmony of Justification*, p. 55. "Augustine is certainly not to be understood of every work, but of a long continuance of works, so that his meaning may be this: the works which precede justification are less and fewer than those which follow it. Without some explanation of this kind, that maxim, so often used, will with difficulty be freed from an evident falsehood."

possibly precede justification,—a position which, as will be shown under the following article, could not be established from Scripture, and one to which the Church of England is certainly not committed. That, then, to which this Article is intended to bind us is this, namely, that, as justification comes at the *beginning* of the Christian life, “good works” properly so called must be subsequent to it, and that they are the natural and necessary outcome of that faith by which a man is justified.

Waterland’s conclusion on the whole subject which has been considered in these two Articles (XI. and XII.) is worth quoting: “Take we due care so to maintain the doctrine of faith as not to exclude the necessity of good works, and so to maintain good works as not to exclude the necessity of Christ’s atonement, or the free grace of God. Take we care to perform all evangelical duties to the utmost of our power, aided by God’s Spirit; and when we have so done, say that we are unprofitable servants, having no strict claim to a reward, but yet looking for one and accepting it as a favour, not challenging it as due in any right of our own: due only upon free promise, and that promise made, not in consideration of any deserts of ours, but in and through the alone merits, active and passive, of Jesus Christ our Lord.”¹

¹ *Summary View, etc.*, p. 38.

ARTICLE XIII

Opera ante Justificationem.

Opera quæ fiunt ante gratiam Christi, et Spiritus ejus afflatum, cum ex fide Jesu Christi non prodeant, minime Deo grata sunt: neque gratiam (ut multi vocant) de congruo merentur: Imo cum non sint facta ut Deus illa fieri voluit et præcepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of His Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesu Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

THIS Article has remained unchanged since the publication of the Edwardian Series in 1553. There is nothing corresponding to it in the Augsburg Confession, nor has its language been traced to any earlier source. Its object is evidently to condemn the scholastic theory of congruous merit.

The subjects which require consideration in connection with it are these—

1. The title as compared with the Article itself.
2. The scholastic theory of congruous merit.
3. The teaching of the Article upon the subject.

1. The Title as compared with the Article itself.

It will be noticed that whereas the title speaks of **works before justification**, in the body of the Article

the phrase is not repeated, but a different one takes its place. **Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit.** The question then at once arises, Are these two expressions strictly convertible terms? The answer to this must depend on the reply given to another question, Is grace ever given before justification? If *not*, the two expressions, "works before justification," and "works before grace," may be regarded as convertible; but if it should appear that grace is sometimes given before justification, then it will be evident that the title of the Article is too wide, and must be limited by the expression actually used in the Article itself. The question as to the relation of grace to justification depends partly on the meaning given to the term "grace." Some of the schoolmen, as S. Thomas Aquinas,¹ were inclined definitely to limit it to the divine gift granted to *Christians*, while freely admitting that God's assistance (*auxilium*) was given to others. If, however, the word be used more generally for a gift of supernatural aid wherever given, the question is one which must be decided strictly by the testimony of Holy Scripture, and it is believed that there is ample evidence to establish the fact that grace may be given before justification. As Bishop Bull says: "The truth is that no work really good can precede the grace of God, since without that grace it cannot be performed. But good works may precede justification, and actually do precede it; for grace is given before justification, that we may perform those things by which we arrive at justification."² For proof of this it is sufficient to refer to two representative instances: (*a*) On the day of Pentecost, after the address of the Apostle Peter to the multitude, we read, "They were pricked in their heart (κατενόησαν τὴν καρδίαν), and said unto Peter and the

¹ See the *Summa*, I^a. II^o. cix. 1.

² *Harmony of Justification*, p. 162.

rest of the apostles, Brethren, what shall we do?" (Acts ii. 37). Here, without doubt, was the grace of God at work. The grace of *compunction* was granted; but the reply of S. Peter shows equally clearly that even so those who had thus received grace were not yet justified. "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ *unto the remission of your sins*; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." (b) Again, it will scarcely be doubted that S. Paul received grace at the moment of his conversion. "Behold, he prayeth," was the message which came to Ananias (Acts ix. 11), and that prayer can only have been offered up and rendered acceptable by the action of the Holy Spirit upon his heart. But, strictly speaking, he was not *justified* for three days after his "conversion"; for when Ananias came to him his words were these: "And now, why tarriest thou? Arise and be baptized, and *wash away thy sins*" (Acts xxii. 16).

There is, then, on this view, a real discrepancy between the title of this thirteenth Article and the substance of it, and so much was practically confessed by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, who suggested as an emendation that the Article itself should run as follows: "Works done *before justification by Christ and regeneration by His Spirit* are not pleasing unto God," etc.¹ The origin of this discrepancy has been traced by Archdeacon Hardwick to an earlier draft of the Article. As was mentioned in the Introduction,² there still exists in the Record Office a MS. copy of the Articles, signed by the six royal chaplains, to whom they were submitted before their final revision and publication, and

¹ See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 561. The Assembly also suggested a change in the closing words of the Article, substituting "*they are sinful*" for the far milder phrase, "We doubt not that they have the nature of sin."

² See p. 13.

in this we find that in the Article itself we have the expression: "Opera quæ fiunt ante justificationem cum ex fide Jesu Christi non prodeant," etc.¹ It is evident that Cranmer and those working with him afterwards felt that this was inaccurate, and therefore modified the wording of the Article before publication, introducing the phrase which we now read in it, "Works before the grace of Christ," etc., although the old title was still allowed to remain, inexact though it was.

II. *The Scholastic Theory of Congruous Merit.*

The object of the Article, as has been already stated, is to repudiate the erroneous teaching of some of the **school-authors**² on the subject of grace. The school-authors, or schoolmen here referred to, are the divines of the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation: S. Bernard (1115) being generally reckoned as the "last of the Fathers," and S. Anselm (1109) or Peter Lombard, the "Master of the Sentences" (1164), the first of the schoolmen.³ We are here concerned, how-

¹ See Hardwick, p. 281.

² The Latin of the Article has merely "*ut multi vocant.*" The regular name for the schoolmen in Latin is "*scholastici*" (cf. Art. XXIII. of 1553, *doctrina Scholasticorum*), a name which tells us nothing about the men themselves, except that they belonged to the "schools," either as teachers or learners.

³ The change of name is significant. The Fathers, "*Patres*," as Archbishop Trench points out, were productive, bringing out of their treasure things new and old. The schoolmen, on the contrary, were content simply to vindicate and establish the old. "The more illustrious teachers of earlier periods of the Church had found each his own special and peculiar work to perform, his own position to make good. Occupied with this, they had not found the inclination or the leisure for a deliberate oversight of the whole field of theology; they had not mapped it out as it demanded to be mapped out. It was to this that the schoolmen addressed themselves—to the organising after a true scientific method the rude undigested mass which lay before

ever, not with the men, nor with the scholastic system as a whole, but simply with one particular portion of it, namely, its teaching on grace. In reasoning on this subject, some among the schoolmen had come to teach a doctrine which is, to say the least, seriously tainted with semi-Pelagianism; for they maintained that man might be entitled to receive initial grace as the reward of actions done in his own strength without the aid of God's Holy Spirit.¹ Starting from the view that the Fall only involved the loss of the *donum supernaturale*, and left man with moral and religious faculties belonging to him by nature, they taught that the exercise of these faculties was the natural transition to grace, and that a good use of them was the medium of grace, or, in their phraseology, merited it *of congruity* (*de congruo*). God, they said, was not bound to reward such actions, but it was congruous or fitting that He should. But after grace was received, the work done in dependence on the aid of the Holy Spirit was really good, and this God was bound to reward, crowning His own gifts in man. Such actions deserved grace *de condigno*, and for them God was a debtor. The stock instance to which they made their appeal was the case of Cornelius (Acts x.), whose "prayers and alms came up for a memorial before God," and drew down God's grace upon him. The true explanation of such a case as this will be given in the next section. For the present, it is sufficient to notice that the theory, as popularly represented, opens the door to Pelagianism, and makes (at least in some cases) the *beginning* of man's

them." Thus their work was to adjust the relations of the various parts of theological learning, and to draw up in "Sums of Theology" the complete doctrine of the Church to which they professed implicit obedience. And further, they set themselves to "justify to the reason that which had first been received by faith," explaining the "how" and the "why" of the Church's teaching, and vindicating the rational character of supernatural truth. See Trench's *Medieval Church History*, Lect. xiv.

¹ See Gabriel Biel (1495), *Commentary on the Libri Sententiarum*, Lib. II. Q. xxvii.

salvation his own act. Moreover, it brought back into the Church the conception of *earning* a reward, against which S. Paul's whole teaching on grace was directed.¹ The scholastic opinions and distinctions, however, on this subject have never been formally adopted by the Church of Rome. The idea of congruous merit was rightly condemned as bordering on Pelagianism by some of the Tridentine divines, and the decrees of the Council avoided altogether the phrases *meritum de congruo* and *de condigno*; and while, on the one hand, they guarded against Pelagianism by anathematising anyone who should say "that without the preventing inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and His help, man can believe, hope love, or be penitent, as he ought, so that the grace of justification may be conferred upon him,"² on the other hand they condemned the assertion that "*all* works done before justification, in what manner soever they be done, are truly sins, or deserve the hatred of God."³

III. *The Teaching of the Article upon the Subject.*

In considering what the teaching of the Article really is, it is important to remember the exact phrase to which attention has been previously drawn, "Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit," and also to bear in mind the fact already

¹ The illustration commonly given to explain the scholastic distinction brings this out very clearly. A servant, it is said, deserves his wages *de condigno*: he may deserve support in sickness or old age *de congruo*.

² "Si quis dixerit, sine præveniente Spiritus Sancti inspiratione, atque ejus adjutorio, hominem credere, sperare, diligere, aut pœnitere posse, sicut oportet, ut ei justificationis gratia conferatur: anathema sit."—*Conc. Trid.* Sess. VI. canon iii.

³ "Si quis dixerit opera omnia quæ ante justificationem fiunt, quæcumque ratione facta sint, vere esse peccata, vel odium Dei mereri, aut quanto vehementius quis nititur se disponere ad gratiam, tanto eum gravius peccare: anathema sit."—Canon vii.

established, that grace may be and sometimes *is* given before justification. When due weight is given to these two considerations, it will be seen that there is really nothing in the Article which in any way depreciates the good works of those who, born in an inferior system, make such use of the opportunities granted to them as to draw down further blessings upon them. Article X. has asserted that "the condition of man after the fall of Adam is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God." The Article before us supplements this by maintaining that **works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of His Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or . . . deserve grace of congruity: yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but that they have the nature of sin.**

What it is intended to deny in each case is the semi-Pelagian notion, revived by some of the schoolmen, that in certain cases the *initiative* in the work of salvation rests with man. But we are not called upon by subscribing these Articles either to deny that God looks with favour upon the good deeds of men who are outside His covenant, or to maintain that the virtues of the heathen are really sins. All we deny is that they "deserve grace of congruity"; for if grace be a supernatural gift freely bestowed by God on men in order that they may attain eternal life, then certainly grace is found working outside the Christian covenant, and influencing men before they are (in theological language) "justified."¹ Wherever, then, a work that is really good can be found

¹ "They who acknowledge no grace of God, save that one only which is infused in justification, or who contend that at least that one goes before

done by men trained in any system, it is to be ascribed to the action of God's grace, and not to the man's own unaided efforts.¹ Thus in the case of Cornelius, to which the upholders of the doctrine of congruous merit made their appeal, we may fearlessly assert that his "prayers and alms" were "pleasant and acceptable to God" (*grata Deo*), for so much is involved in the statement that they "came up for a memorial before God" (*Acts* x. 4). But we deny that they were due to "his own natural strength." We deny also that they "deserved

all others, greatly err; since they cannot deny that faith at least precedes justification in nature, which faith we certainly have not from ourselves, but from the preventing grace of Christ. More rightly, therefore, do other Protestants, who are more sound and moderate, willingly concede that various disposing and preparing acts, produced in us through the Holy Ghost assisting, and not by the sole powers of our freewill, are required before justification, though most of them deny to these acts any power of justifying."—Bp. W. Forbes, *Considerationes Modestæ*, vol. i. p. 25.

¹ Hardwick (*Articles*, p. 402) quotes in illustration of this the following from Bishop Woolton's *Christian Manual*, p. 43 (Ed. Parker Society): "Albeit the works of heathen men are not to be compared with the good works of faithful men engrafted in the Church of Christ; yet for many causes, and principally for that without all controversy, all good gifts and endowments even in the paynims, are God's good gifts, they have the title and name of good works in some respects given unto them." Cf. *The Life and Letters of F. J. A. Hort*, vol. ii. p. 337: "The principle underlying Article XIII. seems to me to be this, that there are not two totally different modes of access to God for men, faith for Christians, meritorious performance for non-Christians. There is but one mode of access, faith; and but one perfect, and, as it were, normal faith, that which rests on the revelation in the person of Jesus Christ. But faith itself, not being an intellectual assent to propositions, but an attitude of heart and mind, is present in a more or less rudimentary state in every upward effort and aspiration of men. Doubtless the faith of non-Christians (and much of the faith of Christians for that matter) is not in the strict sense "faith in Jesus Christ"; and therefore I wish the Article were otherwise worded. But such faith, when ripened, grows into the faith of Jesus Christ; as also it finds its rational justification in the revelation made through Him. Practically the principle of the Article teaches us to regard all the good there is in the world as what one may call *imperfect Christianity*, not as something essentially different, requiring, so to speak, to be dealt with by God in a wholly different manner."

grace of congruity," for we maintain that they were actually done by the aid of Divine grace, and that thus, although they were done "before justification," they cannot truly be described as "works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit"; for, as Augustine says, "Whatever of good works Cornelius performed as well before he believed in Christ as when he believed, and after he had believed, are *all to be ascribed to God*."¹

It should be added, however, that a different interpretation of the Article from that here given is possible. On the view that the use of the term "grace" is to be limited to *Christian* works, there will be no discrepancy between the title and the body of the Article, and the Article in denying the semi-Pelagian theory of congruous merit will be taken as simply expressing the broad contrast between what is within and what is without the covenant. Works which are without it, even if done *auxilio Dei*, are not technically *grata Deo*, a phrase which in scholastic language is reserved for "good," *i.e.* *Christian* works, *viz.* those done by the aid of "grace" (cf. the language of Art. XII.). They must then broadly be said not necessarily to be sins, as Luther maintained, but at least to have *rationem peccati* (cf. Art. IX.), as not springing from faith in Jesus Christ, just as S. John speaks of the whole world (outside the Christian Church) as "lying in the evil one," though not thereby in the least intending to deny the possibility of the action of God's Holy Spirit on man apart from conscious knowledge of his Saviour.

On either interpretation the general result is much the same, it being quite clear that the real object of the Article is simply to guard against the practical revival of Pelagianism by the scholastic theory of congruous merit.

¹ *De Prædest. Sanctorum*, c. vii.

ARTICLE XIV

De Operibus Supererogationis.

Opera quæ supererogationis appellant, non possunt sine arrogantia et impietate prædicari. Nam illis declarant homines non tantum se Deo reddere quæ tenentur, sed plus in ejus gratiam facere quam deberent: cum aperte Christus dicat: Cum feceritis omnia quæcunque præcepta sunt vobis, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus.

• Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works besides, over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety. For by them men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for His sake than of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We be unprofitable servants.

THIS Article dates from 1553, the only change made in it in Elizabeth's reign being the substitution of "impiety" for "iniquity," as more accurately representing the Latin "impietate."¹

Its object is, of course, to condemn the Romish teaching on "works of supererogation." The same teaching is also condemned in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, in a passage which admirably illustrates the article: "Tum et illorum arrogantia comprimenda est, et autoritate legum domanda, qui supererogationis opera quædam importaverunt, quibus existimant non solum cumulate Dei legibus, et explete satisfieri, sed aliquid etiam in illis amplius superesse quam Dei mandata

¹ In 1553 and 1563 the title was "Opera Supererogationis." The change to its present form was made in 1571.

postulent, unde et sibi mereri et aliis merita applicari possint.”¹

The subjects which require consideration in explanation of the Article are these—

1. The name “works of supererogation.”
2. The history of the growth of the system of indulgences.
3. The theological defence offered for them, involving works of supererogation, and the teaching of Scripture on the subject.

I. *The Name “Works of Supererogation.”*

The word **supererogation** comes directly from the Latin. Starting with the simple verb “rogare,” we note that in classical writers it is used, sometimes with “legem” or “populum” after it, sometimes absolutely, in a technical sense, meaning “to ask the people about a law,” and so simply to “propose a bill,” or “introduce a law.” Hence the compound verb “erogare” was used in connection with a money bill, and came to mean “to pay out money from the public treasury, after asking the consent of the people,” and so more generally, beyond the sphere of public law, to “expend” or “disburse money.”² From this the double compound “supererogare” was formed with the meaning, to “pay over and above,” equivalent to the Greek *προσδανᾶν*. As such its earliest occurrence is in the Latin versions of the New Testament, where it appears in S. Luke x. 35 in the parable of the Good Samaritan, “Whatsoever thou spendest more”: *Quodcunque supererogaveris*. This rendering was current before the days of S. Jerome,

¹ *De Hæres.* c. 8: “De perfectione justificatorum, et de operibus supererogationis.”

² Thus in the Latin of Codex Bezae “erogasset” stands for *δανησάμενος* in S. Luke xv. 14.

being found in the writings of S. Ambrose,¹ as well as in some MSS. of the "Old Latin";² but it was its adoption in the Vulgate that made it the common property of Western Christendom.³ From it in later times the substantive "supererogatio" was formed, and the phrase "opera supererogationis" was adopted by ecclesiastical writers as the technical name for the "excess of merit" attributed to the saints, and for what the Article calls **voluntary works besides, over and above God's commandments.** In this sense it was used not infrequently by writers of the thirteenth century, such as Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas; but until this period it is doubtful whether the phrase is ever found, or whether the verb occurs except in direct connection with S. Luke x. 35.

II. *The History of the Growth of the System of Indulgences.*

It was the open sale of indulgences, which was closely connected with the doctrine of works of supererogation, that first roused the indignation of Luther, and led to the revolt from the Papacy. But the doctrine and the practice only grew up very gradually, step by step, with no perception on the part of anyone of what the ultimate outcome of it all would be. The starting-point, in tracing out its history, may be found in very early days,

¹ S. Ambrose, *Hom. vii. in Lucam.*

² Sabatier gives it as found in *Codd. Veron. and Brix. Cod. Vercellensis* has "*amplius erogaveris*," which is the rendering found in Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps. cxxv. 15*, although in *Quæst. Evangel. II. xix.* he has *supererogare*.

³ The "Rhemish New Testament" (1st ed. 1582) attempted to Anglicise the verb, and rendered S. Luke x. 35: "Whatsoever thou dost supererogate"; but it was found impossible to naturalise the clumsy Latinism, and it was withdrawn in the Douay version (1609), which is content with the natural rendering, "spend over and above,"

in the regard for (1) martyrdom, and (2) virginity, felt by the primitive Church.

1. It was only natural that the memory of those who had laid down their lives for the faith of Christ should be held in the greatest honour, and that their intercessions should be regarded as especially efficacious, and should be eagerly sought after. And as there were many "Confessors" who had suffered mutilation or banishment for the same cause, without being called upon to seal their testimony with their lives, it was equally natural that the same feelings of regard and admiration should be extended to them also. From this sprang, during the persecution of Decius, what we can only call the first form of indulgences. During this persecution, which raged so fiercely at Carthage in the middle of the third century, while there were many noble instances of men confessing their faith bravely, and enduring whatever was inflicted upon them rather than deny their Master, yet there were also many cases of grievous apostasy. Some Christians under the stress of persecution went so far as to deny Christ altogether, and to sacrifice to the gods of the heathen (*sacrificati*); others offered incense (*thurificati*); others obtained tickets (*libelli*), declaring that they had thus cleared themselves from the crime of Christianity (*libellatici*). With these different cases the Church was called upon to deal; and under the wise guidance of S. Cyprian she determined that the peace of the Church might be granted to those who through weakness had lapsed, but that a time of penitential discipline must first be passed by them to test and prove their sorrow. Some, however, of the lapsed were impatient, and could ill brook the delay of communion. They therefore persuaded the Confessors to intercede for them, and ask for their readmission to the sacraments of the Church. It will easily be seen that it was difficult for the authorities to refuse the request

of these men who had suffered so much for the Church, and unfortunately some of the Confessors were not proof against the moral dangers to which these appeals to their kindness exposed them. Not content with interceding for the lapsed, they claimed the right to restore them to the peace of the Church, and to grant sometimes to a lapsed person and his friends (*cum suis libelli pacis*,¹ or tickets to admit them to communion without having undergone the penitential discipline imposed upon them. Here, then, we meet with a form of "indulgence," *i.e.* a shortening or remission of canonical penance. But clearly there was in itself nothing beyond the power of the Church in granting this. The claim of the Confessors to grant it in their own right was steadily resisted by Cyprian; but the Church, which had imposed the penance, and to which the power of "binding and loosing" had been granted by Christ Himself,² was within her rights in shortening the time, and readmitting to communion those of whose true repentance she was assured. The whole episode, however, required to be noticed here, because historically the "*libelli pacis*" form a sort of precedent for the indulgences of the medieval Church, though, as will presently be shown, these claimed to be far wider reaching than anything which had ever entered the minds of the Confessors who granted the original "*libelli*."

2. The special reverence with which the early Church regarded virginity is well known. It is based on the teaching of S. Paul in 1 Cor. vii., in which, though he permits marriage, he certainly expresses a preference—under the then existing conditions—for the unmarried state. "Concerning virgins" he has "no commandment

¹ S. Cyprian, *Ep.* xv. See on the whole subject Archbishop Benson's article "*Libelli*" in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 981.

² S. Matt. xviii. 18.

(*præceptum*) of the Lord," but he gives his "judgment" (*consilium*),¹ and advises that such remain single. From these words grew the distinction subsequently drawn between "precepts," which all were bound to obey, and "counsels," which it was not *necessary* for a person to follow. From this it was only a step to teach that by following the "counsels" it was possible for a Christian to do more than was required of him by God, and hence the notion of a special "merit" attaching to the state of virginity and to other special states or conditions. This idea was greatly encouraged by the devotion to the monastic life which is so marked in the latter part of the fourth century; and from this time onward it is generally recognised that there are two kinds of life within the Church, the one for ordinary Christians mixing in the world, in which men are permitted to marry, and to engage in the ordinary business of life, though strictly bound to keep the "commandments" of God; the other, which is above the ordinary life of men, in which the "counsels of perfection" are carried out, those who are thus aiming at being "perfect" selling all their possessions (cf. S. Matt. xix. 21), abstaining from marriage, and devoting themselves entirely to the service of God.²

These facts require to be borne in mind, although their full significance and the use that might be made of them did not appear for several centuries. The system of a commutation of penance for money, which was introduced about the seventh century through the "Penitentials," cannot have failed to be seriously injurious to the moral sense of Christendom, however innocent may have been

¹ Cf. also 2 Cor. viii. 8 and 10, where *consilium* occurs again. The distinction is recognised by S. Augustine, and is used by him to illustrate S. Luke x. 35; *Quæst. Evangel.* II. xix., and *Enarr. in Ps.* cxxv. 15.

² Cf. Cheetham's *Church History*, p. 349.

its original intention.¹ But the system of "Indulgences" proper is scarcely found before the eleventh century and the time of the Crusades.² It is confessed on all sides that this great movement marks an epoch in the history of indulgences, and that practically a new departure was taken at the Council of Clermont (1095), when Urban II. declared that to those who would take up arms against the Infidel, he remitted the penance due to their sins, and promised to those who should die in the combat the pardon of their sins and life eternal;³ and when the Council formulated their decision in these words—

"Whosoever shall go to Jerusalem to liberate the Church of God out of pure devotion, and not for the purpose of obtaining honour or money, let the journey be counted in him of all penance."⁴

From this time may be said to date the medieval system, whereby an "Indulgence" or remission of penance, and of some or all of the *temporal* penalties attached to sin, was granted in return for certain acts of devotion whereby the Church profited. Such indulgences were granted, not only to those who "took the Cross," but to those who took part in the building of churches and cathedrals, and in many other pious acts, so that practically the expenditure of a certain sum of money could always secure them, and the line between this and the actual sale of an indulgence for money was a very

¹ On the Penitential System and the Commutation of Penance see Strong's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 314 and 342, where the good and evil of the system are both frankly recognised.

² There are, however, indications of something like it in the ninth century, when John VIII. (882) said that those who had been killed in war against the heathen, fighting for the Church, received life eternal; and that he gave them *absolution, as much as he had power to do*. See Lépiciér, *History of Indulgences*, p. 189.

³ Synodalis Concio Urbani II., Mansi, xx. p. 821.

⁴ "Quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniæ adeptione ad liberandum Ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni pœnitentia reputetur."—*Ib.* p. 816.

thin one, and not easy to discern. Originally the idea may have been only of the remission of canonical penance; but it very soon came to mean a great deal more than this. The canonical penance did not exhaust the *temporal*, as distinct from the *eternal*, penalties of sin;¹ and since "purgatory" was a part of the temporal penalty, the indulgence was supposed to avail for a remission of a part or all of the pains to be there undergone. Moreover, the indulgence could be used for others than the person who performed the meritorious act, and could thus be transferred to the account of the departed, and used for the benefit of the souls in purgatory;² and since it was called indiscriminately "remissio," "relaxatio," and "venia peccatorum," and was said to be granted *a culpa et a venia*,³ the door was opened to the notion that

¹ It is necessary to remember carefully this distinction. According to the theory which underlies the granting of indulgences, even after the sin is forgiven and its guilt (culpa) pardoned, there always remains a certain amount of temporal penalty (pœna) still to be paid either here or in purgatory. The beginning of this is seen in Albertus Magnus: "Delet gratia finalis peccatum veniale in ipsa dissolutione corporis et animæ, etc.: Hoc ab antiquis dictum est; sed nunc communiter tenetur, quod peccatum veniale cum hinc deferatur a multis, etiam quantum ad culpam, in purgatoria purgatur."—*In Compend. Theol. Verit.* iii. 13, quoted in Usher, *Answer to a Jesuit*, p. 165. Still more definite is the statement of the Council of Trent: "Si quis post acceptam justificationis gratiam cuilibet peccatori pœnitenti ita culpam remitti et reatum æternæ pœnæ deleri dixerit, ut nullus remaneat reatus pœnæ temporalis exsolvendæ vel in hoc sæculo vel in futuro in purgatorio, antequam ad regna cœlorum aditus patere possit: anathema sit."—*Conc. Trid.*, Sessio vi. canon 30.

² According to the formal theory of the Church of Rome, as laid down by Sixtus IV. in a Constitution of 1477, indulgences for the departed only avail *per modum suffragii*, i.e. "the Church has no direct power over the souls of the departed. She can but humbly entreat God to accept the merits of Christ, and, having respect to them, mercifully to remit the whole or a portion of the pains due to the souls suffering in purgatory" (Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 485). If this is all, it is impossible for the person who procures the indulgence to know whether it has been of any avail at all.

³ There was no doubt that this form was anciently used; but the Council of Constance (1418) decreed that all indulgences granted with this formula

it involved a promise of eternal forgiveness; and thus the grossest errors and superstitions were admitted and, it cannot be doubted, were encouraged by the authorities in order to fill the coffers of the Church. Thus an enormous stimulus was given to the system by the institution of the "Jubilee" in the year 1300, when Boniface VIII. offered "the fullest forgiveness of sins" to all those who for fifteen days should devoutly visit the churches of S. Peter and S. Paul in Rome.¹ This naturally drew a vast crowd of pilgrims to the city, and greatly enriched the Church; consequently, instead of being held at the expiration of every hundred years, as was originally intended, the period was shortened, first to fifty years by Clement VI. by his famous Bull "Unigenitus," in which he boldly expounded the doctrine of the "treasury of the Church" committed to the successors of S. Peter;² then by Urban VI. to thirty-three years (1389); and finally by Paul II. to twenty-five (1470). Naturally, protests were raised from time to time,³ but in spite of them the system which evoked the scorn of devout Churchmen like Dante,⁴

were revoked and annulled; and Benedict XIV. (*De Syn. Dioc.* xiii. 18. 7) holds that all such are spurious; while modern writers say that if the phrase remission of sins occurs in the grant of an indulgence, it means the remission of punishment. See Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 482.

¹ The words of the Bull are these: "Non solum plenam et largiorem, imo plenissimam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum." On the Jubilee see Robertson, *Church History*, vol. vi. p. 326 *seq.*

² Cf. Neander, *Church History*, vol. ix. p. 59 (Eng. tr.).

³ See an account of some of the earlier and less known protests in Neander, *Church History*, vol. vii. p. 487. The later denunciations of the whole system by Wiclif, and Huss, and Jerome of Prague are well known. See Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, vol. i. p. 325.

⁴ See *Paradiso*, Canto xxix. l. 123-115—

"Ora si va con motti, e con iscede,
A predicare, e pur che ben si rida,
Gonfia il cappuccio, e più non si richiede,
Ma tale uccel nel becchetto s' annida,
Che se 'l vulgo il vedesse, vederebbe
La perdonanza, di che si confida,

as well as of Chaucer¹ and Langland,² grew into the scandal of the open sale of indulgences by Tetzel and the "quæstores." At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the words of the Roman Catholic historian, Lingard, the preachers, "not content with their sermons from the pulpit, offered indulgences in the streets and markets, in taverns and in private houses; they even taught, if we may credit the interested declamation of their adversary, that every contributor, if he paid on his own account, infallibly opened to himself the gates of heaven; if on account of the dead, instantly liberated a soul from the prison of purgatory."³

III. *The Theological Defence offered for Indulgences, involving Works of Supererogation, and the Teaching of Scripture on the Subject.*

It has been necessary to give this brief sketch of the growth of the practical system of indulgences, because it

Per cui tanta stoltezza in terra crebbe,
 Che senza pruova d' alcun testimonio
 Ad ogne promession si converrebbe.
 Now is our preaching done with jestings slight
 And mockings, and if men but laugh agape,
 The cowl puffs out, nor ask men if 'tis right;
 Yet such a bird doth nestle in their cape,
 That if the crowd beheld it, they would know
 What pardons they rely on for escape.
 And thus such madness there on earth doth grow,
 That without proof of any evidence,
 To each Indulgence eager crowds will flow."

—Plumptre's Translation.

¹ See the description of the "Pardonere," "That streit was comen from the court of Rome," in the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*—

"His wallet lay before him in his lappe,
 Bret-ful of pardon come from Rome al hote."

² *Piers the Plowman*, Passus I. l. 66 seq. Pass. X. l. 316 seq.

³ Lingard, *History of England*, vol. iv. c. vii. Cf. for the state of things in England at a somewhat earlier period, Gascoyne's *Liber Veritatum*, p. 123.

is only in connection with them that the notion of "works of supererogation" came into prominence. Nothing is more certain from history than the fact of the gradual growth of the system, bit by bit, without any clear conception being formed by anyone of what it really meant, or very much serious thought being bestowed upon it. But when the custom of granting indulgences had made its way and was adopted into the regular system of the Church, it was impossible to avoid awkward questions being raised. Explanations of its meaning were asked for, and a theological defence of it was required. This was supplied by the schoolmen, and in it "works of supererogation" play an important part.

The original system, whereby canonical penance imposed by the Church was removed by the same authority, was naturally and properly defended as the exercising of the power of "binding and loosing" which the Church possessed by Christ's own gift. But when the indulgence was something more than this, when it could be transferred to the benefit of others, and availed for the dead and mitigated the pains of purgatory, something more was needed. Even the doctrine of the union of the faithful in the one Body, together with the power of intercessory prayer, was totally inadequate to bear the superstructure of the popular system. Accordingly the schoolmen of the thirteenth century took up a phrase that had been used some time earlier, and elaborated the doctrine of the "thesaurus ecclesiæ." Availing themselves of the old distinction between "counsels" and "precepts," they taught that the **voluntary works over and above God's commandments**, which had been performed by the saints, and which were not needed to "merit" their own salvation, were not lost or wasted, but went into the treasury of the Church; and that, together with the infinite merits of Christ, these **works of**

supererogation formed a deposit of superabundant good works, which the Pope, as holding the keys of the kingdom of heaven, could unlock and dispense for the benefit of the faithful, so as to pay the debt of the temporal punishment of their sins, which they might still owe to God.

This was the theological defence of the system, which assumed consistency in the hands of the great schoolmen of the thirteenth century, Alexander of Hales (1245), Albertus Magnus (1280), Bonaventura (1274), and S. Thomas Aquinas (1270).¹ The language of the last, if the *Supplement* may be quoted as his, is especially instructive. It betrays a certain amount of uneasiness, and it is clear that Aquinas felt that his task was a difficult one; erroneous opinions on the subject were common, but the Church had approved of indulgences, and therefore they had to be defended.²

¹ Alexander of Hales is very strong in insisting that the indulgence avails "ad forum Dei" as well as "ad forum Ecclesiæ," and that it is more than a mere relaxation of canonical penance (*Summa*, pars iv. 9. 23, art. 1, and see art. 2). "Indulgentiæ et relaxationes fiunt de meritis supererogationis membrorum Christi, quæ sunt spiritalis thesaurus ecclesiæ. Hunc autem thesaurum non est omnium dispensare, sed tantum eorum, qui præcipue vicem Christi gerunt." "Præexistente pœna debita et sufficientis contritionis, potest summus pontifex totam pœnam debitam peccatori pœnitenti dimittere." "Probabiliter et verissime præsumitur, quod illis qui sunt in purgatorio potest pontifex facere indulgentias. Nota tamen, quod plura requiruntur ad hoc, quod debito modo fiat indulgentia: scil. potestas clavium ex parte conferentis; ex parte ejus, cui confertur, charitas, credulitas, devotio; inter utrum causa et modus—Potest ergo dici, quod illis qui sunt in purgatorio possunt fieri relaxationes secundum conditiones prædictas per modum suffragii sive impetrationis, non per modum judiciaræ absolutionis sive commutationis." These and other quotations are given in Gieseler's *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 373, where see also the teaching of Albertus Magnus, *In Sent.*, Lib. IV. dist. 20, arts. 16 and 17; and for the teaching of Aquinas see the *Summa Suppl.*, Pars iii. Q. 25–27.

² Cf. Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, vol. v. p. 60: "The starting-point of both these theologians [Bonaventura and Aquinas] was prevailing

But although a defence was thus elaborated for the system, it can hardly be seriously maintained that it can be proved from Scripture. The theory of a superabundant "thesauris ecclesiæ," and of good works that can thus be arbitrarily transferred from one to another, rests on a wholly false notion of our relation to God. The idea of a *quantitative* satisfaction for all things wrongly done, that has to be made either in this life or in the next, but which "is capable of being commuted for the ceremonial utterance of a prayer or the visit to a shrine, each good for a given number of days, or years, or centuries,"¹ can claim no support whatever from Scripture; the notion that men can **not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they may actually do more for His sake than of bounden duty is required,** is directly contrary to the words of our Lord, quoted in the Article: **When ye have done all that are commanded you, say, We be unprofitable servants** (S. Luke xvii. 10). Yet, as a certain scriptural foundation has been alleged for the doctrine, it is necessary to consider the passages on which the maintainers of it have relied. They are mainly two—(1) the incident of the rich young ruler, (2) the

practice. Indulgences existed, and therefore were right. It was their business to give a rational explanation of what the Church had thought fit to do." See Bonaventura, *In IV. Sent.*, dist. 20: "Universalis ecclesia has relaxationes acceptat; sed constat quod ipsa non errat, ergo vere fiunt."

¹ Plumptre's *Spirits in Prison*, p. 307. If it be said, as it is sometimes, it is a very difficult thing to obtain a real and valid indulgence, for that it is of no avail unless you have "made so good a confession (a very difficult thing to do) as to be free from all sin, even venial"; and unless you are "on your guard against every occasion of sin afterwards" (*Cor Cordi loquitur*, p. 233), it can only be replied, that in this case the popular system, whereby indulgences are publicly offered to those who visit certain churches, or perform certain devotions, is seriously misleading, and that the necessity for fulfilling these conditions ought to be publicly stated in every case in which an indulgence is offered.

teaching of our Lord and S. Paul on marriage and virginity.

1. The rich young ruler. The incident referred to is that related in S. Matt. xix. 16-22. It is argued by Bellarmine, who adduces it, that as the young man had "kept the commandments," he had done all that was necessary to obtain eternal life, and that therefore the words, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven," contain not a "precept," but a "counsel"; and thus, if the direction had been followed, a "work of supererogation" would have been performed. To this it has been fairly replied that since the charge was given in answer to the question, "What *lack* I yet?" it is obvious that something was still wanting, and that there is no room for the notion of works of supererogation here. It is clear from the young man's previous answer that he had formed a very inadequate conception of his duty to God, and of the real range of the claim which God had upon him. It was in order to help him to realise this that the further direction was given, and the conclusion of the narrative shows that there was indeed something "lacking" to him, for "when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions."

2. The teaching of S. Paul on virginity in 1 Cor. vii. has been already referred to, with its implied distinction between "precepts" and "counsels." Our Lord's words, in which He speaks of some who have "made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake" (S. Matt. xix. 12), are also referred to in this connection; and it is inferred that those who follow the "counsel" lay up a superabundant store of good works which can "satisfy" for others, as they are not needed

for those who perform them. Now it may be freely admitted that a distinction may be rightly drawn between "precepts" and "counsels." There are some things which are duties for *all* alike, which are commanded to all men generally, and can therefore be put in the form of universal "precepts." There are other things to which all men are clearly not called. It is obvious on the face of it that there can be no "precept" to abstain from marriage, or the obedience of men would bring the world to an end. And yet there are those to whom the words of Holy Scripture on the virgin state, or the command to "sell all thou hast," come with an imperative voice; and they feel constrained to obey. To *them* the counsel has become a precept. By obeying they perform no "works of supererogation," but are simply following the Divine voice, which tells their conscience that the charge is for *them*. By rejecting it, they may imperil their salvation, for our Lord Himself says, when speaking on this very subject: "He that is able to receive it, *let him receive it*" (S. Matt. xix. 12).¹

If, then, the admission of a distinction between precepts and counsels does not involve the theory of works of supererogation, the whole scriptural foundation for them breaks down, and we may reasonably conclude that they **cannot be taught without arrogance and impiety**, and that they are opposed to our Lord's words already referred to: "When ye shall have done all the things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do."

¹ "It is a further question whether a person's salvation may not be very seriously involved in *his* obeying a call from God, even although that to which he is called may not be in itself necessary to salvation." —Pusey, *The Truth of the Office of the English Church*, p. 215.

ARTICLE XV

*Nemo prater Christum est sine
peccato.*

Christus in nostræ naturæ veritate per omnia similis factus est nobis, excepto peccato, a quo prorsus erat immunis, tum in carne tum in spiritu. Venit, ut Agnus absque macula esset, qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam, tolleret: et peccatum (ut inquit Johannes) in eo non erat. Sed nos reliqui, etiam baptizati, et in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes: et si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.

*Of Christ alone without
Sin.*

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things (sin only except), from which He was clearly void, both in His flesh, and in His spirit. He came to be the Lamb without spot, Who by the sacrifice of Himself once made, should take away the sins of the world: and sin (as S. John saith) was not in Him. But all we the rest, (although baptized and born again in Christ) yet offend in many things, and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

THIS Article dates from 1553, since which time it has undergone no alteration. Its language has not been traced to any earlier source. Three principal subjects are treated of in it, viz.—

1. Christ's perfect humanity and sinlessness.
2. His Atonement.
3. Our sinfulness.

Since all these subjects have been previously considered in the Articles (1 and 2 in Article II., and 3 in Articles IX. and X.), it is not altogether easy to see the exact object with which the one before us was added to the series. Hardwick¹ and Bishop Harold

¹ Pp. 100, 402.

Browne¹ both appear to hold that it was aimed against the belief in the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin. This does not, however, appear probable for the following reasons :—

1. The Blessed Virgin is not mentioned in the Article. As a rule the Articles are perfectly direct and plain spoken in their condemnation of erroneous views, and if their compilers had had this doctrine in view it is most unlikely that they would have contented themselves with so *indirect* a condemnation of it.

2. Much of the Article is on this hypothesis unnecessary. Why was it needful to say so much about Christ's perfect humanity and atonement in order to condemn the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception?

3. The expression in the Article is, "all we the rest, although baptized and born again in Christ," etc., and it would be perfectly open to a Romanist to hold that the Blessed Virgin was never baptized, and that, *therefore*, her case is not considered in the Article at all!²

4. At the time when the Articles were drawn up there was no need to condemn the doctrine, as it was not held *de fide* in the Roman Church.³

A far more probable view is that this Article (like the following one) was aimed against the errors of some

¹ *Articles*, p. 347.

² This is actually the view taken by Francis a Sancta Clara (Davenport), a Franciscan, who wrote a Commentary on the Articles in 1633, endeavouring to reconcile them with the Tridentine decrees. See his *Paraphrastica Expositio*, p. 20.

³ The doctrine was first *definitely* discussed by the schoolmen, the Franciscans upholding it, the Dominicans (including Aquinas) denying it (see Hagenbach, *History of Doctrines*, vol. ii. p. 260). The Council of Trent managed to remain neutral and to avoid a condemnation of either party, merely stating that it was not intended to include the Blessed Virgin in the decree on original sin (Session V.). It was reserved for Pope Pius IX. to declare the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception to be an article of faith by his Bull of December 9, 1854.

among the Anabaptists. On this hypothesis every word in it tells, for among these fanatics were some who revived docetic notions of our Lord's humanity, some who denied His atonement and asserted His sinfulness, and others who had the hardihood to maintain that the regenerate could not sin. Nowhere do we find a clearer statement of their errors, or a better commentary on this and the following Article, than in the letter of Bishop Hooper, which has been already quoted in the first volume of this work.¹ Similarly, in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* we meet with a condemnation of the very same errors.² And in the light of these passages we may safely conclude that the real object of the Article was to condemn in plain and direct terms the heresies of those who denied our Lord's true humanity, sinlessness, and atonement, while maintaining their own entire freedom from sin.

Since the doctrines of our Lord's human nature and of His atonement were considered under Article II., and that of human depravity came before us in connection

¹ See p. 22.

² *De Hæres.* cap. 5. "De duabus naturis Christi. . . . Alii eum sic Deum judicant ut hominem non agnoscant, et de corpore nugantur de cœlo divinitus assumpto, et in virginis uterum lapso, quod tanquam in transitu per Mariam quasi per canalem aut fistulam præterfluxerit.

"Cap. 8. De perfectione justificatorum, et de operibus supererogationis. Illorum etiam superbia legibus nostris est frangenda, qui tantam vitæ perfectionem hominibus justificatis attribuunt, quantam nec imbecillitas nostræ naturæ fert, nec quisquam sibi præter Christum sumere potest; nimirum ut omnis peccati sint expertes, si mentem ad recte pieque vivendum instituerint. Et hanc volunt absolutam morum perfectionem in hanc præsentem vitam cadere, cum debilis ipsa sit, et fragilis, et ad omnes virtutis et officii ruinas præceps, etc.

"Cap. 9. De casu justificatorum et peccato in Spiritum Sanctum. Etiam illi de justificatis perverse sentiunt, qui credunt illos, postquam justi semel facti sunt, in peccatum non posse incidere, aut si forte quicquam eorum faciunt, quæ Dei legibus prohibentur, ea Deum pro peccatis non accipere."

with Article IX., and will require to be noticed under Article XVI., it is unnecessary to say more upon them here. The only point touched on in this Article on which nothing has so far been said directly, is that of our Lord's sinlessness. On this matter the evidence of Scripture is clear and precise. (a) Not only is there no hint or indication of sin in any word or action attributed to Him, but His challenge to the Jews, "Which of you convinceth Me of sin?" (S. John viii. 46), and His declaration on the eve of His Passion, "the prince of this world cometh and hath nothing in Me" (S. John xiv. 30), are clearly the utterances of one who was absolutely free from all taint of sin.¹ (b) Reference should also be made to the definite statements of the apostles. S. Peter, S. Paul, S. John, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews all agree in directly asserting His sinlessness.

"Who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth," 1 Pet. ii. 22. "Him who knew no sin, He made to be sin on our behalf," 2 Cor. v. 21.² "He was manifested to take away sins, and in Him is no sin," 1 John iii. 5. "One that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin," Heb. iv. 15. "Such an high priest became us, holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, like those high priests, to offer up sacrifices, first for His own sins, and then for the sins of the people: for this He did once for all, when He offered up Himself," Heb. vii. 26, 27.

Such passages as these are amply sufficient to justify

¹ Cf. Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 23.

² Cf. Rom. viii. 3: *ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας*. "The flesh of Christ is 'like' ours inasmuch as it is flesh: 'like,' and only 'like,' because it is not sinful: *Ostendit nos quidem habere carnem peccati, Filium vero Dei similitudinem habuisse carnis peccati, non carnem peccati* (Orig.-lat.)." —Sanday and Headlam *in loc.*

the statement of the Article that **Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which He was clearly¹ void, both in His flesh and in His spirit . . . and sin (as S. John saith) was not in Him.²**

¹ Lat. *prorsus*. Clearly=thoroughly, completely, unreservedly. It is so used in *Piers the Plowman*, "Thei shul be clensed *clereliche* and wasshen of her sinnes in my prisoun purgatorie" (B. xviii. 389), and later in Fitzherbert's 'Surveyinge' (A.D. 1525): "Lette a man make a castell, towre, or any maner of newe buildings and finysse it *clerely*." Other instances of a similar use of the word are given in Murray's *New English Dictionary*, s.v.

² On the subject of our Lord's absolute sinlessness (the "non posse peccare" as well as "posse non peccare"), and its compatibility with liability to real temptation, see an article on "Our Lord's Human Example" in the *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xvi. p. 282; Gore's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 165; Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, Appendix; Mill's *Sermons on the Temptation*, p. 24; and R. L. Ottley's *Doctrine of the Incarnation*, vol. ii. p. 293.

ARTICLE XVI

De peccato post Baptismum.

Non omne peccatum mortale post baptismum voluntarie perpetratum, est peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum et irremissibile. Proinde lapsis a baptismo in peccata, locus pœnitentiæ non est negandus. Post acceptum Spiritum Sanctum possumus a gratia data recedere atque peccare, denique per gratiam Dei resurgere ac resipiscere. Ideoque illi damnandi sunt qui se quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere resipiscitibus veniæ locum denegant.

Of Sin after Baptism.

Not every deadly sin willingly committed after baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives. And therefore, they are to be condemned, which say they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

THE title of this Article in the first edition of 1553 was *De peccato in Spiritum Sanctum* ("Of Sin against the Holy Ghost"). This was altered in 1563 into *De lapsis post Baptismum* ("Of Sin after Baptism"); and at the final revision of 1571 the Latin was made to correspond more closely with the English by the substitution of the present phrase, "*De peccato post Baptismum.*" In two other expressions in the body of the Article slight changes have also been made. "*Locus pœnitentiæ*" was in 1553 translated in the English version by "place for penitentes," and "place for penitence" in 1563; "grant of repentance" being inserted in 1571; at which time "*locus veniæ*" in the last sentence was substituted for "*locus pœnitentiæ.*"

(In 1553 this had been rendered, as at its first occurrence in the Article, "place for penitentes," for which "place of forgiveness" had been inserted in 1563.)

There is a general resemblance between this Article and the twelfth of the Confession of Augsburg, but the verbal similarity is not sufficiently close to justify us in saying that the last-mentioned document was the source of our own Article.¹ The two are aimed against the same errors, which consisted in a revival of the views of some in early days concerning blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, the impossibility of falling from grace, and the refusal of pardon to those who fall into deadly sin after baptism. These errors are also noticed in the letter of Bishop Hooper, referred to in the last Article. "A man, they say, who is thus regenerate cannot sin. They add that all hope of pardon is taken away from those who, after having received the Holy Ghost, fall into sin";² and further evidence of their existence at the time when the Article was drawn up may be found in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*,³ as well as in the following passage from Calvin's *Institutes*.

¹ "De pœnitentia. De pœnitentia docent quod lapsis post baptismum contingere possit remissio peccatorum, quocunque tempore cum convertuntur. Et quod ecclesia talibus redeuntibus ad pœnitentiam absolutionem impertiri debeat. Constat autem pœnitentia proprie his duabus partibus: altera est contritio seu terrores incussi conscientiæ agnito peccato. Altera est fides, quæ concipitur ex evangelio seu absolutione, et credit propter Christum remitti peccata, et consolatur conscientiam et ex terroribus liberat. Deinde sequi debent bona opera, quæ sunt fructus pœnitentiæ. Damnant Anabaptistas qui negant semel iustificatos posse amittere Spiritum Sanctum. Item, qui contendunt quibusdam tantam perfectionem in hac vita contingere ut peccare non possint. Damnantur et Novatiani qui volebant absolvere lapsos post baptismum redeuntes ad pœnitentiam. Rejiciuntur et isti qui non docent remissionem peccatorum per fidem contingere, sed jubent nos mereri gratiam per satisfactiones nostras."

² See p. 22.

³ *Ref. Leg. Eccl., De Hæres.* cap. 9: "Etiam illi de justificatis perverse

"Our age also has some of the Anabaptists not very unlike the Novatians. For they pretend that the people of God are regenerated in baptism into a pure and angelical life. . . . But if any man fail after baptism, they leave nothing to him but the inexorable judgment of God." ¹

Two main subjects appear to require consideration in this Article.

1. The fact that deadly sin is not unpardonable.
2. The possibility of falling from grace.

I. *The fact that deadly Sin is not Unpardonable.*

(a) Not every deadly sin willingly committed after baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable.

The view of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost which is here rejected, appears to have been first propounded by Origen in the third century,² and was revived in the sixteenth by some among the Anabaptists. A brief examination of the passages of the New Testament which speak of the sin which "hath never forgiveness" will

sentiunt, qui credunt illos postquam justi semel facti sunt, in peccatum non posse incidere, aut si forte quicquam eorum faciunt, quæ Dei legibus prohibentur, ea Deum pro peccatis non accipere. Quibus opinione contrarii, sed impietate pares sunt, qui quodcumque peccatum mortale, quod post baptismum a nobis susceptum voluntate nostra committitur, illud omne contra Spiritum Sanctum affirmant gestum esse et remitti non posse."

¹ *Institutes*, IV. i. 23.

² See Athanasius, *Ep. ad. Serap.* iv. § 10, where this view (which he also attributes to Theognostus) is considered and rejected. The view of Athanasius himself appears to be that whereas "blasphemy against the Son of Man" was to blaspheme against Him before the full revelation of His Divinity was made, "blasphemy against the Holy Ghost" is to "ascribe the deeds of the Word to the devil," i.e. to blaspheme against Him after His eternal Godhead has been manifested. Cf. *Orationes contra Arianos*, I. § 50.

show that whatever may be the precise nature of the irremissible sin, there is certainly no ground for maintaining that all deadly sin willingly committed after baptism should be regarded as unpardonable.

The passages to be considered fall into two groups : (1) those in the Gospel in which our Lord speaks of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost ; (2) certain passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle of S. John.

1. In regard to the first class of passages (S. Matt. xii. 31-37 ; S. Mark iii. 28-30 ; S. Luke xii. 10), it must be noticed that our Lord never speaks in general terms of "sin against the Holy Ghost" as unpardonable. Of *one* sin, which He terms "the blasphemy against the Spirit," He says, "it shall not be forgiven," and that the man who commits it "is guilty of an eternal sin" (*ἔνοχος ἐστὶν αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος*).¹ Now the fact that this sin is thus spoken of as "blasphemy" at once marks it out as a sin of a particular class, belonging to sins of the tongue, involving outward expression ; while the occasion on which our Lord warned His hearers against it ("because they said He had an unclean spirit") throws light on its character. Whether the Pharisees had been actually guilty of it our Lord does not say, but they were clearly in danger of committing it ; and what they were doing was to ascribe manifestly Divine works to Satanic agency. To do this was in a very real sense to "blaspheme against the Holy Spirit," by whose agency the works were done. And it is quite clear that, whatever be the precise nature of the irre-

¹ That this is the true reading in S. Mark iii. 30 is undoubted. The *textus receptus* has *κρίσως* for *ἁμαρτήματος*. The amended reading has an important bearing on the question of the justice of eternal punishment. If the punishment is "eternal," is it not because the sin is "eternal" ?

missible sin of which our Lord speaks,¹ no support whatever can be drawn from His words for the general proposition that deadly sin willingly committed after baptism is unpardonable. It may be noted in passing that the Edwardian Articles did not content themselves, as our own do, with simply denying an erroneous view of the nature of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, but proceeded in an additional Article (XVI.) to define its nature more precisely. The Article ran as follows:—

Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.

“Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is, when a man, of malice and stubbornness of mind, doth rail upon the truth of God’s word manifestly perceived, and being enemy thereunto persecuteth the same. And because such be guilty of God’s curse, they entangle themselves with a most grievous and heinous crime, whereupon this kind of sin is called and affirmed of the Lord unpardonable.”

The Article was omitted by Parker in the revision of 1563, probably from an unwillingness to define the nature of this sin, and a desire not to bind the consciences of the clergy to a particular interpretation of a difficult set of passages. And as our present Articles are contented with a purely *negative* position, denying an erroneous view, but stating nothing positively concerning the character of this “blasphemy,” there is no need to enter further upon the subject here. Reference may, however, be made in passing to Waterland’s able and convincing sermon upon S. Matt. xii. 31, 32, where

¹ Bishop Ellicott (*Lectures on the Life of our Lord*, p. 187, note 1) defines it as “an outward expression of an inward hatred of that which is recognised and felt to be Divine,” and truly says that its irremissible nature depends, “not on the refusal of grace, but on the now lost ability of fulfilling the conditions required for forgiveness.”

the reader will find a full discussion of "the precise nature of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost."¹

2. There remain for consideration certain hard passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle of S. John, on which Origen and Theognostus based their views, and which also played an important part in the controversies of the early Church concerning penitential discipline and the restoration of the lapsed to communion, since it was urged by the advocates of strictness that it was contrary to the teaching of these Epistles for the Church to grant reconciliation and pardon to those who had fallen into deadly sin after baptism.² The passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews are three in number: chs. vi. 4-6, x. 26-29, xii. 15-17.

Ch. vi. 4-6: "For as touching those who were once enlightened (ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας) and tasted (γευσάμενους) of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the age to come, and then fell away (παραπεσόντας), it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh (or, "the while they crucify," etc., R.V. marg. ἀνασταυροῦντας), and put Him to an open shame (παραδειγματίζοντας)."

With regard to this passage it is very important to

¹ Waterland, *Works*, vol. v. Sermon xxviii. See also Müller, *The Christian Doctrine of Sin*, Bk. V. vol. ii. p. 475 (Eng. tr.).

² It has not been thought necessary to give in the text any account of these controversies, the principal of which were those with the Montanists and Novatianists and (in later times) the Donatists. The Montanists taught the impossibility of a second repentance, and refused to restore to communion those who had been guilty of deadly sin. The Novatianists appear to have admitted the possibility of final pardon for such sinners (and possibly the Montanists did not actually deny this), but they denied to the Church the power to grant peace and reconciliation to them. For some account of these controversies, see Schaff's *History of the Church*, "Ante-Nicene Christianity," pp. 196 and 425.

notice the exact words used by the apostolic writer. Those of whom he is speaking (whether or no φωτισθέντας be taken definitely of baptism¹) had been thoroughly Christianised, and had subsequently apostatised ("and then fell they"). They are regarded as still opposing themselves to Christianity, still "crucifying the Son of God afresh," and "putting Him to an open shame" (notice the *present* participles here); and while they are doing this it is impossible, says the writer, to renew them again to repentance. But nothing whatever is said of an "impossibility" should they cease their opposition to the gospel. Hence, as Bishop Westcott has pointed out, "the apostasy described is marked, not only by a decisive act, but also by a continuous present attitude, a hostile relation to Christ Himself and to belief in Christ; and thus there is no question of the abstract efficacy of the means of grace provided through the ordinances of the Church. The state of the men themselves is such as to preclude their application."²

Ch. x. 26–29: "For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more a sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful expectation of judgment, and a fierceness of fire which shall devour the adversaries. A man that hath set at nought Moses' law dieth without compassion on the word of two or three witnesses: of how much surer punishment, think ye, shall he be judged worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace?"

¹ "Φωτίζειν and φωτισμός were commonly applied to baptism from the time of Justin (*Apol.* i. 61, 65; cf. *Dial.* c. 122) downwards. And the Syrian versions give this sense here."—Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 148.

² *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, additional note on vi. 1–8, p. 165.

Here again it will be sufficient to note that the tense is *present*. "It must be observed that the sacrifice of Christ is finally rejected, and sin persisted in (*ἀμαρτανότων*). The writer does not set limits to the efficacy of Christ's work for the penitent."¹

Ch. xii. 15-17: "Looking carefully lest there be any man that falleth short of the grace of God; lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby the many be defiled; lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau, who for one mess of meat sold his own birthright. For ye know that even when he afterward desired to inherit the blessing, he was rejected (for he found no place of repentance), though he sought it diligently with tears."

It will be observed that the difficulty of this passage is far less when rendered (as above) as it is in the Revised Version. Readers of the Authorised Version might naturally think that the writer denied that Esau found repentance, or a place of repentance. A reference to the Greek makes it clear that what Esau sought was not a "place of repentance" (*τόπον μετανοίας*), for the pronoun "it" is feminine (*αὐτήν*). Grammatically it may refer either to "repentance" (*μετανοίας*) or to "the blessing" (*εὐλογίαν*); but there can be little room for doubt that the Revisers are right in referring it to the latter (cf. Gen. xxvii. 38). If this is so there is no ground for maintaining, on the strength of this passage, that a man may seek diligently to find repentance and fail to obtain it. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that when Esau "sought the blessing diligently with tears," his probation, so far as his birthright was concerned, was already over, for the award had been made, and the blessing actually given to another. His "repentance," therefore, is parallel to nothing on this side of the

¹ Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 327.

grave. Thus, while all these passages are full of solemn warning on the terrible consequences of sin, and the danger of putting off repentance too late, it will be seen that when carefully considered they give no countenance to the opinion which is condemned in the Article as to the irremissible character of deadly sin willingly committed after baptism.

The same is true of the remaining passage in the First Epistle of S. John (1 John v. 16, 17): "If any man see his brother sinning a sin not unto death, he shall ask, and God will give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death: not concerning this do I say that he should make request. All unrighteousness is sin: there is a sin not unto death."

On this passage is based the distinction ordinarily drawn in the Church between "deadly" and "venial" sins. It will be noticed, however, that S. John does not define "sin unto death," nor, indeed, does he absolutely forbid intercession for it. He is dealing, as Bishop Westcott points out, with the prayers of Christians for Christians; and after pointing out the efficacy of their prayers for one another, he indicates that there is a sin, the natural issue of which is death (*πρὸς θάνατον*). This excludes men from the Christian society, and he cannot enjoin prayer for it.¹ But there is no reason whatever for maintaining that the Apostle denies the possibility of forgiveness for such deadly sin, if the sin is forsaken and repented of.

(b) Wherefore the grant of repentance (*locus pœnitentiæ*) is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism. The statement of the Article would seem to follow naturally from the position just maintained. And it may be supported by a refer-

¹ See Bishop Westcott's "additional note" in *The Epistles of S. John*, p. 199.

ence to S. Paul's treatment of the incestuous man at Corinth. Here was a man who had been guilty of a most deadly sin, and who had been by the Apostle's direction excluded from the fellowship of the faithful, and "delivered unto Satan" (1 Cor. v. 4, 5). But this "deliverance unto Satan" did not necessarily involve his final condemnation. On the contrary, its object is described as "the destruction of the flesh, *that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.*" Moreover, if 2 Cor. ii. 5-11 refers (as is commonly thought) to the same case, then the Apostle distinctly contemplates the restoration of the offender upon his repentance to the communion of the Church, and charges the Corinthians to forgive him and reinstate him. And if for such a sinner a "*locus poenitentiae*" was allowed, it is difficult to think that in other cases the Church would be right in refusing it. Consequently the Church has always resisted the demands made by some in the interests of purity that those who have fallen into a grievous sin should be excluded from communion for the remainder of their lives, and has never shrunk from proclaiming God's forgiveness to *all* penitent sinners. In some of the early controversies in regard to penitential discipline a distinction was drawn between these two things, namely, God's willingness finally to forgive those who have been guilty of deadly sin after baptism, and the power of the Church to grant "pardon" to such. It was sometimes urged, as by the Novatianists,¹ that though God might in His

¹ That this was the position maintained by Novatian seems to be shown by the words of S. Cyprian in *Ep.* lv. § 28 (*al.* li.), where he describes him as urging the lapsed to weep and mourn, and do all that is necessary for peace, though "peace" was refused them. Eusebius speaks as if all hope of salvation was denied to them (*H. E.* VI. xliii.). In this, however, he was probably mistaken as regards Novatian and his followers, though the statement would perhaps be true of the Montanists. See Tertullian, *De*

infinite mercy forgive such at the last, yet the Church had no commission from Him to declare His forgiveness, and therefore could hold out no "locus pœnitentiæ" to the lapsed, although she might urge them to pray that they might finally receive pardon, and find a "place of forgiveness" (locus veniæ). It would appear that this distinction was present to the Elizabethan revisers of the Articles (if not to their original compilers), for after saying that "the grant of repentance (locus pœnitentiæ) is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism," the Article adds at the close the statement that

(c) They are to be condemned which . . . deny the place of forgiveness (locus veniæ) to such as truly repent.—That some distinction of meaning between the two phrases locus pœnitentiæ and locus veniæ (and their English equivalents) is intended, is shown by the fact already noted, that originally the same phrase stood in both clauses of the Article.¹ The diversity of phraseology subsequently introduced must have had some definite intention, and it was in all probability that which has just been indicated. Thus the Article as a whole implies, not only that God is willing to forgive penitent sinners, but, further, that the Church has a commission to declare His pardon, and to grant reconciliation where there is true repentance.

The phrase "locus pœnitentiæ" is almost a technical

Pudicitia, c. xix., where he says that there are some sins which admit of no pardon, namely, murder, idolatry, fraud, denial of Christ, blasphemy, adultery, and fornication. "For these Christ will no longer plead" (*Horum ultra exorator non erit Christus*). He says, however, in the same chapter, of a grievous sinner: "Let her indeed repent, but in order to put an end to her adultery, not, however, in prospect of restoration to communion. For this will be a repentance (pœnitentia) which we too acknowledge to be due much more than you do; but concerning pardon (*venia*), we reserve it to God."

¹ See above, p. 444.

one for an opportunity of changing a former decision, so that the consequences no longer follow. It occurs in Latin writers, *e.g.* 4 Esdr. ix. 12, as well as the Jurists¹ and others, being used in Pliny's famous letter to Trajan on the Christians, where he expresses a hope of their improvement if a "locus pœnitentiæ" is granted to them.² The Greek equivalent, *τόπος μετανοίας*, is also found in Wisd. xii. 10, as well as in early Christian writers,³ by whom it was probably taken from Heb. xii. 17, where the Vulgate renders it by "locus pœnitentiæ." "Locus veniæ" does not seem to be of such frequent occurrence. It is used, however, by Tertullian in *De Pudicitia*, c. xviii.

II. *The Possibility of Falling from Grace.*

On this subject the teaching of the Article is clear and decided. **After we have received the Holy Ghost we may depart from grace given and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned which say they can no more sin as long as they live here.** These statements are primarily aimed against the teaching of the Anabaptists, who maintained that a man who is regenerate cannot sin. Such teaching is contrary to the whole tenor of Scripture. The Lord's Prayer, which was surely meant to be a prayer to be used by *all* men, recognises the need of forgiveness for all; and the language of the Apostles addressed to believers throughout the Epistles assumes that all have sinned and come

¹ Bishop Westcott (on Heb. xii. 17) quotes Ulpian, *ap. Corp. J. C.*, Dig. XL. tit. vii. 3, § 13.

² Pliny, *Epp.* x. 97.

³ *E.g.* Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* I. vii.; Tatian, *c. Græc.* xv.; *Const. Apost.* II. xxxviii., V. xix.

short of the glory of God. There are, however, some words in the First Epistle of S. John to which the Anabaptists and others who maintained a theory of perfection could point in support of the statement that the regenerate cannot sin, namely, 1 John iii. 6, 9: "Whosoever abideth in Him sinneth not: whosoever sinneth hath not seen Him, neither knoweth Him. . . . Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin, because His seed abideth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is begotten of God" (cf. also c. v. 18: "Whosoever is begotten of God sinneth not"). Strong as these words are, it must be remembered that the writer who uses them has already in an earlier passage of the same Epistle said emphatically: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us; but if we confess our sins, He is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If we say that we have not sinned, we make Him a liar, and His word is not in us." These words are perfectly general, and seem quite incompatible with the notion that S. John teaches that any man can claim total immunity from sin and the possibility of sinning here on earth. How, then, is the later passage, previously cited, to be understood? It must certainly be qualified by what has already been said by the writer, and therefore we need feel no hesitation in pressing the present tenses, *οὐκ ἁμαρτάνει, ἁμαρτίαν οὐ ποιεῖ, οὐ δύναται ἁμαρτάνειν*, and saying that they refer to a habit and practice rather than to isolated acts. It is true that the believer often falls into sin, yet sin is not the ruling principle of his life, and in so far as he is really born of God and abides in Him, "he sinneth not." If it be urged that thus to interpret the words is to explain away the language of Scripture, it may fairly be replied that "the only possible escape from such modification is

by asserting the possibility of sinlessness, *which contradicts* i. 8, or else by asserting that *none* of us have seen God, and none of us are children of God, *which contradicts the whole Epistle*";¹ and as there are no other passages of Scripture which give any countenance to the theory of sinless perfection in this life, the Article is perfectly justified in its assertions, that "after we have received the Holy Ghost we may depart from grace given and fall into sin," and that "they are to be condemned which say they can no more sin so long as they live here."

It will be noticed that after laying down that we may depart from grace, the Article says further, "We may arise again and amend our lives." It is important to notice that the word is *may*, not *must*, for herein lies a marked difference between the teaching of the Church of England and the Calvinistic tenet of "indefectible grace"; for Calvin and his followers, while rejecting the Anabaptist notion that the "regenerate" cannot sin, nevertheless taught that those who were once made Christ's own, though they might fall away for a time, could not permanently and finally lose His grace.² Thus the statement of our Article has always been a stumbling-block to them. So early as 1572 the authors of the Second

¹ Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 434. See also Westcott, *Epistles of S. John*, p. 101. "*Sinneth not*. The commentary on this phrase is found in ch. i. 6. It describes a character, 'a prevailing habit,' and not primarily an act. Each separate sinful act does as such interrupt the fellowship; and yet so far as it is foreign to the character of the man, and removed from him (ii. 1), it leaves his character unchanged." Reference may also be made to Dr. Plummer's note in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, p. 124.

² See the fifth and sixth of the "Lambeth Articles." "A true, living, and justifying faith—the Spirit of God sanctifying—is not extinguished, does not fall away, does not vanish in the elect either totally or finally." "A truly faithful man, that is, one endowed with justifying faith, is certain by the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and his eternal salvation through Christ."

Admonition to Parliament were forced to admit that "the book of the articles of Christian religion speaketh very dangerously of falling from grace, which is to be reformed because it savoureth too much of error." And at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 a suggestion was made that after the statement that we "may depart from grace given," there should be added the qualifying words, "yet neither totally nor finally."¹ Happily no notice was taken of these criticisms, and the sober statement of the Article remained unqualified. The whole tenor of Scripture implies the possibility of falling from grace; and if S. Paul had reason to fear lest, when he had preached to others, he himself "should be rejected" or "become reprobate" (*ἀδόκιμος*), 1 Cor. ix. 27, it is hard to understand how men can be found to deny the same possibility in the case of others. The subject is closely connected with the whole doctrine of Predestination, and will therefore come before us again in connection with the Seventeenth Article, where something will be said on the Calvinistic system in general. It is therefore unnecessary to consider the matter more fully here.

¹ See p. 53 *seq.*

ARTICLE XVII

De Prædestinatione et Electione.

Prædestinatio ad vitam, est æternum Dei propositum, quo ante jacta mundi fundamenta, suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decrevit, eos quos in Christo elegit ex hominum genere, a maledicto et exitio liberare, atque ut vasa in honorem efficta, per Christum ad æternam salutem adducere: Unde qui tam præclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati, illi spiritu ejus opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum ejus vocantur: vocationi per gratiam parent: justificantur gratis: adoptantur in filios: unigeniti Jesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes: in bonis operibus sancte ambulant: et demum ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam felicitatem.

Quemadmodum Prædestinationis et Electionis nostræ in Christo pia consideratio, dulcis, suavis et ineffabilis consolationis plena est vere piis et his qui sentiunt in se vim Spiritus Christi, facta carnis et membra quæ adhuc sunt super terram mortificantem, animumque ad celestia et superna rapientem, tum quia fidem nostram de æterna salute consequenda per Christum plurimum stabilis atque confirmat, tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum vehementer accendit: ita homini-

Of Predestination and Election.

Predestination to life, is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) He hath constantly decreed by His counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation, those whom He hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose by His Spirit working in due season: they through grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works, and at length by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of predestination, and our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and con-

bus curiosis, carnalibus, et Spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari Prædestinationis Dei sententiam, perniciosissimum est præcipitium, unde illos Diabolus protrudit, vel in desperationem, vel in æque perniciosam impurissimæ vitæ securitatem.

Deinde promissiones divinas sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt: et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in verbo Dei habemus diserte revelatam.

firm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: so, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchedness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture: and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

THE changes which this Article has undergone since 1553 are very slight; the words "in Christ" were added in the first paragraph in 1563, and at the same time "although the decrees of Predestination are unknown to us" were omitted at the commencement of paragraph the third.

The *object* of the Article was evidently to allay the angry strifes on the subject of predestination, and while speaking in cautious terms on what was felt to be a deep mystery, to guard against the excesses and extravagances to which the doctrine had led. Thus, after describing what predestination is in the first paragraph, the whole of the rest of the Article is devoted to the *practical* consequences which follow from the doctrine, and to laying down rules which, when rightly understood, are distinctly aimed against that limitation of God's love and God's promises, which has been characteristic of so much predestinarian teaching. The need for such an Article as this is pointedly shown in the language of the section

“De Prædestinatione” in the *Reformatio Legum*, which begins by calling attention to the terrible consequences, shown in the lives of many, springing from what can only be called a reckless and monstrous fatalism. The section is one which deserves careful study, and will be seen to throw not a little light on the meaning of the Article now under consideration.

“Ad extremum in Ecclesia multi feris et dissolutis moribus vivunt, qui cum re ipsa curiosi sint, differti luxu, et a Christi spiritu prorsus alieni, semper prædestinationem et rejectionem, vel, ut usitate loquuntur, reprobationem in sermone jactant, ut cum æterno consilio Deus vel de salute vel de interitu aliquid certi constituerit, inde latebram suis maleficiis et sceleribus, et omnis generis perversitati quærant. Et cum pastores dissipatam illorum et flagitiosam vitam coarguunt, in voluntatem Dei criminum suorum culpam conferunt, et hac defensione profligatas admonitorum reprehensiones existimant: ac ita tandem, duce diabolo, vel in desperationis puteum abjiciuntur præcipites, vel ad solutam quandam et mollem vitæ securitatem, sine aut penitentia aut scelerum conscientia dilabuntur. Quæ duo mala disparem naturam, sed finem videntur eundem habere. Nos vero sacris Scripturis eruditi, talem in hac re doctrinam ponimus, quod diligens et accurata cogitatio de prædestinatione nostra et electione suscepta (de quibus Dei voluntate determinatum fuit antequam mundi fundamenta jacerentur); hæc itaque diligens et seria, quam diximus, his de rebus cogitatio, piorum hominum animos Spiritu Christi afflatos, et carnis et membrorum subjectionem persentiscentes, et ad cœlestia sursum tendentes, dulcissima quadam et jucundissima consolatione permulcet, quoniam fidem nostram de perpetua salute per Christum ad nos perventura confirmat, vehementissimas charitatis in Deum flammæ accendit, mirabiliter ad gratias

agendas exsuscitat, ad bona nos opera propinquissime adducit, et a peccatis-longissime abducit, quoniam a Deo sumus electi, et filii ejus instituti. Quæ singularis et eximia conditio summam a nobis salubritatem morum, et excellentissimam virtutis perfectionem requirit: denique nobis arrogantiam minuit, ne viribus nostris geri credamus, quæ gratuita Dei beneficentia et infinita bonitate indulgentur. Præterea neminem ex hoc loco purgationem censemus vitiorum suorum afferre posse; quia Deus nihil ulla in re injuste constituit, nec ad peccata voluntates nostras unquam invitas trudit. Quapropter omnes nobis admonendi sunt, ut in actionibus suscipiendis ad decreta prædestinationis se non referant, sed universam vitæ suæ rationem ad Dei leges accommodent; cum et promissiones bonis et minas malis, in sacris Scripturis generaliter propositas contemplantur. Debemus enim ad Dei cultum viis illis ingredi, et in illa Dei voluntate commorari, quam in sacris Scripturis patefactam esse videmus.”¹

This section, it will be noticed, guards still more strongly than does the Article against the abuses of the doctrine, and points out very precisely the dangers then existing. It is also valuable as indicating with certainty the true interpretation of the last clause of the Article, which says that God’s promises are to be received “in such wise as they be *generally* set forth to us in Holy Scripture,”—a subject on which something must be said later on.

The sources of the Article, and of the section just quoted from the *Reformatio Legum*, are thought to lie to some extent in the writings of Luther, including both his letters and the Preface to the Epistle to the Romans;²

¹ *Reformatio Legum Eccl.*, *De Hæres.* c. xxii.

² See Bp. Short’s *History of the Church of England*, c. x. App. C, where this is pointed out; and see below, p. 485.

and the language of the last paragraph has been traced by Archbishop Laurence to Melancthon.¹ Still more important, however, is it to notice that the description of predestination given in the first paragraph is to a very great extent couched *in the actual words of Holy Scripture*. The chief passages on which it is based are Rom. viii. and ix. and Eph. i., and the correspondence is even closer in the Latin than in the English. In writing to the Ephesians S. Paul blesses God, “who hath blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places in Christ: even as *He chose us in Him before the foundation of the world* (sicut elegit nos in ipso ante mundi constitutionem), that we should be holy and without blemish before Him in love: *having foreordained us unto adoption as sons*, through Jesus Christ unto Himself, *according to the good pleasure of His will* (qui prædestinavit nos in adoptionem filiorum per Jesum Christum in ipsum secundum propositum voluntatis suæ), to the praise of the glory of His grace, which He freely bestowed on us in the Beloved . . . in whom also we were made a heritage, *having been foreordained according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His will* (prædestinati secundum propositum ejus, qui operatur omnia secundum consilium voluntatis suæ),” Eph. i. 3–11. Elsewhere he speaks of “vessels made to honour” (cf. “*vasa in honorem efficta*” with “*an non habet potestatem figulus luti ex eadem massa facere aliud quidem vas in honorem, aliud in contumeliam?*” Rom. ix. 21), while in Rom. viii. 28–30, he tells us that “to them that love God all things work together for good, even to them that are *called according to His purpose*. For whom He foreknew, He also *foreordained to be conformed to the image of His Son*, that He might be the firstborn among many brethren: and *whom He fore-*

¹ See Archbp. Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 179.

ordained, them He also called: and whom He called, them He also justified: and whom He justified, them He also glorified" (Scimus autem quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia co-operantur in bonum, iis qui secundum propositum vocati sunt sancti: Nam quos præscivit, et prædestinavit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus. Quos autem prædestinavit, hos et vocavit, et quos vocavit, hos et justificavit; quos autem justificavit, illos et glorificavit). If these passages are carefully compared with the Article, it will easily be seen how closely it follows them: and hence it results that to one who has previously accepted Scripture as containing the word of God, the positive statements of the Article present no further difficulty.¹ They are evidently meant to be simply a reflection of the language of Scripture, and therefore whatever interpretation we are justified in putting upon the language of Scripture, the same we shall be justified in putting upon the corresponding language of the Article. This principle, when fully grasped, will be found to remove much of the difficulty which is sometimes felt in regard to subscription to this seventeenth Article. It is only in the first and last paragraphs that any difficulty is found. The second paragraph, dealing with the practical consequences of the doctrine, contains nothing to which exception can be taken. The third paragraph will be explained and justified later on; and if this first paragraph be taken, as it is surely meant to be taken, as a summary of Scripture statements rather than a definite interpretation of them, no difficulty whatever need be felt as to its acceptance. Coming now to the substance of the Article, the subjects treated of in it are the following:—

¹ Cf. the passage from Mozley's *Lectures and other Theological Papers* (p. 220), quoted on p. 352.

1. The description of predestination.
2. The steps which accompany it.
3. The practical effect of the doctrine.
4. Two considerations calculated to guard the doctrine from abuses.

I. The Description of Predestination.

Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) He hath constantly decreed by His counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour.

There have been from time to time various theories held with regard to predestination, and various schemes and systems have been formed by Christians. Of these, the most important are the following, which it will be convenient to consider in the order in which they are here enumerated, rather than in accordance with a more strictly chronological arrangement:—

- (a) Ecclesiastical predestination.
- (b) The Arminian theory.
- (c) The Calvinistic theory.
- (d) The Augustinian theory.

(a) *Ecclesiastical Predestination.*—According to this, predestination is not necessarily to life, but to privilege, *i.e.* to the opportunity of obtaining eternal life in the way of God's covenant. On this view, the "elect" are to be identified with the "called," and include all baptized persons. As Bishop Harold Browne puts it: "Some have held that as the Jews of old were God's chosen people, so now is the Christian Church; that

every baptized member of the Church is one of God's elect, and that this election is from God's irrevocable and unsearchable decree. Here, therefore, *election* is to *baptismal privileges*, not to final glory; the elect are identical with the *baptized*, and the election constitutes *the Church*."¹

That this doctrine is taught in Holy Scripture admits of no doubt whatever. Throughout the Old Testament God is said to have "chosen" the whole people of the Jews, and not a select few out of their number.² The "children of Jacob" were His "chosen ones" or "elect" (Ps. cv. 6).³ And when we pass from the Old Testament to the New, we find that the members of the Christian Church are regarded as having succeeded to the privileges of the Jews, and that the language used of the Israelites is applied by the Apostles to them.⁴ So S. Paul, in writing to different Churches, addresses his readers indiscriminately as "called" (*κλητοί*);⁵ and S. Peter in a similar way writes to the "elect" (*ἐκλεκτοί*) who are "sojourners of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia,

¹ *On the Articles*, p. 393.

² *Ἐκλέγειν* is used frequently of this "choice." See, e.g., Deut. iv. 37, vii. 7, x. 15, xiv. 2; Ps. cxxxiv. (cxxxv.) 4, etc.

³ *Ἐκλεκτός* is used very widely in the LXX., and represents no fewer than twenty different Hebrew words. This is of itself significant, and should prevent us from attempting to fix too hard and fast a meaning upon it in the New Testament. It is used of the whole nation in Ps. civ. (cv.) 6, 43, cv. (cvi.) 5, and elsewhere; but also of individuals, as Moses, Ps. cv. (cvi.) 23; Joshua, Num. xi. 28; and David, Ps. lxxxviii. (lxxxix.) 19.

⁴ With Ex. xix. 5, *ἔσσεθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔθνων· ἐμὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσσεθέ μοι βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον*, cf. Tit. ii. 14 (*λαὸς περιούσιος*) and 1 Pet. ii. 9: *γένος ἐκλεκτὸν, βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν* (this last phrase is the LXX rendering of the same phrase *הַבְּרִיטָה* in Mal. iii. 17); and cf. also Eph. i. 14: *εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως*.

⁵ Rom. i. 6, 7; 1 Cor. i. 2; cf. S. Jude, ver. 1.

Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia,"¹ and elsewhere charges them to "make their calling and election sure" (2 Pet. i. 10). Such language can only be used of an election to privilege. Among the Apostles' converts were many who were in danger of falling away, and of committing grievous sins, and yet they are all alike regarded as "called" and "elect," or chosen. Clearly, then, the "called" and "elect" are identical; and the Apostles, in using this language, are writing to their converts as chosen and called by God to the high privilege of being His people.

The same kind of language is found in the writings of many of the early Fathers,² indicating that they also held that the Christian Church had stepped into the place of the Jews, and that therefore its members could

¹ 1 Pet. i. 1. Cf. ii. 9 (ἐκλεκτὸν γένος), v. 13 (συνεκλεκτῇ), and Col. iii. 12; and note that it was of an election to *privilege* that our Lord spoke when He said, "Have I not *chosen* (ἐξελεξάμην) you twelve, and one of you is a devil?" S. John vi. 70.

² See Clement of Rome, c. lxiv., where he speaks of God as having elected our Lord Jesus Christ, and us by Him, to εἰς λαὸν περισύειν. ἐκλεκτός is a "favourite word" with Clement (Lightfoot). It occurs at least eight times in his Epistle (see cc. i. ii. vi. xlv. xlix. lii. lix.), but there is nothing that is absolutely determinative of his use, though it is probable that he uses it of the Church generally, as he certainly does κλητός. See the salutation: Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον, κλητοῖς, κ.τ.λ. But it is possible that ἐκλεκτός sometimes slides into a further meaning, e.g. in ii.: εἰς τὸ σῶσθαι μετὰ δέους καὶ συνειδήσεως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ; xlix.: ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐτελειώθησαν πάντες οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ; lix.: ἰκεσίαν ποιούμενοι ὅπως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν καθριθμημένον τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ . . . διαφυλῶν. Ignatius of Antioch certainly uses ἐκλεκτός in the sense of ecclesiastical election. See the salutation to the Epistle to the Trallians: ἐκκλησία ἀγία τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Τράλλεσιν τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐκλεκτῇ καὶ ἀξιοθέῳ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. also the salutation to his Epistle to the Ephesians (ἐκλελεγμένῃν). Hermas uses it several times of the Church. See *Vis.* i. 3, iii. 5, iv. 2. Justin Martyr speaks of Christians being "called", as Abraham was, *Dial.* c. cxix.; and to the same effect Irenæus says that "the Word of God, which formerly elected the patriarchs, has now elected us" (*Adv. hæc.* IV. lviii.).

rightly be addressed as "elect." And there can be no doubt that this view of election is recognised in our own formularies. Not only is the Church described in the Homily for Whitsunday as "an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and *elect* people," but in three out of the four passages where the word "elect" occurs in the Book of Common Prayer, it is used of the Church or body of Christians generally. Thus, in the Collect for All Saints' Day, God is said to have "knit together His *elect* in one communion and fellowship in the mystical body" of His Son. In the Catechism the catechumen is taught to speak of "God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the *elect* people of God"; and in the Baptismal Service, before the child is baptized, we pray that "he may receive the fulness of God's grace, and ever *remain* in the number of His faithful and *elect* children,"—an expression which implies the possibility that he may fail and lose his election.¹ In the fourth passage in which the word occurs in the Book of Common Prayer, the exact meaning to be given to it may be a matter of doubt. It is in the prayer which follows the Lord's Prayer in the order for the Burial of the Dead, where we pray God "shortly to accomplish the number of His *elect*,"² and to hasten His kingdom; that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of His holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in His eternal and everlasting glory." It is scarcely natural to take the word here as practically equivalent to the baptized; and the probability seems to be that something further is intended here, and in the Article before us,

¹ To these three passages may be added the versicle, "Make thy *chosen* people joyful;" cf. Ps. cxxxii. 9, from which the words are taken.

² The phrase seems to have been originally suggested by the language of S. Clement, quoted in the note on the previous page.

where predestination is described as God's "purpose to deliver those whom He hath *chosen* in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation as vessels made to honour." And if this is so, if, that is, the formularies of the Church while accepting "ecclesiastical election" point also to something beyond it as well, it would appear that in this they faithfully reflect the teaching of Holy Scripture. For while, as we have seen, ecclesiastical election is distinctly taught therein, yet there are some passages the language of which is not really satisfied by this theory. Although it is true that in the Epistles the "called" and the "elect" are identified, yet in our Lord's words in the Gospel, "Many are called (*κλητοί*), but few are chosen" (*ἐκλεκτοί*), they are expressly distinguished. Moreover, while it is admitted that S. Paul's language in Rom. viii. and ix. is *primarily* intended to refer to nations, and to the election of the Christian Church to privilege, yet it is impossible to exclude from his thought something further. The use of the words "prepared unto glory," "fitted unto destruction" (ix. 22, 23), and of the phrase "them He also *glorified*," as the crown of the series of blessings enumerated in viii. 28-30, "prove conclusively that he is looking . . . to the final end and destination of man."¹ It appears, then, that the theory of ecclesiastical election, though perfectly scriptural, does not cover the *whole* teaching of Scripture on the subject; and that we must recognise that there is a further truth, if not definitely revealed, at least implied, in the passages just referred to.

¹ Sanday and Headlam *On the Romans*, p. 266; cf. p. 347: "It is quite true to say that the election is primarily an election to privilege; yet there is a very intimate connection between privilege and eternal salvation, and the language of ix. 22, 23, 'fitted unto destruction,' 'prepared unto glory,' cannot be limited to a mere earthly destiny."

(b) *The Arminian theory of Predestination.*—The view which is generally associated with the name of Arminius is that God foresaw from all eternity who among men would make a good use of the grace which is freely offered to all, and that *therefore*, *i.e.* because He foresaw their future merits, He predestined some to final glory. This is sometimes called *predestinatio ex prævisis meritis*, and its leading characteristic is that it does away with the mystery of the doctrine, and makes predestination to life a *consequence of God's foreknowledge*. Since Van Harmen or Arminius¹ only propagated his views at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it is obvious that an Article drawn up in 1553 can have nothing to do with him and his followers. It is therefore quite unnecessary to enter into the history of the Dutch "Remonstrants" and the Synod of Dort.² But there were Arminians before Arminius, and the view of predestination which he and his followers developed and worked into their system was held in a loose and informal way by many before him. Indeed, so far as the Fathers before Augustine can be said to have had any theory of predestination to life beyond that of ecclesiastical election, it would appear that they held it to be a consequence of foreseen merit.

Possible indications of this view have been found in the writings of Justin Martyr³ and Irenæus.⁴ Still

¹ Born in Holland in 1560; professor at Leyden, 1604; and died in 1609.

² See Mosheim, vol. iii. p. 354 (ed. Stubbs); and cf. Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, c. ix.

³ Ἄλλ' εἰμαρμένην φάμεν ἀπαράβατον ταύτην εἶναι τοῖς τὰ καλὰ ἐκλεγομένοις τὰ ἄξια ἐπιτίμια· καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως τὰ ἐναντία τὰ ἄξια ἐπιχειρα, *Apol.* I. c. xliii.; cf. Kaye's *Justin Martyr*, p. 81: "If Justin held the doctrine of predestination at all, it must have been in the Arminian sense—*ex prævisis meritis*."

⁴ "Deus his quidem qui non credunt, sed nullificant eum, infert excitatem . . . Si igitur et nunc, *quotquot scit non credituros Deus*, cum

more clearly is it seen in the teaching of the great Alexandrians, Clement¹ and Origen.² Among later writers it is taught by Chrysostom,³ whose influence became predominant in the East; and although in the West the system of Augustine in the main held the field, yet there are traces of something approaching to the earlier view among some of the schoolmen,⁴ and it has never wanted its defenders in the Church of Rome.⁵

sit omnium præcognitor tradidit eos infidelitati eorum, et avertit faciem ab hujusmodi, relinquens eos in tenebris, *quas ipsi sibi elegerunt*; quid mirum si et tunc nunquam crediturum Pharaonem, cum his qui cum eo erant, tradidit eos suæ infidelitati.”—*Adv. Hær.* IV. xlv. “Nec enim lumen deficit propter eos qui semetipsos excæcaverunt, sed illo perseverante quale et est excæcati per suam culpam in caligine constituuntur. Neque lumen cum magna necessitate subjeciet sibi quemquam: neque Deus coget eum, qui nolit continere ejus artem. Qui igitur abstiterunt a paterno lumine et transgressi sunt legem libertatis, per suam abstiterunt culpam, liberi arbitrii et suæ potestatis facti. Deus autem omnia præsciens, utrisque aptas præparavit habitationes.”—IV. lxiv.

¹ Οὗς προώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς, δικαίους ἐσομένους πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἐγνωκώς, *Strom.* VII. xvii. 107. Μεταλαμβάνει δὲ τῆς εὐποίας ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τρὸς δ βούλεται ἐπεὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς ἐκλογῆς ἀξία γενομένη ψυχῆς ἀρεαίς τε καὶ συνάσκησις πεποιήκεν, *ib.* V. xiv. 141; cf. *Kaye's Clement of Alexandria*, p. 434.

² See especially *Philocalia*, xxv. p. 227 (ed. Robinson): ‘Ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ προορισμοῦ ἡ πρόγνωσις· οὗς γὰρ πρόγνω, φησί, καὶ προώρισεν συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· προενατενίσας οὖν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ εἰρμῷ τῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ κατανοήσας ῥοπήν τοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν τῶνδὲ τινων ἐπὶ εὐτέβειαν καὶ ὁρμήν ἐπὶ ταύτην μετὰ τὴν ῥοπήν, καὶ ὡς ὅλοι ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδώσουσι τῷ κατ’ ἀρετὴν ζῆν, πρόγνω αὐτοὺς, γινώσκων μὲν τὰ ἐνιστάμενα προγινώσκων δὲ τὰ μέλλοντα· καὶ οὕτω πρόγνω, προώρισεν, κ.τ.λ.’; cf. *Ad Rom.* vii. 17. It is interesting to notice that Calvin frankly owns that Origen and S. Ambrose and S. Jerome were all “Arminians,” and “were of opinion that God dispenses His grace among men according to the use which He foresees that each will make of it,” *Inst.* III. xxii. 8.

³ ‘Ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι. Τίνος οὖν ἔνεκεν τοῦτο εἶπεν ὁ Θεός; οἱ οὐκ ἀναμένει, καθάπερ ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τοῦ τελοῦς τῶν πραγμάτων ἰδεῖν τὸν ἀγαθόν, καὶ τὸν οὐ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτων οἶδε τίς μὲν ὁ πονηρὸς, τίς δὲ ὁ μὴ τοιοῦτος.—Chrysost. *In Ep. ad Rom.*, Hom. xvi. (on Rom. ix. 16).

⁴ See the summary of their teaching in Hagenbach, *History of Doctrine*, vol. ii. p. 299; and Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 148.

⁵ “A large number of Jesuits *e.g.* Toletus, Maldonatus, Lessius, Vas-

Turning now to the consideration of the evidence of Scripture, we note that the only passage to which an appeal can with any show of reason be made by the upholders of this theory is Rom. viii. 28, 29: "We know that to them that love God all things work together for good, even to them that are called according to His purpose (τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς). For whom He foreknew, He also foreordained (προώρισε) to be conformed to the image of His Son," etc.¹ Here the Greek commentators generally have taken κατὰ πρόθεσιν of the *man's* free choice,—a view which is undoubtedly false, as the expression must refer to *God's* purpose (cf. ix. 11: ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις τοῦ Θεοῦ); and προέγνω has been interpreted of foreknowledge of character and fitness. This is plausible; but a careful examination of those passages of Scripture where God's "knowledge" of individuals or nations is spoken of shows that it cannot be maintained. The word γινώσκω, as used of God, "means 'to take note of,' 'to fix the regard upon,' as a preliminary to selection for some special purpose. The compound προέγνω only throws back this 'taking note' from the historic act in time to the eternal counsel which it expresses and executes."² But if the solitary passage which might have seemed to favour the Arminian theory breaks down, there is, on the other hand, a mass of scriptural evidence against it. The language of both Old and New Testament alike is quite decisive that God's

quez, Valentin, and Suarez (while he taught at Rome), admit that predestination to grace, but deny that predestination to glory, is irrespective of merit foreseen. God decrees, they say, to give grace to all, and predestines those who, as He foresees, will correspond to it, the rest being reprobate."—Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 745.

¹ Cf. 1 Pet. i. 1, 2: ἐκλεκτοῖς . . . κατὰ πρόγνωσιν Θεοῦ πατρός.

² Sanday and Headlam *On the Romans*, p. 217, where reference is made to Ps. i. 6, cxliv. (cxliii.) 3; Hos. xiii. 5; Amos iii. 2; S. Matt. vii. 23, for γινώσκειν. To these may be added Gen. xviii. 19: "I have *known* him, to the end that he may command his children," etc.

election of Israel was not a consequence of foreseen faith or good works. Again and again it is stated that it was "not for their righteousness, for the uprightness of their heart, that they went in to possess the land";¹ and S. Paul appeals to the history of Jacob and Esau in Rom. ix. 10-13 as exhibiting "the perfectly free character of the Divine action, that purpose of God in the world which works on a principle of selection not dependent on any form of human merits or any convention of human birth, but simply on the Divine will as revealed in the Divine call."² And although this election was simply to higher privileges, and had nothing to do with eternal salvation, yet it establishes the general principle that in God's dealings with men there is "an element of inscrutable selectiveness."³ The Arminian theory ignores this fact, and does away with the mystery of the doctrine, whereas S. Paul insists that it is mysterious and unfathomable. According to Arminianism, it is dependent on foreseen good works. S. Paul expressly says it is "not of works," and uses the history of Jacob and Esau to enforce this principle. "The children being not yet born, neither having done anything good or bad, *that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him that calleth*, it was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger. Even as it is written, Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated" (Rom. ix. 11-13).

If God be omniscient and almighty, it is impossible to deny (1) that He does foresee from all eternity who will make a good use of grace, and (2) that He does predestinate such to final glory. But the error of the Arminians lies in connecting the two assertions by a

¹ Deut. ix. 5, 6; cf. x. 15; 1 Sam. xii. 22; Jer. xxxi. 1-3; Mal. i. 2, 3, etc.

² Sanday and Headlam, p. 239.

³ Gore in *Studia Biblica*, iii. p. 40.

"therefore," and thus making the one a consequence of the other. This introduces an idea of *time*, a "before" and "after," into the Divine life, whereas the foreknowledge of God and His predestination, both being from all eternity, are (if the word may be permitted) *synchronous*, neither being dependent upon the other.

(c) *The Calvinistic theory*.—There remain for consideration the Augustinian and the Calvinistic systems, the latter of which is only a more daring and logical development of the former; as what Augustine suggested in the fifth century, that Calvin said plainly in the sixteenth;¹ and what was left indefinite in the earlier system, was filled up and completed in the later.

Like Arminianism, Calvinism holds that predestination is to *life* and not only to privilege; but, unlike that system (which arose as a reaction from it), it teaches that it is "arbitrary," springing from God's good pleasure, from motives unknown to us. The "five points" of the whole scheme are these—

1. Predestination, including (a) predestination to life, and (b) reprobation or predestination to condemnation.

2. Particular redemption, or the doctrine that Christ died, not for all men, but only for the "elect," *i.e.* those predestined to life.

3. Total ruin, or the doctrine that at the Fall man was wholly deprived of original righteousness.

4. Irresistible grace or effectual calling.

¹ Calvin's *Institutes* were first published in 1536, so that his views had been made public some time before the English Articles were drawn up. But the great discussion on predestination at Geneva, and the publication of his book *De Predestinatione*, only took place in 1552. It has consequently been doubted whether his system had produced much influence in England at the time when the seventeenth Article was drawn up. (See Bp. H. Browne *On the Articles*, p. 412.) But it is certain that there was much fatalistic teaching among the Anabaptists, which is probably to some extent a reflection of his system. Cf. Hooper's letter quoted on p. 22: "They maintain a fatal necessity," etc.

5. Final perseverance.

It must be admitted that on all these points Augustine in the course of the controversy with the Pelagians used language which practically involved the conclusions which Calvin with fatal logic did not shrink from drawing, at the expense of shutting his eyes to a whole series of counter-truths asserted in Scripture. But, on the whole, it appears to be true to say that Calvinism goes beyond Augustinianism in its *definite and systematic* teaching of particular redemption, total ruin, and reprobation.¹ A clear view of the whole system as it was presented and taught in England may be obtained from the "Lambeth Articles" (1595), which state the points with great precision, and from the imposition of which the Church of England was happily saved by the wisdom and good sense of Queen Elizabeth.² The Articles in question are as follows:—

"1. God from eternity hath predestinated some to life, some He hath reprobated to death.

"2. The moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not the prevision of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of anything which may be in the persons predestinated, but only the will of the good pleasure of God.

"3. Of the predestinated there is a fore-limited and certain number which can neither be diminished nor increased.

"4. They who are not predestinated to salvation will be necessarily condemned on account of their sins.

"5. A true living and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God sanctifying, is not extinguished, does not fall away, does not vanish in the elect either totally or finally.

¹ Augustine's disciple, Prosper, seems definitely to have taught *reprobation* (*Ep. ad Rufinum*, c. xiv.; *App. ad Op. August.* x. p. 168), and both it and particular redemption were maintained by Gottschale in the ninth century. See Neander's *Church History*, vol. vi. p. 180 *seq.*, and Hagenbach's *History of Doctrine*, vol. ii. p. 293 *seq.*, with the references there given.

² Cf. p. 53. See Perry's *English Church History*, part ii. p. 351 *seq.*

"6. A truly faithful man, that is, one endowed with justifying faith, is certain by the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and his eternal salvation through Christ.

"7. Saving grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to all men, by which they might be saved if they would.

"8. No man can come to Christ except it be given to him, and unless the Father draw him. And all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come unto the Son.

"9. It is not placed in the will or power of every man to be saved."¹

No words are needed to point out how alien is the whole tone and temper of this narrow and harsh dogmatism from the wise moderation with which the seventeenth Article is framed. A comparison of the two documents

¹ "1. Deus ab æterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam et quosdam ad mortem reprobavit.

"2. Causa movens aut efficiens prædestinationis ad vitam non est prævisio fidei aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum aut ullius rei quæ insit in personis prædestinatis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.

"3. Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus est numerus qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

"4. Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem, necessario propter peccata sua damnabuntur.

"5. Vera, viva et justificans fides, et spiritus Dei sanctificans non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis aut finaliter aut totaliter.

"6. Homo vere fidelis, id est, fide justificante præditus, certus est plerophoria fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

"7. Gratia salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si voluerint.

"8. Nemo potest venire ad Christum nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit. Et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre ut veniant ad filium.

"9. Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari."

Specimens of various Calvinistic Confessions drawn up on the Continent may be found in Winer's *Confessions of Christendom*, p. 162 seq.

is sufficient to show that the Article is not favourable to the Calvinistic theory, which, indeed, is directly contrary to Scripture in its *limitation* of Divine grace to a few ;¹ and assertion of its *irresistible character*² in those few, to say nothing of the dreadful dogma of reprobation, which was considered by Calvin as an integral part of his system, and on which the Article is wholly silent.³ Further evidence that the Church of England is not favourable to the Calvinistic scheme will be found in the remarks offered above on Articles IX. and XVI. ;⁴ and the last paragraph of the Article now under consideration will presently be shown to be aimed at two of the most dangerous tenets of the same system.

(d) *The Augustinian theory.*—The teaching of Augustine on the subject of predestination has exercised profound influence over the whole Western Church. In the controversy with the Pelagians he was led to formulate his views and to discuss the question thoroughly, and his teaching will be found fully stated in his works,

¹ Particular redemption is directly contrary to such passages of Holy Scripture as S. John iii. 16-17 ; 1 Tim. ii. 3-6, etc. Cf. 1 Cor. viii. 11, where S. Paul speaks of the possibility of a brother perishing, even one "for whom Christ died"; which on the Calvinistic hypothesis is an impossibility.

² Against the theory of "irresistible grace" it is perhaps sufficient to refer to S. Paul's dread lest he himself might prove a castaway, 1 Cor. ix. 27 ; and the whole tenor of his Epistles, in every one of which his readers are assumed to be in a state of grace which is *real*, but from which they *may* fall, and in which they are therefore exhorted to continue.

³ The word "reprobate" (ἀδόκιμος, Vulg. reprobus) occurs occasionally in the New Testament, the key passage being Rom. i. 28 (cf. 1 Cor. ix. 27), which shows that only those are blinded and hardened and become reprobate who have deliberately flung aside and scorned the knowledge of God, which they already possessed. In Rom. ix. 22, S. Paul purposely uses an indefinite form *κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν*, whereas, when he speaks of the vessels of honour, he says expressly that *God προητοίμασεν*. See on the whole passage Sanday and Headlam, p. 261.

⁴ Cf. p. 51 *seq.*

De Dono Perseverantiæ and *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum*. In these he takes up the position (1) that predestination is to *life*, and not merely to privilege; (2) that it is "arbitrary," *i.e.* that the reason why one is predestinated to life and another is not, is unknown to us; and thus (3) the reason is not foreseen faith; (4) only those endowed with the gift of final perseverance can be saved; but why this gift is granted to one and withheld from another, lies in the inscrutable will of God. His teaching has been made the subject of an admirable study by Professor Mozley, and the conclusion at which he arrives is, that while Augustine is *right* in recognising fully that Scripture *does* speak of predestination to life, yet he is *wrong* in ignoring the fact that Scripture is twosided on this great question. "If one set of passages, taken in their natural meaning, conveys the doctrine of predestination, another conveys the reverse. The Bible in speaking of mankind, and addressing them on their duties and responsibilities, certainly speaks as if all had the power to do their duty or not, when laid before them; nor would any plain man receive any other impression from its language than that the moral being had freewill, and could determine his acts one way or another. So that sometimes speaking one way and sometimes another, Holy Scripture as a whole makes no assertion, or has no definite doctrine on this subject."¹ "The characteristic of S. Augustine's doctrine compared with the scriptural one is, that it is a *definite and absolute doctrine*. Scripture, as a whole, as has been said, only informs us of a mystery on the subject; that is to say, while it informs us that there is a truth on the subject it makes no consistent statement of it, but asserts contrary truths, counterbalancing those passages which convey the predestinarian doctrine by passages as plain the other way:

¹ *Augustinian Theory of Predestination*, p. 38.

but S. Augustine makes predestinarian statements, and does not balance them by contrary ones. Rather he endeavours to explain away those contrary statements of Scripture. Thus he evades the natural force of the text that God would have all men to be saved, by supposing that it only means that no man is saved except through the will of God, or that "all men" means not all men, but some out of all classes and ranks of men."¹ The criticism then to be offered upon the Augustinian scheme is, that it is a onesided development of scriptural truth. What it gains in consistency it loses in truth. It is right to a great extent in its affirmations, and wrong to a great extent in its denials. It is right in asserting that predestination is to life, and that the ground of it is inscrutable by us; wrong in denying that sufficient grace is given to all, and that salvation lies in the power of all men.

The four principal theories of predestination have now been stated, and reasons have been given for not deeming any one of them entirely satisfactory. How then, if all these are rejected, is the seventeenth Article to be understood? *In exactly the same way as these passages of Scripture which speak of predestination, i.e.* "as containing one side of the whole truth respecting grace and freewill, the side, namely, of grace or the Divine power; but not at all as interfering with anyone's belief in a counter truth of man's freewill and originality as an agent. And in this sense it only excludes a Pelagian, and not such as are content to hold a mystery on the subject, and maintain the Divine power in conjunction with man's freewill."² The fact is, that the Bible lays down apparently contrary truths, both of which have yet to be held by one who would hold the whole truth. Freewill and predestination are both taught in the Bible; and though we cannot

¹ *Augustinian Theory of Predestination*, p. 155. ² *Mozley, op. cit.* p. 333.

see at present *how* they are compatible with each other, yet if, in the interests of logical consistency, we are led to deny either one of them, we shall find ourselves involved in errors and difficulties from which there is no escape. For the present we must be content to hold both as *parts* of the truth, remembering that we know but "in part," and leaving their complete reconciliation to the time when we "shall know, even as we are known."

Some words of Dr. Liddon's may serve to conclude this section. In speaking of the "old controversy between the defenders of the sovereignty of God on the one side, and the advocates of the freewill of man on the other," he says—

"The very idea of God as it occurs to the human mind, and the distinct statements of revelation, alike represent the Divine will as exerting sovereign and resistless sway. If it were otherwise, God would not be Almighty, that is, He would not be God. On the other hand, our daily experience and the language of Scripture both assure us that man is literally a free agent; his freedom is the very ground of his moral and religious responsibility. Are these two truths hopelessly incompatible with each other? So it may seem at first sight; and if we escape the danger of denying the one in the supposed interests of the other, if we shrink from sacrificing God's sovereignty to man's freewill, with Arminius, and from sacrificing man's freedom to God's sovereignty, with Calvin, we can only express a wise ignorance by saying, that to us they seem like parallel lines which must meet at a point in eternity, far beyond our present range of view. We do know, however, that being both true, they cannot really contradict each other; and that in some manner, which we cannot formulate, the Divine sovereignty must

not merely be compatible with, but must even imply, the perfect freedom of created wills.”¹

II. *The Steps which accompany Predestination.*

After having described in scriptural terms what is meant by predestination to life, the Article proceeds, still in close dependence upon Scripture, to describe the several steps or processes which accompany it.

They which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God be called according to God's purpose by His Spirit working in due season: they through grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

These several processes, thus described, have been summed up as follows:—(1) Vocation, (2) obedience to vocation through grace, (3) free justification, (4) sonship by adoption, (5) conformity to the image of our Lord, (6) a religious life, and (7) eternal felicity.²

It is right that these various steps by which God's eternal decree is carried out should be thus enumerated in the Article, because they form a most important safeguard against Antinomian perversions of the doctrine, showing how much is really involved in *predestination to life*. Though we cannot, with Arminius, say that foreseen good works are the *ground* of such predestination, yet we *can* say that they are involved in it; and that where there is predestination to eternal felicity,

¹ Liddon's *Elements of Religion*, p. 191. Cf. Sanday and Headlam *On the Romans*, p. 348.

² Bishop Forbes *On the Articles*, p. 252

there is also predestination to obedience and to conformity to the image of our Lord. This was fully brought out by Bishop Bancroft at the Hampton Court Conference, as the subjoined extract will show.

“The Bishop of London took occasion to signifie to His Majesty, how very many in these daies, neglecting holinesse of life, presumed too much of persisting of grace, laying all their religion upon predestination, If I shall be saved, I shall be saved; which he termed a desperate doctrine, showing it to be contrary to good divinity and the true doctrine of predestination, wherein we should reason rather *ascendendo* than *descendendo*, thus, ‘I live in obedience to God, in love with my neighbour, I follow my vocation, etc.; therefore I trust that God hath elected me, and predestinated me to salvation’; not thus, which is the usual course of argument, ‘God hath predestinated and chosen me to life, therefore though I sin never so grievously, yet I shall not be damned; for whom He once loveth, He loveth to the end.’”¹

III. *The practical Effect of the Doctrine.*

As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as

¹ Dean Barlow’s account of “the sum and substance of the Conference” at Hampton Court. Cardwell’s *Conferences*, p. 180.

because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: so, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchlessness of most unclean living (*impurissimæ vitæ securitatem*), no less perilous than desperation.

Briefly, this rather wordy paragraph amounts to this—

(a) For “godly persons” the doctrine is full of comfort, as tending to establish and confirm their faith, as well as to kindle their love towards God. It acts upon them as the sense of a lofty destiny often acts upon men, encouraging them to do and dare all things, secure that the difficulties and dangers which lie before them cannot really hinder the accomplishment of their designs. In this lay the real strength of the Calvinistic creed, and of the Puritan character which it trained and developed. On the other hand, in systems where there is little or no sense of God's power carrying out His purposes with resistless force through His chosen instruments, there the character trained under them is likely to be deficient in fibre and tenacity of purpose. So Dean Milman has, in a striking passage, pointed out the weakness of Pelagianism: “No Pelagian ever has, or ever will, work a religious revolution. He who is destined for such a work must have a full conviction that God is acting directly, immediately, consciously, and therefore with irresistible power, upon him and through him. It is because he believes himself, and others believe him to be, thus acted upon, that he has the burning courage to undertake, the indomitable perseverance to maintain, the inflexible resolution to

die for his religion; so soon as that conviction is deadened his power is gone. . . . He who is not predestined, who does not declare, who does not believe, himself predestined as the author of a great religious movement, he in whom God is not manifestly, sensibly, avowedly, working out His pre-established designs, will never be saint or reformer."¹

(b) For those whom the Article calls "curious (*i.e.* inquisitive) and carnal persons" it is most dangerous and perilous to dwell on the mystery, as it exposes them to a twofold danger, since (1) if they believe that they are *not* predestined to life it urges them to despair, while (2) if they believe that they *are* so predestined it leads them into recklessness and Antinomianism.

Both dangers were terribly apparent during the period of the Reformation, when this subject exercised so strong a fascination over men's minds. Many were taking up the "desperate" doctrine referred to by Bancroft, and saying, "If I shall be saved, I shall be saved," and thus became utterly reckless of their actions and conduct; while others were driven to despair by the conviction that they were "reprobate."² Of this Foxe, the martyrologist, gives a remarkable instance, in his account of the death of John Randall, of Christ's College, Cambridge, who destroyed himself in a fit of religious desperation: "He was found in his study hanging by his girdle, before an open Bible, with his dead arm and finger stretched pitifully towards a

¹ Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. i. p. 150.

² It was evidently because of this danger that the clergy were exhorted in the "Injunctions" of 1559 to "have always in a readiness such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons," in order that "the vice of damnable despair may be clearly taken away." Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, vol. ii. p. 218.

passage on predestination";¹ and both the dangers are alluded to in a passage in one of Luther's letters, which bears a striking resemblance to the language of our own Article.

"Men should not turn their eyes on the secret sentence of election, foreknowledge, and predestination, as they are called; for such speeches lead to doubt, security, or despair,—are you elected? no fall can hurt you, and you cannot perish,—are you not elected? there is no remedy for it. These are shocking speeches, and men ought not to fix their hearts on such thoughts; but the gospel refers us to the proclaimed word of God, wherein He has revealed His will, and through which He will be known and will work."²

IV. *Two Considerations calculated to guard the Doctrine from Abuses.*

The last paragraph of the Article gives two rules which seem more particularly intended to guard against the Calvinistic tenet of particular redemption. They are the following:—

(a) **We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally (generaliter) set forth to us in Holy Scripture.**

(b) **In our doings that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared to us in the word of God.**

¹ Froude, *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 81; cf. Foxe, iv. p. 694.

² Luther's *Letters*, No. 1753. There are two expressions in the English of this second paragraph of our Article on which a note may be useful—(1) "curious" in the phrase "curious and carnal persons" simply means inquisitive (cf. Ecclus. iii. 23: "Be not curious in unnecessary matters"), (2) "wretchlessness" (Latin, *securitas*) is only another form of the word "recklessness." It occurs with various forms of spelling. In modern editions it invariably appears as "wretchlessness," but in the edition of 1553 it is spelt "rechielesnesse"; in 1571, "rechelessnesse."

In the first of these rules the English sounds somewhat ambiguous, but there can be no doubt that "generally" here means "universally," *i.e.* of God's promises *as applying to all men*, and not, as the Calvinistic party asserted, only to a particular class consisting of a few favourites of Heaven. This interpretation is rendered certain by the corresponding passage in the *Reformatio Legum*, which has been already quoted, where God's promises to the good, and threats to the evil, are spoken of as *generaliter propositæ* in Holy Scripture. The same interpretation was pointed out by Baro in his *Concio ad Clerum* in 1595, in the controversy when the Lambeth Articles were first projected;¹ and was also asserted against the Puritans by Bishop Bancroft at the Hampton Court Conference.² Thus the clause directly condemns the theory of particular redemption.³

The second rule seems equally clear against the doctrine of reprobation. "In our doings that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared to us in the word of God"; and that will certainly is that "*all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth*" (1 Tim. ii. 4). The clause is perhaps still more directly aimed against a tenet not unknown to the Calvinists, but finding special favour with the

¹ Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 466.

² Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, p. 181. For this meaning of the word, cf. the Catechism, which speaks of two sacraments ordained by Christ "as generally necessary to salvation," *i.e.* necessary for all men; and cf. the use of the word "generally" in the Authorised Version, in 2 Sam. xvii. 11; Jer. xlviii. 38.

³ With the expression "*generaliter propositæ*" cf. the language of Article VII., which says that in Scripture "*æterna vita humano generi est proposita*"; cf. Latimer's *Sermons*, p. 182, ed. 1584. "The promises of Christ our Saviour be *general*; they pertain to *all mankind*. . . . The promises of Christ which be *general* and pertain to the *whole world*."

Anabaptists, which spoke of a secret will of God opposed to His revealed will; so Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, writes in 1549 of the Anabaptists: "They maintain a fatal necessity, and that beyond and besides that will of His, which He has revealed to us in the Scriptures, God hath another will by which He altogether acts under some kind of necessity."¹ Such teaching as this is at once condemned in our Article, which refers us exclusively to the revealed will of God.²

It only remains, for the sake of completeness of treatment, to point out—(1) that there was no Article on the subject of predestination in the Confession of Augsburg; and (2) that at the Council of Trent much perplexity was felt on the subject, and finally a decree was drawn up in most guarded terms so that everyone might agree to it: "No one, so long as he exists in this mortal state, ought so far to presume concerning the secret mystery of Divine predestination as to determine for certain that he is assuredly in the number of the predestinated; as if it were true that he who is justified either cannot sin any more, or if he do sin, that he ought to promise himself a certain repentance; for except by a special revelation it cannot be known whom God hath chosen to Himself."³

¹ *Original Letters*, Parker Society, p. 66.

² It must be admitted that the wording of this particular sentence is not particularly happy, and that Guest had some reason for his desire that it should be altered, because it might be thought to countenance the notion of a secret will of God opposed to "*that will . . . which we have expressly declared to us in the word of God.*" See his letter to Cecil among the *State Papers* ("Domestic" Elizabeth, vol. lxxviii. No. 37) referred to on p. 45.

³ Sess. VI. c. xii.

ARTICLE XVIII

*De speranda æterna salute tantum
in nomine Christi.*

Sunt et illi anathematizandi qui dicere audent, unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur, esse servandum, modo juxta illam et lumen naturæ accurate vixerit: cum sacræ literæ tantum Jesu Christi nomen prædicent, in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat.

*Of obtaining eternal Salvation, only
by the Name of Christ.*

They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

THIS Article now stands as it was originally published in 1553.¹ The copula with which it begins is difficult to account for. "They *also* are to be had accursed": The "et" of the Latin was omitted in 1563, but restored again in 1571, and was perhaps intended to link this Article on to the last clause of Article XVI.: "They are to be condemned (illi damnandi sunt) which say they can no more sin here," etc.

The language of the Article has not been traced to any earlier source, but there is a section in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* which affords a close parallel to it.

¹ In 1553 and 1563 the title was as follows: "Tantum in nomine Christi speranda est æterna salus": "We must trust to obtain eternal salvation only by the name of Christ." The change of construction in 1571 brought it into harmony with the titles of the other Articles, almost all of which now begin in the same way.

“Horribilis est et immanis illorum audacia, qui contendunt in omni religione vel secta, quam homines professi fuerint, salutem illis esse sperandam, si tantum ad innocentiam et integritatem vitæ pro viribus enitantur juxta lumen quod illis præluceat a natura infusum. Autoritate vero sacrarum literarum confixæ sunt hujusmodi pestes. Solum enim et unicum ibi Jesu Christi nomen nobis commendatum est, ut omnis ex eo salus ad nos perveniat.”¹

This section and the Article before us are evidently intended to rebuke the same error; and it has sometimes been thought that the opinion condemned is that which maintains a possibility of salvation for the heathen, and those who have never heard the name of Christ. On a careless reading of the Article such a view may seem probable. But there are two considerations which make strongly against it: (1) The title in the Latin is “*De speranda æterna salute*,” etc.; strictly, “of *hoping* for eternal salvation.” Such a phrase could only be used if the case contemplated was that of those within sound of the gospel, knowing “the name of Christ” and able to “trust to obtain salvation by it.” (2) From the fact that the Article begins with a definite anathema of certain people, and couples the opinion denounced with that condemned in Article XVI., it is clear that it is no vague opinion that is intended to be here rejected, but the positive teaching of a particular set of persons. Now it does not appear that the question of the salvability of the heathen was formally raised by any of the sects of the day; but when we discover that one of the many schools of Anabaptists was teaching, not only that religion was a matter of indifference, but also that the deliberate rejection of the Saviour of the world would not be attended with loss, it

¹ *Reformatio Legum Eccl., De Hæres. c. xi.*

is almost certain that it is against them that this Article is directed.¹ "There are such libertines and wretches," writes Hooper, "who are daring enough in their conventicles not only to deny that Christ is the Messiah and Saviour of the world, but also to call that blessed Seed a mischievous fellow, and deceiver of the world."² So at a somewhat later date (1579) one Matthew Hamant was burnt at Norwich for maintaining that "Christ is not God nor the Saviour of the world, but a mere man, a sinful man, and an abominable idol." There are other indications in the Articles—such as the emphatic language used in Article XV. on Christ who "came to be the Lamb without spot, Who, by sacrifice of Himself once made, should take away the sins of the world," and Who was "clearly void" from sin "both in His flesh and in His spirit"—of the necessity there was to guard against teaching of this character; and it certainly was not without cause that the compilers of the Articles introduced into them this strong assertion, that eternal salvation is only to be looked for through the name of Christ.

The Article, then, means neither more nor less than S. Peter's words in Acts iv. 12, which are referred to in it: "In none other is salvation: for neither is there any other name under heaven that is given among men, wherein we must be saved." If this text be, as it surely is, reconcilable with a belief in the salvability of the heathen, then so also is this Article, which proclaims that **Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved**, for the one says no more than the other. With regard to the heathen who live and die out of reach of the gospel, Scripture says but little;³ but

¹ Cf. Hardwick, p. 101.

² See p. 23.

³ "I hold it to be a most certain rule of interpreting Scripture that it

sufficient is revealed, not only to make us shrink from pronouncing their condemnation, because we are taught not to judge "them that are without" (1 Cor. v. 12, 13), but even to enable us to have a good hope concerning them. God is "the Saviour of *all men*," but "especially of believers" (1 Tim. iv. 10),—an expression which can only mean that others besides Christians or "believers" can be saved. S. Paul also speaks of the "Gentiles which have no law," and yet "do by nature the things of the law," showing "the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith" (Rom. ii. 14, 15); and it is probable that our Lord's parable of the Sheep and the Goats in S. Matt. xxv. is intended to refer primarily to their case.¹ Consequently, whatever individual teachers may have maintained, the Church as a whole has never committed herself to the assertion that the heathen must be lost, nor denied to them the possibility of salvation. Though never brought into covenant with God here, they may be brought to know Him hereafter. But if so, whatever

never speaks *of* persons when there is a physical impossibility of its speaking *to* them. . . . So the heathen, who died before the word was spoken, and in whose land it was never preached, are dead to the word; it concerns them not at all: but the moment it can reach them it is theirs, and for them."—Dr. Arnold's *Life and Correspondence*, Letter LXV. quoted in Browne *On the Articles*, p. 443.

¹ In this chapter (S. Matt. xxv.) there are three parables: the first two, the Ten Virgins and the Talents, refer directly to the kingdom of heaven, *i.e.* the Church. With the third, the Sheep and the Goats, the case is different. (1) It is spoken of *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, *all the nations*, a phrase which most naturally refers to the heathen world; (2) neither those on the right hand nor those on the left recognise that they have ever seen Christ or ministered to Him on earth. Apparently, then, they had not known Him in this life; and (3) the test by which their lives are judged is the test of works of mercy and kindness, just those "things of the law" which the Gentiles might "do by nature," if they had "the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith."

grace may be theirs here, or glory be granted to them hereafter, they will not have been **saved by the law** (in lege) **or sect which they professed**, but only by Christ, the one Mediator, Who is "the light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (S. John i. 9), and to whom, although they knew it not, they ministered, in doing works of mercy to their fellow-men.

If these considerations are carefully borne in mind, it appears to the present writer that there need be no hesitation concerning the acceptance of this Article. It certainly condemns a lax and latitudinarian view which would treat religion as a matter of indifference, and hold that the rejection of Christ mattered not. But Scripture equally condemns this, and speaks in the strongest terms of those who reject the truth, and let it go after they have received it (see [S. Mark] xvi. 16; S. John iii. 18, 19, xii. 48, etc.). But this *letting go* of the true faith was exactly the sin of which so many of the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century were guilty, looking on our Lord sometimes as a mere man, and denying Him to be the Saviour of the world; affirming that Holy Scripture was given "only to the weak," and claiming the inner light of the Spirit, and licence therefrom for every kind of profanity.¹ Not without good reason was this Article inserted to condemn them.

¹ See the Nineteenth Article of 1553, which immediately followed that one which has now been considered in the original series. The text of it will be found on p. 78, and cf. p. 233.

ARTICLE XIX

De Ecclesia.

Ecclesia Christi visibilis est coetus fidelium, in quo verbum Dei purum prædicatur, et sacramenta, quoad ea quæ necessario exiguntur, juxta Christi institutum recte administrantur. Sicut erravit ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina et Antiochena: ita et erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda et cæremoniarum ritus, verum in his etiam quæ credenda sunt.

Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ, is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred: so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

THIS Article has remained practically¹ unchanged since the original edition of 1553. It was possibly suggested by the words in the corresponding Article in the Confession of Augsburg: "Est autem ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium recte docetur, et recte administrantur sacramenta." But the Anglican Article is more precise and guarded, and has nothing answering to the next words found in the Lutheran Confession: "Et ad veram unitatem Ecclesiæ satis est consentire de doctrina evangelii et administratione sacramentorum."²

¹ Slight verbal changes were introduced into the English Article in Elizabeth's reign in order to bring it into more exact accordance with the Latin, in which there has been no alteration whatever. "And manner of ceremonies" was added in 1563; and "their" before "faith" omitted in 1571.

² *Confessio Augustana*, c. vii., De ecclesia.

The object of the Article appears to be twofold: (1) to give such a definition or description of the visible Church as shall exclude the claim of the Roman Church to be the only true Church, while not embracing under the terms of the definition the various sects of Anabaptists and others then springing up; and (2) to deny the claim of the Roman Church to infallibility.

That some such polemical object was intended by those who framed the description in the first part of the Article appears from the following passage in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, between which and the Article there is evidently a very close connection:—

“Etiam illorum insania legum vinculis est constringenda, qui Romanam Ecclesiam in hujusmodi petra fundatam esse existimant, ut nec erraverit, nec errare possit; cum et multi possint ejus errores ex superiore majorum memoria repeti, et etiam ex hac nostra proferri, partim in his quibus vita nostra debet informari, partim etiam in his quibus fides debet institui. Quapropter illorum etiam intolerabilis est error, qui totius Christiani orbis universam ecclesiam solius episcopi Romani principatu contineri volunt. Nos enim eam quæ cerni potest ecclesiam sic definimus ut omnium cœtus sit fidelium hominum, in quo sacra Scriptura sincere docetur, et sacramenta (saltem his eorum partibus quæ necessariae sunt) juxta Christi præscriptum administrantur.”¹

To a later date belongs the Homily for Whitsunday, first published in 1563, and ascribed to the authorship of Bishop Jewell. But it is interesting to notice that it introduces a description of the Church which is evidently suggested by that in the Article into a similar polemical passage combating the claims of the Church of Rome.

“But now herein standeth the controversy, whether

¹ *De Hæres. c. xxi., De Romana Ecclesia et potestate Romani pontificis.*

all men do justly arrogate to themselves the Holy Ghost, or no. The Bishops of Rome have for a long time made a sore challenge thereunto, reasoning for themselves after this sort. The Holy Ghost, say they, was promised to the Church, and never forsaketh the Church: but we are the chief heads and the principal part of the Church: therefore we have the Holy Ghost for ever; and whatsoever things we decree are undoubted verities and oracles of the Holy Ghost. That ye may perceive the weakness of this argument, it is needful to teach you first what the true Church of Christ is, and then to confer the Church of Rome therewith, to discern how well they agree together.

"The true Church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people, *built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the head corner-stone.* And it hath always three notes or marks whereby it is known: pure and sound doctrine, the sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline. This description of the Church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of God and also to the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, so that none may justly find fault therewith."¹

The connection between the description here given and that in the Article is obvious. That in the Homily is little more than a rhetorical amplification of that given in the Article. The chief difference is that the Homily adds a third note to the two given in the Article, namely, "the right use of ecclesiastical discipline."² It may, however, fairly be argued that even

¹ "The second part of the sermon for Whitsunday." The Homilies, p. 494 (ed. S.P.C.K.).

² This "note or mark" is also added in the "Short Catechism" issued together with the Articles in 1553 (see Dixon's *History of the Church of*

this is no substantial addition, because it is really included in the right administration of the sacraments, which must involve their administration by properly qualified persons, and to those only who are properly qualified to receive them.¹

The main subjects to be considered in connection with this Article are the following :—

1. The description of the visible Church.
2. The statement that the Church of Rome hath erred in matters of faith.

I. *The Description of the visible Church.*

The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

It will be convenient to consider separately each term in this description.

England, vol. iii. p. 528), where it is said that "the marks of this Church are : first, pure preaching of the gospel ; then, brotherly love, out of which, as members of all one body, springeth goodwill of each to other ; thirdly, upright and uncorrupted use of the Lord's sacraments, according to the ordinance of the gospel ; last of all, brotherly correction and excommunication, or banishing those out of the Church that will not amend their lives. This mark the holy Fathers termed discipline." See *Liturgies of King Edward VI.* (Parker Society) p. 513. Somewhat to the same effect we read in Nowell's *Catechism*, published in 1570, that the "marks of the visible Church are the sincere preaching of the gospel, that is to say, of the benefits of Christ, invocation and administration of the sacraments," and it is added that "in the same Church, if it be well ordered, there shall be seen to be observed a certain order and manner of government, and such a form of ecclesiastical discipline," etc. See Nowell's *Catechism* (Parker Society), pp. 56, 175 ; cf. also Ridley's *Works* (Parker Society), p. 123.

¹ Cf. Bp. Browne, *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 452.

(a) **The visible Church.** The word "Church"¹ is the English equivalent for the Greek *ἐκκλησία*, which has passed through three stages of meaning. (1) In its classical sense it is not a *religious* word at all, but simply stands for the assembly of the citizens of Athens and (later) of other free Greek cities, called together for the discussion of public business. In this sense it occurs once in the New Testament of the "lawful assembly" (*ἡ ἔννομος ἐκκλησία*) at Ephesus, Acts xix. 39. (2) It obtains a religious connotation first in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, where it is frequently used as the translation of the Hebrew *לְהִקָּבֵץ*, for the assembly of the Israelites, especially when gathered for sacred purposes.² In this sense it is found twice in the New Testament, viz. in Acts vii. 38, where S. Stephen speaks of "the Church in the wilderness," and in Heb. ii. 12 in a quotation from the LXX. of Ps. xxii. 22. (3) This Old Testament use of the term prepared the way for the third stage in its usage, in which it is adopted by our Lord as the name of the Society which He came to found on earth. It is so used on two occasions by Him in the Gospels, namely in S. Matt. xvi. 18 (to be noted as its earliest occurrence), "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church" (*οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*), and S. Matt. xviii. 18, where it is said of the erring brother, "If he refuse to hear thee, tell it to the Church; and if he refuse to hear the Church also,

¹ The English word "Church" is ordinarily said to come from the Greek *Κυριακή*. But see the *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 694 (ed. ii.), where reasons are given for doubting this derivation.

² It is never used for the Hebrew *לְהִקָּבֵץ* for which *συναγωγή* is the regular equivalent. This word is also used regularly in the first four books of the Pentateuch for *לְהִקָּבֵץ*; but from Deuteronomy onwards, though *συναγωγή* is still occasionally used for it, *ἐκκλησία* is more usually employed. See Deut. iv. 10, ix. 10, xviii. 16, etc.; and on the history of the word in general, see Trench's *Synonyms of the New Testament*, p. 1.

let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican." Owing probably to its use in this sense by our Lord Himself, we find on turning to the Acts and Epistles that it is the familiar designation of the Christian Society, used sometimes for the Society *as a whole*, throughout the world, 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. i. 22;¹ Phil. iii. 6, etc.; sometimes for the Church in a particular place, as "the Church which was in Jerusalem," Acts viii. 1; "the Church of God which is at Corinth," 1 Cor. i. 2; "the Church of the Thessalonians," 1 Thess. i. 1; or "the Church in Ephesus," Rev. ii. 1; sometimes even for a particular congregation gathered together in some house. So we read of Prisca and Aquila, and "the Church that is in their house" (Rom. xvi. 5; 1 Cor. xvi. 19), and of Philemon, and the Church in his house (Philem. 2, and cf. Col. iv. 15).² This varying usage of the word in its Christian sense is faithfully reflected in the language of our own Articles, which speak sometimes of "the Church" (Art. XX.), or "the visible Church" (Art. XIX.) as a whole, sometimes of "every particular or national Church" (Art. XXXIV.), such as "the Church of Jerusalem," of "Alexandria and Antioch," as well as "the Church of Rome" (Art. XIX.).

The phrase employed in the Article before us, "the *visible* Church," is important. It obviously indicates that the Church is a definite ascertainable body, which can be pointed out to men, and distinguished from any other bodies or societies claiming identity or similarity with it.

¹ This usage is especially characteristic of the Epistle to the Ephesians, in which the conception of one Catholic Church stands out with peculiar clearness. See Eph. i. 22, iii. 10, v. 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 32.

² It may be noted that the word can also be used for "any gathering" of men assembled by chance or tumultuously, as it is by the "town clerk" in his speech at Ephesus, Acts xix. 32, 41. Its use for the *building* in which Christians meet together for worship is post-biblical, and apparently not found before the third century at the earliest.

What the distinguishing marks of the Church are the Article proceeds to state, and these will presently be explained. But before this can be done, the phrase before us requires further consideration.

At the time when the Articles were drawn up there was in some quarters a tendency to attach little importance to the notion of a "visible Church," and to speak much of an "invisible Church," consisting of true believers known only to God, wherever they might be found, outside and independent of all external organisation.¹ That God *does* know who are really His, in whatever society or body they may be found, is of course perfectly true, and what no Christian can deny. But when this is said, there is really nothing more that can be said of an "invisible Church." Its existence

¹ See a startling exposition of this view in Hooper's *Brief and Clear Confession of the Christian Faith*: "I believe and confess one only Catholic and Universal Church, which is an holy congregation and assembly of all faithful believers, which are chosen and predestinate unto everlasting life, before the foundations of the world were laid: of whose number I count myself, and believe that I am, through the only grace and mercy of the Father, and by the merits of my good Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and not by means of my good works and merits, which indeed are none.

"I believe that this Church is invisible to the eye of man, and is only to God known; and that the same Church is not set, compassed, and limited within a certain place or bounds, but is scattered and spread abroad throughout all the world; but yet coupled together in heart, will, and spirit by the bond of faith and charity, having and altogether acknowledging one only God, one only head and mediator Jesus Christ, one faith, one law, one baptism, one spiritual table, wherein one meal, and one spiritual drink, is ministered to them unto the end of the world. This Church containeth in it all the righteous and chosen people, from the first righteous man unto the last that shall be found righteous in the end of the world: and therefore I do call it universal. For as touching the visible Church, which is the congregation of the good and of the wicked, of the chosen and of the reprobate, and generally of all those which say they believe in Christ, I do not believe that to be the Church because that Church is seen of the eye, and the faith thereof is in visible things."—Later writings of Bishop Hooper (Parker Society), p. 40.

does not practically concern us; for to say of any particular individuals that they belong to the true (invisible) Church, and of others that they belong only to the visible body, involves a serious confusion of thought, since the very act of pointing out any members of this "invisible Church" makes it at once a "visible" one; and for man to say who does or who does not belong to it is to claim the prerogatives of God, and to assume the power to see into the hearts of men. Thus the phrase "the invisible Church" was mischievous and misleading, and led men to attach little importance to the Divinely appointed external organisation of the historical Church founded by our Lord; and we may be thankful that those who are responsible for the Article ignored it altogether and spoke only of that body or society of which Scripture speaks, namely, "the visible Church of Christ."¹

That our Lord intended to found a Church, and that this Church was to be "visible," must now be shown. The passage already quoted from S. Matt. xvi. 18 is conclusive evidence that it was our Lord's purpose to found a Church; and though, as has been previously mentioned, the word *ἐκκλησία* only occurs on two occasions in the Gospels, yet in the former of the two passages it is closely connected, if not expressly identified with "the kingdom of heaven," which is the ordinary title by which our Lord refers to the new order of things which He came to inaugurate,

¹ This silence about any "invisible Church" is all the more noteworthy because the Thirteen Articles drafted in 1538 had distinctly recognised *two* senses of the word Church: "unam, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium sanctorum et vere fidelium, qui Christo capiti vere credunt et sanctificantur Spiritu ejus. Hæc autem vivum est et vere sanctum Christi corpus mysticum, sed soli Deo cognitum, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium hominum qui baptizati sunt in Christi," etc.—Art. V. See Hardwick, p. 263.

and the Society which was to be established on earth. That this "kingdom," though "not of this world" (S. John xviii. 36), was nevertheless intended to be a "visible" one, embracing good and bad alike, is indicated in more than one parable; *e.g.* that of the Tares (S. Matt. xiii. 24-30), the Draw-net (vers. 47-50), and the Wedding Garment (xxii. 1-14). It is intended to embrace all nations of the earth (xxviii. 19). The rite of baptism is appointed as the method of admission to it (*ib.*, cf. S. John iii. 3-5); a visible rite is instituted as the means of supporting the life of its members (S. Matt. xxvi. 26; S. John vi. 51), and men are commissioned and "sent" with power to remit and retain sins (S. John xx. 21-23). All this implies a definite, ascertainable body with an outward organisation, a body, or society, which can be described as a "visible" one. And when we turn to the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles we find abundant evidence that the actual existing ἐκκλησία was such. Throughout the Acts baptism is the rite of admission to it (Acts ii. 38, 41, viii. 12, xvi. 15, etc.); "continuing steadfastly in the breaking of the bread" is one of the characteristics of believers (ii. 42, cf. ii. 46 and xx. 7); and "elders" are "appointed in every Church" (xiv. 23); and it may be safely said that wherever the "Church" is mentioned, the language used is only capable of being applied to a visible body. Thus a "persecution arose against the Church" (viii. 1), the Church was "gathered together" (xiv. 27), "saluted" (xviii. 22), "confirmed" (xvi. 5). The same is true in regard to the Epistles. In every case S. Paul writes to members of a definite society, consisting, as his letters only too plainly show, of professed believers, some of whom were guilty of grievous sins,—a mixed body, in which the evil are mingled with the good; and if further proof be required that this is

the character of the *ἐκκλησία* as described in Holy Scripture, it may be found in the Epistles to the seven Churches of Asia (Re´. ii, iii.), which are clearly addressed to visible organised societies, and which similarly recognise the existence of the evil as well as the good in those societies. Thus everywhere throughout Scripture it is "the visible Church" which is spoken of, to which the promises are made, and in which the hope of salvation is held out.

(b) This "visible Church" is described as **a congregation of faithful men** (*cœtus fidelium*). Stress may fairly be laid on the word "congregation" as implying that the Church is in some way united so as to be a definite body with an organism and a life of its own, for, as has been truly pointed out, a *congregation* is more than an *aggregation*. It means a body or society. "There is a great difference between an aggregation and a body. A body is not merely a heap of members, . . . but it is a system of members knit together into one organism and pervaded by one life. . . . So the Church is a living organism deriving from Christ, who is its Head, the life of the Holy Ghost."¹

"Faithful" in this connection signifies "professed believers." It cannot be taken as implying anything as to the character of the faith in the members of the Church, or as if it indicated the presence of a true and lively faith in all who belong to the body; but it refers simply to those who "profess and call themselves Christians." That this is so is shown by the fact that a later Article (XXVI.) expressly states (in full accordance, as has been already proved, with the teaching of Scripture) that "in the visible Church the evil are ever mingled with the good." Thus the Church consists of bad as well as good, and therefore the word "faithful" must be understood in the sense explained above.

¹ Goulburn's *Holy Catholic Church*, p. 9.

(c) We now come to the "notes" of the Church, of which the Article gives two. The first is this: that in the Church **the pure word of God is preached.** That we are right in regarding this as one of the necessary notes or marks of the Church may fairly be inferred from many passages of Scripture. Our Lord's charge to His Apostles after the resurrection was to "make disciples of all nations," not only "baptizing them," but also "teaching them to observe all things" that He had commanded (S. Matt. xxviii. 19). The Church of the first days is described by S. Luke as continuing "steadfast in the apostles' teaching," as well as in "the fellowship, the breaking of bread, and the prayers" (Acts ii. 42). S. Paul was sent to "preach the gospel" (1 Cor. i. 17). He charges Timothy to "preach the word" (2 Tim. iv. 2), to "hold fast the form of sound words" which he has heard (2 Tim. i. 13); and generally, throughout the Apostolic Epistles, it is assumed that there is a definite body of teaching to be handed on by the Church and her ministers.¹ That definite body of teaching, so far as necessary doctrine is concerned, we believe (as was shown under Article VI.) to be contained in Holy Scripture. "Preaching," as Hooker reminds us, is the "open publication of heavenly mysteries."² Thus the "pure word of God is preached" wherever the main doctrines of the gospel are openly taught and proclaimed. And since the main doctrines are summarised in those Creeds to which the Church of England expressly adheres, and which she declares "ought thoroughly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture,"³ it may reasonably be concluded that all who are in possession of the Creeds of the Church, and proclaim the doctrine contained in them, are so far forth

¹ See, e.g., 2 Tim. ii. 2; 1 Tim. iv. 13-16; S. Jude 3.

² *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. V. c. xviii.

³ Article VIII.

in possession of "the pure word of God," and fulfilling their duty of preaching it, as to satisfy the requirements of this note of the Church.

(d) A second note of the Church is given in the following words: **The sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.** It has already been shown that our Lord appointed baptism as the rite of admission to His Church, and that the Eucharist was instituted with the charge, "Do this in remembrance of Me." By it, as S. Paul says, we are to "show forth the Lord's death till He come" (1 Cor. xi. 26). It is therefore a rite for all time, and in the face of these declarations it can scarcely be doubted that the due administration of the sacraments must be a necessary mark of the Church, and that any body of Christians not possessing sacraments thereby forfeits all claim to be regarded as a branch of Christ's visible Church. A further question may be raised as to what constitutes a *due* administration of the sacraments. And to this it may be replied that all the conditions necessary for the validity of sacraments must be fulfilled. There must be the proper "matter," *i.e.* in the one case water, in the other "bread and wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received"; as well as the proper form of words. It would seem also that a regularly constituted ministry is implied in this note of the Church;¹ for though the prevailing opinion in the Church has ever been that baptism (1) with water, and (2) in the name of the Holy Trinity, is valid by whomsoever it may be administered, these being, as the Prayer Book says, "essentials of baptism," yet for the consecration and administration of the Holy Communion it has ever

¹ The question of the Episcopal ministry and its necessity is considered elsewhere, and is therefore not touched upon here.

been held that the action of a rightly ordained minister is required.¹ Unless these various conditions were satisfied, it would be impossible to maintain that the sacraments were "duly (recte)² ministered according to Christ's

¹ This is not the place to enter fully into the question of the validity of lay baptism, which is carefully vindicated by Hooker (*Ecclesiastical Polity*, Bk. V. c. lxii.). But in view of the distinction drawn in the text between the two sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist as far as the action of an ordained minister is concerned, it may be well to explain the scriptural grounds on which the Church is justified in maintaining that lay baptism is valid, while she never permits a lay consecration of the Eucharist. Briefly, then, it may be said that there are various indications in the New Testament that no importance is attached to the minister of baptism. In the Gospels we are expressly told that during our Lord's earthly ministry "Jesus baptized not Himself, but His disciples" (S. John iv. 2). In the Acts of the Apostles we read that when the Holy Ghost had come on the household of Cornelius, Peter, though apparently the only apostle or Christian minister present, "commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord" (Acts x. 48). The Samaritans were baptized by Philip the deacon, though the Holy Ghost was not given till the hands of the apostles were laid on them (Acts viii. 12-17). Of the men at Ephesus it is said that "they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, and when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them" (Acts xix. 5, 6); the natural inference from these words being that the act of baptism was not performed by the apostle himself; an inference which is raised almost to a certainty by S. Paul's own words in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which show that his usual custom was not to baptize himself, "for God sent" him "not to baptize, but to preach the gospel" (1 Cor. i. 14-17). These passages seem amply sufficient to warrant the Church in relaxing the rule that a regularly ordained minister is required for the ministerial act. But no such series of passages can be cited with regard to the Eucharist, and therefore the Church has never felt justified in sanctioning any relaxation of her rule that the Society should act through her regularly commissioned officers.

² The difference between "recte" and "rite" as used in the Articles is not very great, both words being capable of being rendered by the same English word "duly." But "rite" includes a wider reference to due ecclesiastical order than "recte" does, as may be seen by a comparison of the following passages: Art. XIX. "Sacraments be *duly* (recte) ministered." XXV. Sacraments were ordained "that we should *duly* (rite) use them." XXVII. "They that receive baptism *rightly* (recte) are grafted into the Church." XXVIII. "To such as *rightly* (rite),

ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."¹

II. *The Statement that the Church of Rome hath erred in Matters of Faith.*

As the Church of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred: so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

The object of this clause is not to condemn the Roman Church as apostate, but simply to deny her claim to infallibility. Whatever may be said about the infallibility of the Church as a whole, it is clear from history that no one branch of the Church can claim for herself infallibility apart from other branches. So the Article points to the historical fact that in the past the principal Churches of the East have erred, mentioning the three great patriarchates, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, and maintains that similarly the Roman Church

worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread," etc. XXXII. "That person which is *rightly* (rite) cut off," etc. XXXVI. "We decree all such to be *rightly* (rite) and orderly consecrated." Thus the sacraments may be *duly* ministered (recte), *i.e.* they may be *valid*, and yet something wanting for what Hooker calls their "ecclesiastical perfection" (bk. V. lxii. 15).

¹ A question is sometimes raised here concerning the Church of Rome in consequence of the denial of the cup to the laity. Can it be said that the sacraments are duly ministered where this practice is followed? And if not, what about the claims of the Church of Rome to be regarded as a branch of Christ's Church at all? As is shown below, there is really no sort of question that the Church of England *does* recognise the Church of Rome as a true branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, and therefore this clause of the Article cannot have been intended to exclude her. And since where the cup is denied to the laity the sacrament, though mutilated in the administration, is yet valid, both parts being duly consecrated, it may be said that the sacraments "be duly (recte) administered," etc.

has also "erred." No particular errors are specified in any case; but it is not difficult to point to periods during the great Arian controversy when each of the three Eastern Churches mentioned in the Article fell into serious errors. Thus the Church of Antioch went wrong at the Council of the Dedication in 341, when a defective creed acceptable to the Arians was accepted in lieu of the Nicene faith.¹ The Church of Alexandria certainly "erred" when Athanasius was in banishment, and Gregory or George of Cappadocia ruling the See.² The Church of Jerusalem was also infected with Arianism for a considerable time.³ In the same way the Article states that the Church of Rome has erred in the past. She erred when her Bishop Liberius accepted an Arian creed;⁴ when Zosimus vindicated Pelagius;⁵ and when Honorius accepted the Monothelite heresy.⁶ Later examples of errors might easily be given, but it is probable that those who compiled the Articles were thinking of these earlier ones, and pointing to well-known and admitted facts of history as establishing the general statement that the Church of Rome was liable to error, and as sufficient to justify them for not accepting as necessarily correct the decisions of the Council of Trent. In view of this Council, and any possible decisions that might emanate from it, it was important that the Church of England should make her own position clear, and state beforehand the grounds which she felt would justify her in declining (if necessary) to submit when Rome had formally spoken. The Council, it will be remembered, was

¹ See Bright's *History of the Church*, p. 47.

² *Ib.* pp. 48, 79.

³ Cyril of Jerusalem was originally appointed by the Semi-Arians, and only gave in his adhesion to the Nicene faith about the year 362. See for the Arianism of the Church of Jerusalem, Hort's *Two Dissertations*, p. 92 *seq.*

⁴ Bright, *op. cit.* p. 87.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 237.

⁶ See Salmon's *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 427 *seq.*

actually being held when the Articles were drawn up. Fourteen sessions had been held between 1546 and 1551, and among the subjects on which decrees had been passed were the Holy Scriptures (the Apocrypha being declared to be canonical in the fourth session), original sin and justification (sessions five and six), the number and nature of the sacraments (sessions seven to fourteen). It is possible, therefore, that these are referred to in our Article, but it is obviously impossible that the decrees of the Council on Communion in both kinds, or on Purgatory and kindred subjects, or the creed of Pope Pius IV. can have been intended, as these were not drawn up for some years after the Articles were issued.

That the clause before us is not intended to condemn the Roman Church as apostate is clear from the language used. For this the language employed must have been far stronger. The Roman Church is spoken of as a "Church," though an erring one; and although painfully strong language has sometimes been used of that Communion by individuals within the English Church, identifying it with Antichrist and the Babylon of the Apocalypse, yet this has been only the language of individuals. The position formally taken up by the Church of England has never wavered. While lamenting the errors of the Church of Rome, she has never maintained that they amount to apostasy, or destroy her claim to be regarded as a branch of Christ's Church. So in the *Institution of a Christian Man* (1537) it is said that the "Church of Rome, with all the other particular Churches in the world, compacted and united together, do make and constitute but one Catholic Church or body," and "all the particular Churches in the world, which be members of this Catholic Church, may all be called apostolical Churches, as well as the Church of Rome, or any other Church wherein the apostles themselves were

sometime resident.”¹ But an even more convincing proof than language such as this is to be found in the fact that the English Church accepts the Orders of the Church of Rome, and has never denied the priesthood of, or attempted to reordain, any Roman priests who have sought admission to her Communion. If the Church of Rome were regarded as apostate, her ordinations could never be accepted as conveying a valid commission. The fact, then, that they are so accepted in the English Church is conclusive on this point, and further argument is needless. Some words of Hooker may, however, be cited in conclusion, as summing up the whole matter with clearness and fairness.

“The Church of Christ, which was from the beginning, is and continueth unto the end: of which Church all parts have not been always equally sincere and sound. . . . In S. Paul’s time the integrity of Rome was famous; Corinth many ways reprov’d; they of Galatia much more out of square. In S. John’s time Ephesus and Smyrna in far better state than Thyatira and Pergamus were. We hope, therefore, that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still. Other differences between our estate before and now we know none, but only such as we see in Judah; which having sometime been idolatrous became afterwards more

¹ *Formularies of Faith*, p. 55. In the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* (1543), the passage is rewritten, but the recognition of the Church of Rome is equally clear. “The Church of England, Spain, Italy, and Poole be not separate from the unity, but be one Church in God.” “The Church of Rome, being but a several Church, challenging that name of *Catholic* above all other, doeth great wrong to all other Churches . . . for that Church hath no more right to that name than the Church of France, Spain, England, or Portugal,” etc.—*Op. cit.* p. 247.

soundly religious by renouncing idolatry and superstition. . . . The indisposition, therefore, of the Church of Rome to reform herself must be no stay unto us for performing our duty to God ; even as desire of retaining conformity with them would be no excuse if we did not perform that duty.

“Notwithstanding, so far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold fellowship with them. For even as the Apostle doth say of Israel that they are in one respect enemies, but in another beloved of God, in like sort with Rome we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations, yet touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ ; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoined so far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be His will) so yield to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction remain in anything, but that we ‘all may with one heart and one mouth glorify God, the Father of our Lord and Saviour,’ whose Church we are.”¹

¹ *Eccl. Polity*, bk. III. ch. i. § 10.

ARTICLE XX.

De Ecclesiæ Autoritate.

Habet Ecclesia Ritus statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem, quamvis Ecclesiæ non licet quicquam instituere, quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, nec unum Scripturæ locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Ecclesia sit divinorum librorum testis et conservatrix, attamen ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita præter illos nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.

Of the Authority of the Church.

The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith: and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of holy Writ: yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so besides the same, ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.

THIS Article, with the exception of the first or affirmative clause (The Church . . . controversies of faith), dates from 1553, and is almost identical with a passage in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.¹ It has not been traced to any earlier source, and there is nothing corresponding to it in the Confession of Augsburg. The affirmative clause first makes its appearance in 1563, and some doubt has been felt with regard to its source

¹ *Ref. Leg. Eccl.*, De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica, c. xi.: "Quamobrem non licet ecclesiæ quicquam constituere, quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, neque potest sic unum locum exponere ut alteri contradicat. Quanquam ergo divinorum librorum testis sit et custos et conservatrix Ecclesia, hæc tamen prerogativa ei minime concedi debet, ut contra hos libros vel quicquam decernat, vel absque horum librorum testimoniis ullos fidei articulos condat, eosque populo Christiano credendos obtrudat."

and authority. It is *not* found in the Parker MS. signed by the members of the Upper House of Convocation on Jan. 29, 1563. Nor is it contained in an English "minute" of the Articles among the Elizabethan *State Papers*, dated January 31, 1563.¹ On the other hand, it is found in an undated Latin MS. in the *State Papers*, in which it has evidently been introduced *after the original draft was made*.² This is probably the earliest document to contain it, and Hardwick's theory³ is likely to be true, that this is the actual MS. from which the first edition of the Elizabethan Articles was printed, viz. that published by Wolfe, the royal printer, under the direct authority of the Queen herself. Anyhow, this edition contains the clause in question;⁴ and though it is just possible that it was added by the Lower House of Convocation, to which the Articles were submitted after acceptance by the Upper House, yet there is a strong probability that it was inserted by the Queen herself in the exercise of her royal prerogative. However, it was undoubtedly deficient in full synodical authority, and, consequently, some MS. copies of the Articles, as well as some printed editions, omit it.⁵ Of these the most important is the English edition printed by Jugge and Cawood in 1563, to which the Act of Parliament of 1571, requiring subscription to the Articles, made

¹ "Domestic," vol. xxvii. 40.

² *Ib.* 41 A. "The disputed clause in Article XX., filling just one line and somewhat overcrowding the page, was clearly introduced in the same hand after the first draft was made."—Hardwick, p. 140.

³ *Articles*, p. 140.

⁴ Cf. p. 31.

⁵ *E.g.* it is omitted (1) in an English draft of the Articles among the *State Papers* ("Domestic," 41), endorsed, "Articles of Religion agreed on, 1562, in the Convocation house"; (2) in an English MS. signed by the bishops in the Convocation of 1571; (3) in the English edition of Jugge and Cawood of 1563 alluded to in the text; and (4) in one Latin and one English edition of Jugge and Cawood in 1571. See Hardwick, p. 142.

reference.¹ It would appear certain, however, that at the final revision of 1571, if not earlier, the clause was ratified by Convocation;² for when the charge was raised against Archbishop Laud at his trial, that he had himself added the clause to the Articles without the slightest authority, *a transcript attested by a notary public from the original records of Convocation was produced containing the words in question.*³ The records of Convocation unfortunately perished in the great fire of London in 1666; but there is no possible room for doubting that this Article as found in them *did* contain the clause. As Hardwick says, "the testimony of that record was produced upon the trial of Archbishop Laud, in the most open and explicit manner, at a time when it was perfectly accessible to his accusers, or was rather in the hands of his infuriated enemies, and yet 'not one of them ever ventured to question the truth of the assertion, or attempted to invalidate the proofs on which his defence had rested.'"⁴

The words of the disputed clause, it might be added, are (like so many of the additions of 1563) probably suggested by similar language used in the Confession of Würtemberg: "Credimus et confitemur quod . . . hæc ecclesia habeat jus judicandi de omnibus doctrinis."⁵

The object of the clause, and indeed of the whole Article, is to state definitely the powers and offices of the Church, with special reference to (*a*) the errors of

¹ Cf. p. 43.

² At his trial Archbishop Laud stated publicly that "'tis plain that after the stir about subscription in the year 1571 the Articles were settled and subscribed unto at last, as in the year 1562, with this clause in them for the Church: for looking further into the records which are in mine own hands, I have found the book of 1563 subscribed by all the Lower House of Convocation in this very year of contradiction, 1571."—Laud's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 68 (A. C. Lib.).

³ Laud, *op. cit.* p. 66.

⁴ *Articles*, p. 144.

⁵ *De Ecclesia*.

the Puritan party, who were inclined to deny to the Church any right to enforce rites or ceremonies beyond those for which "Scripture proof" might be alleged ; and (b) the exaggerated view of the authority of the Church in doctrinal matters held by the Romanists, who denied that in the promulgation of necessary doctrine the Church was limited to what was contained in Scripture, or might be proved thereby.

Three main subjects are brought before us in the Article, and require separate consideration—

1. The *legislative* power of the Church with regard to rites or ceremonies.

2. The *judicial* authority of the Church with regard to doctrine.

3. The office of the Church with regard to Holy Scripture.

I. *The Legislative Power of the Church with regard to Rites or Ceremonies.*

The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, that is, she may from time to time make new ones, if she deem it expedient, or she may decree to retain old ones in the face of opposition, or change and abolish existing ones. This power may fairly be called "legislative," and it is analogous to the power exercised in the State by Crown and Parliament, which make new laws and abolish old ones. It was noticed under the last Article that the word "Church" was somewhat ambiguous, being sometimes used for the Church universal and sometimes for any particular or national Church ; and the question may be raised in which of these two senses is it here employed. The answer is found by a reference to the last clause of Article XXXIV., which (like the clause before us) was added

in 1563: "Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying." This merely amplifies the clause now under consideration, and makes it clear that we are to understand it as referring to the power of national or particular Churches, and vindicating the right of the Church of England to such action as was taken from time to time in the revision of the services of the Church. As historical instances, then, of the exercise of this power, we may point to (*a*) the renewal of the baptismal vow prefixed to Confirmation, a new rite decreed for the first time in 1662; (*b*) the retention of the sign of the Cross, in face of much opposition, in 1604; and (*c*) the abolition of the "chrisom," or white vesture, given to the newly baptized in token of the innocency granted to them in baptism. This was retained in the first English Prayer Book in 1549, but dropped at the next revision in 1552. In each of these cases the local or national Church exercised the power inherently belonging to it. But the power is not unlimited; and after stating *what* the power is, the Article proceeds to add two restraining clauses, keeping it within certain well-defined limits.

(a) It is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written.

(b) It ought not to decree anything against the same.

It will be noticed that the rites or ceremonies decreed need not receive any positive support from Scripture. All that is required is that there should be nothing in them that is opposed to or condemned by Scripture. An illustration may make this clear; and a convenient one is furnished by Dean Goulburn. The Church, in the exercise of her legislative power, might add to the

Book of Common Prayer a new office of thanksgiving on the occasion of the harvest. No scriptural authority need be asked for. But if into such an office "it were proposed to insert some words of adoration to the holy angels as being very possibly the ministers of natural blessings to mankind, this would be a flagrant stretch of the Church's prerogative, since S. Paul condemns the worshipping of angels; and when S. John fell down to worship at the feet of an angel, the being to whom the homage was offered replied, 'See thou do it not: for I am thy fellow-servant.'"¹ It was here that the Puritans went wrong, as they objected to many of the ceremonies of the Church, not because they were contrary to Scripture, but simply because they were not based upon Scripture. To demand "Scripture proof," however, in such matters is seriously to mistake the purpose and object of the Scriptures. They were given "for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness" (2 Tim. iii. 16), *i.e.* for moral and doctrinal purposes, not as a guide or directory in matters of ritual. In these the Church possesses the power which is conceded to every society to make rules for the guidance of its own members. The existence of such a power is assumed throughout Scripture. It obviously belonged to the Jewish Church. Although there was an elaborate ritual and ceremonial law with stated feasts ordained by God Himself, yet the Jewish Church claimed and exercised the power to add other feasts, such as Purim and Dedication, to those of Divine appointment. Our Lord's words, "The scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses' seat: all things therefore whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe" (S. Matt. xxiii. 2, 3), imply that power to make regulations still remained with the authorities; and we see from the Acts and the Epistles

¹ Goulburn's *Holy Catholic Church*, p. 212.

that when the Christian Church was established, such powers were exercised from the first in it as occasion required. Thus we find S. Paul incidentally laying down definite regulations in his Epistles on various details, *e.g.* that men are to worship with the head uncovered, women with the head covered (1 Cor. xi.); on the conduct of public worship by the prophets (1 Cor. xiv. 27); that women are to keep silence in the churches (1 Cor. xiv. 34; cf. 1 Tim. ii. 12). He lays down the general principle, "Let all things be done decently and in order" (1 Cor. xiv. 40), and appeals to the "custom" of the Churches as if it were final and decisive, and individuals ought to conform to it. "If any man seemeth to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God" (1 Cor. xi. 16).

These passages are sufficient to prove that it was understood from the first that such legislative power was vested in the Church; and it would be superfluous to prove at length that it has in all ages been exercised by national Churches, and that different customs have been followed in different places. Three quotations may, however, be appended in order to show how the matter was regarded in early times.

In his famous "letter to Januarius," Augustine, after speaking of the sacraments, and some things "which we hold on the authority, not of Scripture, but of tradition, and which are observed throughout the whole world," *e.g.* Good Friday, Easter Day, etc., proceeds as follows:—

"There are other things, however, which are different in different places and countries, *e.g.* some fast on Saturday, others do not; some partake daily of the Body and Blood of Christ, others receive it on stated days; in some places no day passes without the sacrifice being offered, in others it is only on Saturday and Sunday, or it may be only on Sunday. In regard to these and all other variable observances which may be met anywhere, one is

at liberty to comply with them or not as he chooses ; and there is no better rule for the wise and serious Christian in this matter than to conform to the practice which he finds prevailing in the Church to which it may be his lot to come. For such a custom, if it is clearly not contrary to the faith nor to sound morality, is to be held as a thing indifferent, and ought to be observed for the sake of fellowship with those among whom we live." He then goes on to describe his mother's perplexity when she first came to Milan and found that the Church there did not fast on Saturday ; and gives the advice of S. Ambrose, which, he says, "I have always esteemed, as if I had received it by an oracle from heaven": "When I visit Rome I fast on Saturday ; when I am here I do not fast. On the same principle, do you observe the custom prevailing in whatever Church you come to, if you desire neither to give offence by your conduct nor to find cause of offence in another's." ¹

Rather later than this the ecclesiastical historian Socrates set himself to catalogue as far as possible "the diversity of customs in the Churches," with regard not only to the Lenten fast, but also to the great "variation in the services performed in church," and other matters ; remarking in conclusion that "it would be difficult, if not impossible, to give a complete catalogue of all the various customs and ceremonial observances in use throughout every city and country." ²

Lastly, in answer to the question of Augustine of Canterbury, "Whereas the faith is one and the same, are there different customs in different Churches, and is one custom of Masses observed in the holy Roman Church and another in the Gallican Church?" Pope Gregory the Great replied as follows: "You know, my brother, the custom of the Roman Church, in which you remember you

¹ *Ad inquisitiones Januarii*, Ep. liv,

² Socrates, *H. E.* V. c. xxii.

were bred up. But it pleases me, that if you have found anything either in the Roman or in the Gallican or in any other Church, which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, you carefully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which is as yet new in the faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several Churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things. Choose, therefore, from each Church those things that are pious, religious, and correct, and when you have, as it were, made them up into one body, let the minds of the English be accustomed thereto.”¹

It is clear from these citations that the English Church is in complete harmony with the Church of earlier days when she not only asserts that “the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies,” but further maintains that “every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man’s authority, so that all things be done to edifying.”²

¹ Bæda, *H. E. I. c.* xxvii.

² The theory, as stated in the Article, is perfectly clear, and represents the position from which the Church has never swerved. It is to *the Church*, not to the civil power, Parliament or Crown, that this “power” belongs. But in a Church by law established, it cannot be denied that there are grave practical difficulties in the way of exercising it. The Book of Common Prayer having been actually attached to an Act of Parliament, of which it forms a part, it is plain that, as a matter of fact, it cannot be in any way altered without the consent of that authority which gave coercive power to enforce its use. But it is equally clear that this authority, viz. Parliament, has no sort of moral right to attempt to alter it, except at the wish of the Church which first prepared and accepted it, and then presented it to Parliament to be attached to the Act of Uniformity; and the constitutional method of proceeding in the case of any “rites or ceremonies” to be decreed, is very clearly laid down in “the Royal Declaration” still prefixed to the Articles. “If any difference arise about the external policy concerning the *Injunctions*, *Canons*, and other *Constitutions* whatsoever thereto belonging, the clergy in their Convocation is to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under

II. *The judicial Authority of the Church with regard to Doctrine.*

The Church . . . hath authority in controversies of faith.

(a) This "authority" is altogether distinct in kind from the "power" which has just been considered. The "power" is *legislative*, and includes the right to make new ceremonies, to change and abolish old ones. The "authority" is *judicial*. It is not the right to make a single new Article of faith, but simply *authority in a doctrinal controversy to pronounce what the true doctrine is*.¹ And since, in the words of Article VI., "Holy Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an Article of the faith, or be thought requisite necessary to salvation," it is clear that the words mean that to the Church belongs the function of interpreting the Scripture, and deciding what the true meaning of it may be. This is strictly "judicial" authority, analogous to the power vested in the judges of interpreting the laws of the country. While the laws are made by the Crown with assent of Parliament, yet, when once a law has been placed on the Statute Book, Parliament has no power whatever to say what it means. Indeed, the legislators may have intended one thing, but if they have our Broad Seal so to do; and we approving their said Ordinances and Constitutions, providing that none be made contrary to the laws and customs of the land."

¹ Cf. Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. V. c. viii. § 2: "The Church hath authority to establish that for an order at one time which at another time it may abolish, and in both may do well. But that which in doctrine the Church doth now deliver as a truth, no man will say that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly avouch the contrary. Laws touching matter of order are changeable by the power of the Church; Articles concerning doctrine not so."

expressed their meaning badly, it may turn out that they have passed something quite different, for to the judges alone belongs the power of interpreting the words of the statute and saying what they really involve. Just so, in the matter of necessary doctrine, the laws, so to speak, are contained in the written Scriptures; but, as human language is never quite free from ambiguity, an interpreter of them is required, and this is provided for us in "the Church," which "hath authority in controversies of faith." Instances of the exercise of this judicial authority are to be found in the dogmatic decisions of the General Councils defining the faith of the Church; and no better example can be given to illustrate how the authority differs from the legislative power than what occurred at Nicæa. Two questions came before the assembled Fathers for decision: (1) the faith of the Church in our Lord's Divinity, and (2) the time for the celebration of the Easter festival. In regard to the former they simply claimed to lay down what the faith as contained in the Scriptures really was. They did not make a new doctrine. In regard to the latter, they laid down a new rule to govern the Church for the future. The distinction is pointed out by Athanasius himself in a well-known passage. "Without prefixing consulate, month, and day, they wrote concerning Easter: 'It seemed good as follows'; for it did then seem good that there should be a general compliance in this matter. But concerning the faith they wrote not 'It seemed good,' but 'Thus the Catholic Church believes'; and thereupon they confessed how they believed, in order to show that their own sentiments were not novel but apostolical; and what they wrote down was no discovery of theirs, but the same as was taught by the apostles."¹

(b) That this authority belongs to the Church would

¹ Athanasius, *De Synodis*, § 5.

seem to follow of necessity from many passages of Scripture. Unless the Church possesses it, it would be impossible for her to exercise properly the function of teaching which is distinctly laid upon her. She is "the pillar and ground of the truth" (1 Tim. iii. 15). The power of "binding and loosing"¹ was granted to her by the Lord Himself (S. Matt. xviii. 18). It was exercised at the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv.), when the question was raised whether circumcision was to be enforced upon Gentile converts, and the decision was arrived at under the guidance of the Holy Spirit ("it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," ver. 28) that there was no necessity for it. S. Paul charges Timothy to "hold the pattern of sound words" which he had received from him (2 Tim. i. 13); to "present himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, handling aright the word of truth" (ii. 15); to "shun vain babblings"; to "charge others that they strive not about words, to no profit, to the subverting of them that hear them" (*ib.*); to "refuse ignorant and foolish questions" (ver. 23); to "reprove, rebuke, exhort with all longsuffering and teaching, for the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine" (iv. 2). To Titus he writes that the bishop is to "hold the faithful word which is according to the teaching, that he may be able both to exhort in the sound doctrine, and to convince the gainsayers" (i. 9); vain talkers are to be "reproved sharply, that they may be sound in the faith, not giving heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men" (ver. 13); he is to "shun foolish questionings and genealogies" (iii.

¹ J. Lightfoot (*Horæ Hebraicæ* on S. Matt. xvi. 19) shows very fully that to "bind" and "loose" were familiar Jewish expressions for to forbid and allow. It is perhaps scarcely necessary to add that this power, given first to S. Peter in xvi. 19, but extended to the Church generally in xviii. 18, is entirely different from the power of retaining and remitting sins given in S. John xx. 23.

10), and to "reject a man that is heretical after the first and second admonition" (*ib.*). All such language as this plainly implies a power of discrimination, and authority to judge and decide between the truth and falsehood. Unless the Church and her representatives possess such authority, who is to say what is "the sound doctrine" which is to be taught? or who can tell which is "the man that is heretical," and which the man that is orthodox?

(c) It was shown above that the "power to decree rites or ceremonies" might be exercised by national Churches, and that it is not necessary that ceremonies should be everywhere the same. With regard to this "authority in controversies of faith," the case is obviously different. Although "particular and national Churches" have frequently exercised this authority, yet it has always been subject to the judgment of the whole Church, and liable to revision by this. To the whole Church it is that the presence of Christ is pledged (S. Matt. xxviii. 19); and to this alone is the promise made that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (S. Matt. xvi. 18). Thus, while on various matters of doctrine the decision was made by local or provincial Councils, before ever the whole Church had an opportunity of expressing her mind,¹ yet only so far as these local decisions have subsequently been found to be in accordance with the mind of the universal Church have

¹ Thus the Council of Constantinople (381), which condemned Apollinarianism and Macedonianism, was not apparently summoned as a *General* one, but has only come to be so regarded in consequence of its subsequent acceptance by the whole Church. *Local* Councils were naturally summoned to condemn Montanism (Eusebius, *H. E.* V. xvi.); for in the second century no others were possible. But even after the age of General Councils had begun, local ones frequently considered and decided on doctrinal questions, *e.g.*, in the case of Pelagianism, it was at once condemned by the Council of Carthage, 412.

they been regarded as binding. In the present unhappy and abnormal state of a divided Christendom it is, of course, impossible to obtain a judgment from the *whole* Church on any matter in dispute; but it must always be remembered that while the English Reformers in the sixteenth century claimed and exercised this "authority," as is shown by the promulgation of the Articles, yet they did this *subject to their appeal to a free General Council*, which Cranmer and his colleagues never entirely lost sight of.¹

(d) But this "authority in controversies of faith" which belongs to the Church is not unlimited; and just as the Article stated two constitutional checks on the legislative power, so also it lays down two definite limitations to the judicial power.²

(1) The Church may not so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another.

(2) Besides the same (Holy Scripture), ought it

¹ See Cranmer's "Remains" (Parker Society), i. pp. 224 and 455.

² The following arrangement of the Article will show the bearing of the several clauses, the exact force of which is often missed, and (so far as I am aware) not noticed in any of the commentaries on the Articles:—

The Legislative Power.

The Judicial Authority.

The Church hath

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) power to decree rites or ceremonies, and | (2) authority in controversies of faith. |
|--|--|

And yet it is not lawful for the Church

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1a) to ordain anything contrary to God's word written; | (2a) neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. |
|---|--|

Wherefore

although the Church be a witness and a keeper

of Holy Writ,

yet as

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1b) it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so | (2b) besides the same ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation. |
|--|---|

not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.

These limitations follow naturally from the position claimed for Holy Scripture in Article VI., and would seem to require no further comment or illustration here.

(e) But there are difficult questions which it is possible to raise concerning the exercise of the authority thus limited, which it may be well briefly to consider. Who is to decide whether the Church has exceeded the powers thus conceded to her? And what is to be done if it should appear that as a matter of fact she has exceeded them? On these points the Article is silent. They raise the whole subject of the relation of Church authority to private judgment. Obviously there is no other body or society on earth with the right of reviewing the judgments of the Church and pronouncing upon them. But still the case may occur when it appears to some individuals, perhaps only to a very few, that the judgment of the Church is wrong. To say that it is an impossibility that God would allow His Church thus to err, is to be untrue to the whole teaching of history. There was a time when "the world groaned and found itself Arian," and when Athanasius stood *contra mundum*; and what has occurred once may occur again. With our eyes, then, open to the teaching of history, we cannot insist that a man *must* bow to the judgment of the Church. He is not called on to accept as truth that which his deliberate conviction tells him is false. While he will rightly and naturally give the greatest weight to the judgment thus expressed, feeling that it is far more probable that he should be mistaken than that the whole Church should be wrong, yet in the last resort he himself must be the judge. He must be true to his conscientious and candid convictions. The right of

private judgment is inalienable. He cannot divest himself of it.¹ "To his own master he standeth or falleth." He will feel in his inmost heart with Liberius before his fall, when taunted with the fact that he was the sole Western champion of the Catholic faith, that "the cause of the faith is none the worse because he happens to be left alone,"² and "with a sorrowful heart" will "refer all to God."³ And, if the future may be prophesied from the past, it will always be found that the error is of no long duration, and that the truth which has been kept alive by the few faithful ones in a period of general falling away, will presently be accepted by the Church at large, and recognised as "the faith which was once for all delivered to the saints."

III. *The Office of the Church with regard to Holy Scripture.*

There is one clause of the Article on which nothing has yet been said, viz. that which states that **the Church is a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ.** A twofold office is here assigned to her. She is (a) a *witness*, as testifying to us what books are to be regarded as Scripture, for "in the name of Holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical books of the Old Testament of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church" (Article VI.), and also as declaring to us what is the meaning of Scripture; for, as we have already seen, she "hath authority in controversies of faith." Besides this, she is (b) a *keeper* of holy writ; for just as to the Jews of

¹ Cf. Salmon's *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 46 seq.

² Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. II. c. xvi.

³ Cf. William of Occam, *Dial.* bk. V. par. i. c. 28. I owe this and the previous reference to *The Church Historical Society Lectures*, Series ii. p. 78, a valuable lecture on the "Teaching Power of the Church," by Professor W. E. Collins,

old "were committed the oracles of God" (Rom. iii. 2), so now that there is a "New Testament" as well as an "Old," the completed Canon is to be regarded as a treasure committed to the custody of the Church, who is responsible for preserving it entire, and free from admixture with other books, as well as for transmitting it and proclaiming it to each generation in turn. It is in these ways that the Church fulfils her office as "a witness and a keeper of holy writ," and from what has now been said the respective offices of the Church and Holy Scripture may be clearly seen. The Church is the ordained *teacher* of truth; Holy Scripture is the *criterion* of truth by which the doctrines of the Church are proved and tested. To make Scripture, in the first instance, the teacher, is entirely to mistake its true office and function. The Gospels were written, not to convert unbelievers, but that those who had been already orally instructed (*i.e.* who had received the teaching of the Church) might know the certainty of those things which they had been taught.¹ So also the Epistles were addressed to regularly organised Churches, and were written to confirm those who had previously received apostolic teaching. Indeed, it is everywhere the case that "the Bible assumes the existence of a living instructor in the truth, who will indoctrinate us into the rudiments of it, and refer us to the Scriptures themselves for the proof of what he teaches. If the instructor is dispensed with, and the disciple thrown back merely on the Bible and his natural faculties, he will be very liable to stumble, and almost certain to do so as regards those more recondite definitions of doctrine which the Church's experience of heresies has shown her to be necessary, and has taught her to make."² These offices of "the

¹ See S. Luke i. 1-4.

² Goulburn's *Holy Catholic Church*, p. 294.

Church to teach, the Bible to prove," may be illustrated from the incident recorded in Acts viii. 26-40. The Ethiopian eunuch was "sitting in his chariot, and was reading the prophet Isaiah." He was, then, in possession of the Scriptures, and, according to the rather foolish saying, "the Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants," these ought to have been sufficient for him. But plainly they were not; for in answer to Philip's question, "Understandest thou what thou readest?" the answer is returned, "How can I, except someone should guide me?" and this is followed by the further question, "Of whom speaketh the prophet this? Of himself, or of some other?" Something more was needed than the possession of the Scriptures, and that something was supplied by Philip, the representative of the *ecclesia docens*, who "opened his mouth, and beginning from this scripture preached unto him Jesus." Here we see the Church at work, and the right method to be followed, as it is seen throughout the Acts of the Apostles, where we everywhere find them stating the facts, and teaching with authority, while they prove their statements from the Scriptures, and refer their hearers to these as confirming them.¹ And if this method was employed when only the Old Testament was in existence, it seems natural to suppose that much more should it be followed now, when the fuller revelation is also committed to writing.²

¹ See Acts ii. 14-36, iii. 12-26, xiii. 16-42, xvii. 2, 3, 11, xviii. 28.

² See on this subject Gore's *Roman Catholic Claims*, c. iii. and iv.

ARTICLE XXI

De autoritate Conciliorum Generalium.

Generalia Concilia sine jussu et voluntate principum congregari non possunt, et ubi convenerint, quia ex hominibus constant, qui non omnes spiritu et verbo Dei reguntur, et errare possunt, et interdum errarunt, etiam in his quæ ad normam pietatis pertinent: ideo quæ ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robor habent, neque auctoritatem, nisi ostendi possint e sacris literis esse desumpta.

Of the authority of General Councils.

General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they be gathered together (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the spirit and word of God) they may err, and sometime have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

SINCE the Forty-two Articles were first published in 1553 this Article has remained practically unchanged.¹ But *before publication* a clause had been wisely omitted from the close of it, which, as we find from the MS. signed by the six royal chaplains,² had stood in the original draft: "Possunt reges et pii magistratus, non expectata conciliorum generalium sententia aut convocatione, in

¹ In the *English* edition of 1553 "not only in worldly matters, but also" stood before "in things pertaining unto God." There was nothing corresponding to these words in the Latin, and they were accordingly omitted in 1563. In the Latin "verbis Dei" stood in 1553 and 1563, being altered to the singular "verbo" in 1571.

² *State Papers*, "Domestic," Edward VI. vol. xv. No. 28. Cf. p. 14, and Hardwick, p. 283.

republica sua juxta Dei verbum de rebus religionis constituere." The gravest objection might have been taken to such a clause, and we may be thankful that it was withdrawn before the Articles were published.

Perhaps no Article gains more than this from being read in the light of the history of the time when it was drawn up, and from being illustrated by contemporary documents. Had we nothing but the bare letter of the Article itself to consider, it might be plausibly maintained that by saying that "General Councils have erred," it condemns those Councils which the whole Church has ever revered as truly general, and expressing her mind, such as Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), and Chalcedon (451). Nothing, however, is more certain than the fact that no such sweeping condemnation is intended, for contemporary with the Forty-two Articles, and drawn up to a great extent by the very same men who are responsible for them, is the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*;¹ and in this there is a remarkable section which runs parallel with the Article, amplifying its statements, and affording a practical exposition of it, and commentary upon its meaning. It runs as follows:—

"De conciliis quid sentiendum.

"Jam vero conciliis, potissimum generalibus, tametsi ingentem honorem libenter deferimus, ea tamen longe omnia infra Scripturarum canonicarum dignitatem ponenda judicamus: sed et inter ipsa concilia magnum discrimen ponimus. Nam quædam illorum, qualia sunt præcipua illa quatuor, Nicenum, Constantinopolitanum primum, Ephesinum, et Chalcedonense, magna cum reverentia amplectimur et suscipimus. Quod quidem judicium de

¹ See p. 28 *seq.*

multis aliis quæ postea celebrata sunt ferimus, in quibus videmus et confitemur sanctissimos patres de beata et summa Trinitate, de Jesu Christo Domino et servatore nostro, et humana redemptione per eum procurata, juxta Scripturas divinas multa gravissime et perquam sancte constituisse. Quibus tamen non aliter fidem nostram obligandam esse censemus, nisi quatenus ex Scripturis sanctis confirmari possint. Nam concilia nonnulla interdum errasse, et contraria inter sese definivisse, partim in actionibus juris, partim etiam in fide, manifestum est. Itaque legantur concilia quidem cum honore atque Christiana reverentia, sed interim ad Scripturarum piam certam rectamque regulam examinentur.”¹

The Article must beyond question be interpreted by this longer statement. It is certain, therefore, that it does not intend to cast any slur upon those Councils which are received “magna cum reverentia,” but that it uses the term “General Councils” in a loose and popular way, of Councils which claimed to be “general,” as well as of those which are truly representative of the mind of the whole Church. The necessity for such an Article is seen in the circumstances of the time. From the early days of Luther, the Reformers, both on the Continent and in England, had persistently appealed to a free General Council, and finally the Pope (Paul III.) had been driven, in 1545, to summon a “General Council.” But (1) it was called by the Pope alone, who claimed the right to cite to it, in person or by proxy, the king of England among other Christian princes;² and (2) it consisted only of bishops of the Roman obedience. It was therefore not such a Council as the Reformers could regard as truly “general,” or feel themselves compelled

¹ *Ref. Legum Eccles.*, De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica, c. xiv.

² Cf. Dixon's *History of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 425.

to accept. But in view of the fact that it was actually being held when the Articles were drawn up, and that its decrees were certain to be appealed to as authoritative by the opponents of the Reformation, it was important that in the Anglican formulary a statement should be found, asserting, in terms such as would justify a refusal to be bound by the decisions of Trent, the abstract position maintained with regard to "the authority of General Councils."

Three principal statements are made concerning them—

1. They may not be gathered together without the consent of princes.
2. They are liable to err.
3. As a matter of history they actually have erred.

*I. They may not be gathered together without the
consent of Princes.*

General Councils may not (non possunt) **be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes.** It is sometimes inferred from the Latin "non possunt" that what is here meant is that as a matter of fact they *cannot* be so gathered together. This appears doubtful, for it is more probable that "non possunt" means "cannot lawfully," *i.e.* "may not."¹ But, however this may be, either statement is true, for princes alone have it in their power to compel or to prohibit the attendance of their subjects, and therefore obviously have the right not only to be consulted as a matter of courtesy, but also to say

¹ Cf. Article XX., where "ne exponere potest" is equivalent to "neither *may* it so expound," and XXXVII., where "Leges civiles possunt," etc. can only mean as the English renders it, "the laws of the realm *may* punish," etc.

whether a Council shall or shall not be held.¹ As a matter of history there is no question that all the early General Councils were summoned by the Emperor and not by the Pope.² Indeed, the idea of a General Council seems to have originated, not with the Church, but with the Emperor;³ and although, after the decline of the Empire and the division of Europe into several kingdoms, since there was no longer any one supreme power, capable of commanding and enforcing the attendance of bishops from various countries, it was natural that the Pope, whose power was steadily growing, should not only preside at the Council when summoned, but actually issue the invitations to it; yet it stands to reason that even so this could only be properly done with "the consent of princes."⁴

¹ As a matter of fact, even so late as 1870 the various Governments of modern Europe played an important part in determining whether or no the "Vatican Council" should be held. See Purcell's *Life of Archbishop Manning*, vol. ii. c. xvi.

² That of Nicæa by Constantine I.; Constantinople by Theodosius I.; Ephesus by Theodosius II.; Chalcedon, *at the request and instigation of Pope Leo I.*, by Marcian. So the *second* Council of Constantinople (553) was summoned by the Emperor Justinian, and the *third* (680) by Constantine Pogonatus; so also the Synod of Nicæa (787), regarded by both the Greeks and Latins as the seventh General Council, was summoned by the Empress Irene. Thus *every Council* which has any fair claim to represent the undivided Church was called together "with the commandment and will of princes."

³ "The conception of a General Council did not give rise to Nicæa, but *vice versa*," Robertson's *Athanasius*, p. lxxv., and there can be little doubt that the idea of the Council was due to Constantine himself. Cf. *Church Historical Lectures*, Series 2, p. 164.

⁴ So early as 1533 the question was raised in England in consequence of Henry VIII.'s appeal from the Pope to a General Council, and a declaration was put forth signed by nine bishops and four other divines to the effect that though in old times Councils were "called and gathered together by the Emperor's commandment. . . . Yet now, forasmuch that the empire of Rome and the monarchy of the same has no such general dominion, but that many princes have absolute power in their own realms, and a whole entire monarchy, no other prince may by his authority call a General

II. *General Councils are liable to err.*

When they be gathered together (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the spirit and word of God) they may err. On this matter the verdict of history is conclusive. Had we not the experience of the past to teach us, it might have seemed, *a priori*, probable that God would not have allowed a body that is summoned as representative of the whole Church to err. But as it is, there can be no question on the subject. The record of Councils, summoned as "General" ones and conducted with proper forms, is often a painful one to read; and the exhibitions of human passion and prejudice sometimes exhibited in them have certainly shown that all their members are not necessarily "governed by the spirit of God." Moreover, they have always been treated by the Church as liable to err,¹ for many of them have been reviewed by later Councils, and sometimes their verdicts have been reversed.²

Council" (Collier, *Records*, xxxviii.). Three years later a more authoritative "judgment concerning General Councils" was put forth by Convocation, in which the divines of both houses gave their opinion that "neither the Bishop of Rome ne any one prince, of what estate, degree, or pre-eminence soever he be, may, by his own authority, call, indict, or summon any General Council, without the express consent, assent, and agreement of the residue of Christian princes, and especially such as have within their own realms and seignories *imperium merum*, that is to say, of such as have the whole, entire, and supreme government and authority over all their subjects, without knowledging or recognising of any other supreme power or authority," Burnet, I. ii. p. 301 *seq.*

¹ See the letter of Pope Julius in Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos*, § 20-25. In this Julius says that it is unreasonable that what has been established by Councils should be set aside by "a few individuals," but treats the decision of Councils as liable to be reviewed by others, referring to the Council of Nicæa as having decided that this should be done (see Robertson's note, *in loc.* and p. lxxvi.).

² Thus the "Latrocinium" was summoned as a General Council, but its decisions were reversed by the Council of Chalcedon, 451. So also in

Thus the Article is perfectly justified, not only in its *second* statement, but also in its *third*.

III. *As a matter of History, General Councils have erred.*

That they **sometime have erred, even in things pertaining unto God** (etiam in his quæ ad normam pietatis pertinent), is a matter which can easily be shown when it is remembered that the Article is referring to any Councils which claimed to be General. Thus Ariminum and Seleucia were summoned as General Councils representative of the whole Christian world, but they went fatally wrong "even in things pertaining to God." The same is true of many later Councils; and if the position taken up in Articles VI. and XX. with regard to Holy Scripture is sound, there can be no doubt that the closing words of the Article now under consideration are justified, and that **things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.**

The language of the Article itself and all that has here been said in the commentary upon it, is, of course, only *one side* of the whole truth about Councils, and that the least pleasant to dwell upon. It must never be forgotten that there is another side, and that the Church owes very much to the work of Councils which were truly "General" and representative. Nor has the Church of England been slow to acknowledge this. The language of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* has

the Iconoclastic Controversy, the seventh Council of Constantinople (754) condemned image-worship; but its decrees were reversed by the second Council of Nicæa, which sanctioned the practice in 787. Frankfort (794) condemned the practice, but the eighth of Constantinople (869) sanctioned it.

been already cited. The Homily "Against peril of Idolatry" speaks of the six Councils which were allowed and received of all men; and it may be added that by an Act of Parliament passed in the first year of Elizabeth's reign it was determined that "nothing is to be adjudged heresy, but that which heretofore has been so adjudged by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or the first four General Councils, or some other General Council, wherein the same has been declared heresy by the express word of Scripture."¹

The question remains, How is it to be known whether a Council is truly "General" and representative of the mind of the whole Church? To this it is believed that no answer can be returned *at the moment*. However large may be the number of the bishops present, no guarantee is thereby afforded that they faithfully represent the mind of the universal Church. That which alone can show this, is the *after-reception of the decisions of the Council by the different parts of the Church*. Where the decisions win their way to universal acceptance, there we have the needful guarantee that the Council has faithfully reflected the mind of the universal Church, and we may well be content to believe that the Council has not erred. But "the inerrancy of a Council can never be guaranteed at the moment. The test of the value of a Council is its after-reception by the Church."²

¹ 1 Eliz. cap. 1. Some Anglican divines, as Hooker and Andrews, seem to recognise but *four* General Councils; others, as Field and Hammond, recognise *six*. See Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*, part IV. c. ix.

² Bishop Forbes *On the Articles*, p. 298. On this, which is sometimes called the Gallican theory of the test of the authority of General Councils, see Sir W. Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*, part IV. c. vii.; R. L. Ottley, *Doctrine of the Incarnation*, vol. i. p. 321 *seq.*; and *Church Historical Society Lectures*, series 2, p. 147 *seq.*

ARTICLE XXII

De Purgatorio.

Doctrina Romanensium de Purgatorio, de Indulgentiis, de veneratione et adoratione tum Imaginum tum Reliquiarum, nec non de invocatione Sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum testimoniis innititur, imo verbo Dei¹ contradicit.

Of Purgatory.

The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping, and Adoration, as well of Images, as of Reliques, and also invocation of Saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.

THIS Article differs in one important point from the original one as first published in 1553, for in that the teaching condemned was termed "the doctrine of school-authors" (*doctrina scholasticorum*). The effect of the substitution of "the Romish doctrine" (*doctrina Romanensium*, 1563) for this is to make the Article condemn a *present* current form of teaching rather than the formal system of doctors whose day was past.²

There is another matter in the history of the Article which deserves to be noticed, viz. that in the Article as originally drafted was included a condemnation of the scholastic doctrine *de precatatione pro defunctis*. These words are found in the MS. signed by the six royal chaplains,³

¹ The edition of 1553 has "perniciose contradicit"; but the adverb was struck out in 1563, there being nothing corresponding to it in the English Article.

² "The words 'Romanenses' and 'Romanistæ' were already used as far back as 1520 by Luther and Ulrich von Hutten, to designate the extreme mediæval party."—Hardwick, p. 410.

³ See above, p. 13 and p. 529.

but they disappeared before the Article was published,—a fact which is highly significant, as it shows that the Church of England deliberately abstained from seeming to express any condemnation of the practice of praying for the departed, and that it is impossible to strain the words of this Article on Purgatory to indicate such a condemnation.¹

With regard to the doctrines here condemned, it is important to bear in mind that when the Article was originally drawn up, and even when it was revised and republished in 1563, none of them had been considered by the Council of Trent. The Article cannot, then, have been deliberately aimed at the formal decrees of that Council; and, as a matter of fact, the decrees on these particular subjects, which were published during the last session of the Council in December 1563, were drawn up with studied moderation, and some of the strong language of our Article could hardly be truthfully said to apply to the doctrine as stated in them, though it certainly was not one whit too strong in its condemnation of the current practice and teaching which the Reformers had before them. It will be convenient at this point to quote so much of the Tridentine decree as bears on the subject before us, as the language used in it bears striking testimony to the existence of the errors which called forth the vigorous protest of our own Reformers.

On *Purgatory* the decree simply lays down that “there is a Purgatory, and that the souls there retained are relieved by the suffrages of the faithful, but chiefly by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar.” It then proceeds: “Among the uneducated vulgar, let the more difficult and subtle questions, and those which tend not to edifi-

¹ It follows from this that the subject of prayer for the departed does not come before us for consideration here. Reference may, however, be made to an article on “the Church of England and Prayers for the Departed” in the *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. x. p. 1.

edification, and seldom contribute aught towards piety, be kept back from popular discourses. Neither let them suffer the public mention and treatment of uncertain points, or such as look like falsehood. But those things which tend to a certain kind of curiosity or superstition, or which savour of filthy lucre, let them prohibit as scandals and stumbling-blocks of the faithful.”¹

With regard to *Pardons*, it was stated that as the power of granting indulgences was granted by Christ to His Church, the use of them was to be retained; and those were to be anathematised who either assert that they are useless, or who deny that there is in the Church the power of granting them. “In granting them, however, it desires that, according to the ancient and approved custom in the Church, moderation be observed, lest by excessive facility ecclesiastical discipline be enervated. And desiring the amendment and correction of the abuses which have crept into these matters, and by occasion of which this excellent name of indulgences is blasphemed by heretics, it ordains generally by this decree, that all evil gains for the obtaining of them, whence a most abundant cause of abuses among Christian people has been derived, be utterly abolished. But as regards other matters which have proceeded from superstition, ignorance, irreverence, or from any other cause,

¹ “Cum Catholica Ecclesia . . . docuerit Purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas, fidelium suffragiis, potissimum vero acceptabili altaris sacrificio juvari; præcipit sancta Synodus Episcopis ut sanam de Purgatorio doctrinam, a sanctis Patribus et sacris Conciliis traditam, a Christi fidelibus credi, teneri, doceri, et ubique prædicari, diligenter studeant. Apud rudem vero plebem difficiliore ac subtiliore quæstiones, quæque ad ædificationem non faciunt, et ex quibus plerumque nulla fit pietatis accessio, a popularibus concionibus secludantur. Incerta item, vel quæ specie falsi laborant, evulgari, ac tractari non permittant. Ea vero, quæ ad curiositatem quamdam, aut superstitionem spectant, vel turpe lucrum sapiunt, tanquam scandala, et fidelium offendicula prohibeant.”—*Conc. Trid.*, Sess. xxv., *Decretum de Purgatorio*.

since, by reason of the manifold corruptions in the places and provinces where the said abuses are committed, they cannot conveniently be specially prohibited; it commands all bishops diligently to collect all abuses of this nature, and report them in the first provincial synod," etc.¹

On the *adoration of images and relics* it says that due honour and veneration is to be awarded to the images of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the saints, "not that any virtue or divinity is believed to be in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped; or that anything is to be asked of them; or that confidence is to be reposed in images, as was done of old by the heathen, who placed their hope in idols; but because the honour which is shown to them is referred to the prototypes which they represent; so that by the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ, and venerate the saints whose similitude they bear. . . . And if any abuses have crept in amongst these holy and salutary observances, the holy

¹ "Cum potestas conferendi Indulgentias a Christo ecclesiæ concessa sit, atque hujusmodi potestate, divinitus sibi tradita, antiquissimis etiam temporibus illa usa fuerit; sacrosancta Synodus indulgentiarum usum, Christiano populo maxime salutarem et sacrorum Conciliorum auctoritate probatum, in ecclesia retinendum esse docet, et præcipit, eosque anathemate damnat, qui aut inutiles esse asserunt, vel eas concedendi in ecclesia potestatem esse negant. In his tamen concedendis moderationem juxta veterem et probatam in ecclesia consuetudinem adhiberi cupit; ne nimia facilitate ecclesiastica disciplina enervetur. Abusus vero, qui in his irrepserunt, quorum occasione insigne hoc Indulgentiarum nomen ab hæreticis blasphematur, emendatos et correctos cupiens, præsentî decreto generaliter statuit pravos quæstus omnes pro his consequendis, unde plurima in Christiano populo abusuum causa fluxit, omnino obolendos esse. Cæteros vero, qui ex superstitione, ignorantia, irreverentia, aut aliunde quomodocumque provenerunt, cum ob multiplices locorum et provinciarum, apud quas hi committuntur, corruptelas commode nequeant specialiter prohiberi; mandat omnibus Episcopis, ut diligenter quisque hujusmodi abusus ecclesiæ suæ colligat, eosque in prima synodo provinciali referat," etc.—*Continuatio Sessionis xxv., Decretum de Indulgentiis.*

Synod earnestly desires that they be utterly abolished; in such wise that no images conducive to false doctrine, and furnishing occasion of dangerous error to the uneducated, be set up. . . . Moreover, in the invocation of saints, the veneration of relics, and the sacred use of images, every superstition shall be removed, all filthy lucre be abolished, finally all lasciviousness be avoided; in such wise that figures shall not be painted or adorned with a wantonness of beauty, nor shall men pervert the celebration of the saints and the visitation of relics into revellings and drunkenness; as if festivals were celebrated to the honour of saints by luxury and wantonness.”¹

So on the subject of *invocation of saints* the Council enjoins that the people be taught “that the saints reigning with Christ offer their prayers for men to God, and that it is good and useful to invoke them as suppliants, and to resort to their prayers, aid, and help for obtaining benefits from God through His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who alone is our Redeemer and Saviour; and that

¹ “Imaginibus Christi, Deiparæ Virginis, et aliorum sanctorum in templis præsertim habendas et retinendas, eisque debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam, non quod credatur inesse aliqua in iis Divinitas, vel virtus, propter quam sint colendæ; vel quod ab eis sit aliquid petendum; vel quod fiducia in imaginibus sit figenda, veluti olim fiebat a gentibus, quæ in idolis spem suam collocabant; sed quoniam honos qui eis exhibetur, refertur ad prototypa, quæ illæ representant: ita ut per imagines quæ osculamur, et coram quibus caput aperimus et procumbimus, Christum adoremus, et sanctos, quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt veneremur. . . . In has autem sanctas et salutare observationes, si qui abusus irrepserint, eos prorsus aboleri sancta Synodus vehementer cupit, ita ut nullæ falsi dogmatis imagines, et rudibus periculosi erroris occasione præbentes, statuatur. . . . Omnis porro superstitio in sanctorum invocatione, Reliquiarum veneratione, et imaginum sacro usu tollatur, omnis turpis quæstus eliminetur, omnis denique lascivia vitetur, ita ut procaci venustate imagines non pingantur, nec ornentur, et sanctorum celebratione, et reliquiarum visitatione homines ad comessationes atque ebrietates non abutantur, quasi festi dies in honorem sanctorum per luxum, ac lasciviam agantur.”—Sess. xxv. *De Invocatione, etc.*

they think impiously who deny that the saints, who enjoy eternal happiness in heaven, are to be invoked; or who assert either that they do not pray for men, or that the invocation of them to pray for each of us in particular is idolatry; or that it is repugnant to the word of God, and is opposed to the honour of the one Mediator between God and men, Christ Jesus; or that it is a fond thing to supplicate orally or inwardly those who reign in heaven.”¹

It is impossible to read these extracts without feeling how gross must have been the abuses which called forth such language, and it would be unfair to neglect to take into account the fact that our own Article was drawn up prior to these definitions and the practical reforms which the Council of Trent endeavoured to bring about. We proceed now to the consideration of the “Romish doctrines” condemned in the Article. Four of them are specified.

1. Purgatory.
2. Pardons.
3. Adoration of images and relics.
4. Invocation of saints.

I. Purgatory.

The Romish doctrine of Purgatory . . . is a

1. . . . “Docentes eos, sanctos una cum Christo regnantes, orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offerre: bonum atque utile esse suppliciter eos invocare, et ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per filium ejus Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, qui solus noster Redemptor, et Salvator est, ad eorum orationes, opem, auxiliumque confugere: illos vero, qui negant sanctos, æterna felicitate in cœlo fruantes, invocandos esse; aut qui asserunt, vel illos pro hominibus non orare, vel eorum, ut pro nobis etiam singulis orent, invocationem esse idolatriam, vel pugnare cum verbo Dei, adversarique honori unius mediatoris Dei et hominum Jesu Christi; vel stultum esse, in cœlo regnantibus voce vel mente supplicare, impie sentire,” etc.—*Ib.*

fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God. It will be convenient to consider this subject under the two following heads: (a) the history of the doctrine; (b) the scriptural arguments on the subject.

(a) *The History of the Doctrine.*—During the first three centuries there are only to be found a few traces of a belief in anything like a purgatory between death and judgment. Three indications of such a belief are all that can fairly be claimed during this period, two of which come to us from the same quarter and from a Montanistic source.

Tertullian in his treatise *De Anima*, written after he had joined the Montanists, says that in Hades (penes inferos) there are rewards and punishments, as may be learnt from the parable of Dives and Lazarus; and as he interprets the words, "Thou shalt not come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing," to mean that "small offences must be expiated by delay of resurrection," it is probable that he looked on the punishments as, at any rate, to some extent purgatorial.¹

To the same period belong the Acts of the martyr Perpetua and her companions, and in one of Perpetua's visions we have what is generally taken to be an indication of a belief in something like a purgatory. Perpetua in her vision sees her brother Dinocrates, who had died early from a gangrene in the face, in a dark place, hot and thirsty, dirty and pale, with the wound still in his face. He is trying in vain to get at the

¹ *De Anima*, c. lviii.: "In summa, cum carcerem illum, quem evangelium demonstrat, inferos intellegimus, et novissimum quadrantem modicum quoque delictum mora resurrectionis illic luendum interpretamur, nemo dubitabit animam aliquid pensare penes inferos salva resurrectionis plenitudine per carnem quoque." Cf. c. xxxv.

water in a "piscina," the rim of which is above his head. Perpetua, grieving for her brother, prays much for him, and in a subsequent vision she sees him cleansed, well clothed, and refreshed. Only the scar remains where the wound was. The rim of the piscina is lowered to his waist; he drinks out of a golden goblet that never fails, and departs to play after the manner of children with glee. "Then," she adds, "I understood that he was released from punishment."¹

This certainly looks very much like a belief in a purgatory, and it is so understood by Augustine.² But this interpretation of the vision is not unquestioned, as some take it to mean that Dinocrates had died unbaptized, and was therefore in a place of torment.³ If, however, we admit the view that it *does* refer to a purgatory, a vision such as this must be allowed to be a very precarious ground on which to base the doctrine.

The third passage is in the writings of Clement of Alexandria (200), where, in speaking of Hades, he says that "the punishments of God are saving and reformatory, and lead to repentance."⁴

Beyond these it is thought that no passage can fairly be quoted as implying a belief in a purgatory between death and judgment till we come to the fourth century. For though Origen undoubtedly believed in temporary chastisements after death, and in a cleansing by fire, yet this does not seem to have been placed by him *before* the judgment. Rather, it *is* the judgment, through which all men have to pass, and by which those in need of

¹ *Passio S. Perpetuæ*, cs. vii. viii.

² *De Anima ad Renatum*, I. x.

³ It is so taken by Prof. J. Armitage Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, I. p. 29; cf. Dr. Mason's *Lectures on Purgatory, The State of the Faithful Departed, Invocation of Saints* (1901), p. 23.

⁴ *Stromateis*, VI. c. vi. § 46: ἐπεὶ σωτήριοι καὶ παιδευτικοὶ αἱ κολάσεις τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς ἐπιστροφήν ἀγούσαι. See, further, Mason (*op. cit.*), p. 3 seq.

purification are at once both chastened and healed.¹ But there can be no doubt, (1) that the whole Church from the very first practised and encouraged prayers for the departed; and (2) that the judgment day was commonly regarded as a fiery ordeal, such as that spoken of by S. Paul in 1 Cor. iii. 13, through which all would have to pass, some passing through the fire unharmed, others suffering loss, but none failing who were built on the right foundation. This, however, is very different from purgatory. Not only is it placed at the judgment, whereas the purgatorial fire is regarded as cleansing those subjected to it *before* the final award is made at the judgment day, but, further, it is an ordeal through which *all*, the greatest saints and the greatest sinners, will have to pass, while purgatory is not for the saints, who are supposed to pass straight to the beatific vision, nor for those who die out of a state of grace, whose final condemnation is assured, but only for those who die in grace, but in a state of imperfect sanctification.

Nor does prayer for the departed by any means involve of necessity a belief in purgatory. Indeed, many of the prayers of the early Christians are quite inconsistent with it, for they include petitions for the Blessed Virgin and other great saints, of whom no one would venture to maintain that they were in purgatory.

Passing on to the fourth century we still find but few traces of a belief in the doctrine in question, nor is there anything authoritative laid down concerning it. Indeed, the hesitating and varying language employed by S. Augustine early in the fifth century shows clearly that he did not regard it as a formal doctrine of the Church, but only at best as a "pious opinion."² Thus in his *Encheiridion*, published in 416, he speaks of it as "not

¹ See Bp. Westcott in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. iv, p. 138.

² Cf. Mason, p. 29 *seq.*

incredible.”¹ But in his great work, *De Civitate Dei*, issued a few years later (426), he speaks more strongly in favour of it, though even here his language is not altogether consistent. In Book XXI. c. xiii., after speaking of the opinion of some who “would have all punishments after death to be purgatorial,” he says definitely that “temporary punishments are suffered by some in this life only, by others after death, by others both now and then; but all of them before the last and strictest judgment. But of those who suffer temporary punishments after death, all are not doomed to those everlasting pains which are to follow that judgment; for to some, as we have already said, what is not remitted in this world is remitted in the next, that is, they are not punished with the eternal judgment of the world to come.”² But after speaking thus positively he elsewhere utters a note of hesitation on the subject, for in c. xxvi. of the same book he writes as follows: “If it be said that in the interval of time between the death of this body and that last day of judgment and retribution which shall follow the resurrection, the spirits of the dead shall be exposed to a fire of such a nature that it shall not affect those who have not in this life indulged in such pleasures and pursuits as shall be consumed like wood, hay, stubble, but shall affect those others who have carried with them structures of that kind—if it be said that such worldliness, being venial, shall be consumed in the fire of tribulation here

¹ *Encheiridion ad Laurent.* c. lxix.

² “Sed temporarias penas alii in hac vita tantum, alii post mortem, alii et nunc et tunc, verumtamen ante iudicium illud severissimum novissimumque patiuntur. Non autem omnes veniunt in sempiternas penas, quæ post illud iudicium sunt futuræ, qui post mortem sustinent temporales. Nam quibusdam, quod in isto non remittitur, remitti in futuro sæculo, id est, ne futuri sæculi æterno supplicio puniantur, jam supra diximus.”—*De Civitate Dei*, XXI. c. xiii.

only, or here and hereafter both, or here that it may not be hereafter, I do not argue against it, for perhaps it is true.”¹ Plainly there was no formal doctrine of the Church on the subject when a Father of the weight and learning of Augustine could write in this way; and not till a century and a half after his death do we find anything approaching to an assertion with any claim to authority. At the close of the sixth century Gregory the Great, in his “Dialogues,” lays down distinctly that “a purgatorial fire before the judgment for certain light faults is to be believed.”² But even so this is only the dictum of a single writer, however great his authority may be, and it would seem that there is nothing which can be regarded as in any way a judgment of the Church upon the subject till we come to the Council of Florence in 1439. At this Council the representatives of the Greeks were persuaded to admit that “the middle sort of souls were in a place of torment, but whether that were fire or darkness and tempest, or something else, they would not contend,”³ and accordingly, when the decree of union was drawn up, it was asserted in it that “if such as be truly penitent die in the grace of God before they have made satisfaction for their sins by

¹ “Post istius sane corporis mortem, donec ad illum veniatur, qui post resurrectionem corporum futurus est damnationis et remunerationis ultimus dies, si hoc temporis intervallo spiritus defunctorum ejusmodi ignem dicuntur perpeti, quem non sentiant illi qui non habuerunt tales mores et amores in hujus corporis vita, ut eorum ligna, fœnum, stipula consumatur, alii vero sentiant qui ejusmodi secum ædificia portaverunt, sive ibi tantum, sive et hic et ibi, sive ideo hic ut non ibi, sæcularia, quamvis a damnatione venalia, concremantem ignem transitorie tribulationis inveniant, non redarguo, quia forsitan verum est.”—*Op. cit.* c. xxvi.

² “Sed tamen de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante judicium purgatorius ignis credendus est. Sed tamen hoc de parvis minimisque peccatis fieri posse credendum est; sicut est assiduus otiosus sermo, immoderatus risus,” etc.—*Dial.* IV. c. xxxix. See, further, Mason, p. 39 *seq.*

³ “Αἱ δὲ μέσαι ὑπάρχουσι μὲν ἐν βασανιστηρίῳ καὶ εἴτε πῦρ ἐστὶν, εἴτε ζόφος καὶ θύελλα, εἴτε τι ἕτερον, οὐ διαφερόμεθα.—*Concil. Florent.* Sess. xxv.

worthy fruits of penance, their souls are purged after death with purgatorial punishments.”¹ But long before this decree was issued the doctrine had been universally accepted throughout the West, and had assumed a prominence which led to the gravest practical results. The original teaching had been strangely and terribly corrupted. “It had come to take the place of a living faith in the eternal pains of hell in the case of most men: there was a perfect traffic in masses for the souls, and men fancied that by leaving money to the Church at the hour of death and at the expense of their heirs, they might purchase mitigation or exemption from pains which in degree, though not in duration, were said to equal the pains of hell.”² It is, unhappily, only too easy to illustrate the truth of these words from known and admitted facts of history and from documents which were before those who drew up our Articles; but since the existence of such abuses in connection with the doctrine is so universally acknowledged, there is no need to cite evidence of it here.

(b) *The Scriptural arguments on the subject.*—It is now generally admitted by Roman Catholic writers that

¹ “Si vere poenitentes in Dei charitate decesserint, antequam dignis poenitentiae fructibus de commissis satisfecerint et omissis, eorum animas poenis purgatoriis post mortem purgari.”—Eugenii IV. *Bulla Unionis*, Labbe and Cossart, vol. vii. p. 422. On the Council of Florence see Plumptre's *Spirits in Prison*, p. 296 *seq.*, and Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, vol. ii. p. 179 *seq.* It is well known how the representatives of the Greeks were received on their return to Constantinople, and how the decrees were rejected throughout the East. But in spite of this the Greek Church of the present day, though not *formally* committed to a doctrine of purgatory, and while guarding itself against the notion of a *material* fire, appears generally to teach that there is a process of purification after death, and that the souls of the departed profit by the Eucharists, prayers, and alms of the living, and are thereby freed from the bonds of Hades. See Plumptre, *l.c.*, and Winer, *Confessions of Christendom*, p. 312.

² Bp. Forbes *On the Articles*, p. 309.

there is but little in Holy Scripture which can be quoted as bearing directly upon the doctrine. Of the "twenty passages" of which Bellarmine boasts,¹ there are very few which any controversialist would venture to cite at the present day. Indeed, some of them are so weak (*e.g.* "We went through *fire* and water, and Thou broughtest out into a wealthy place") that they only indicate into what desperate straits the man who could urge them as serious arguments was driven in order to find any scriptural proof whatever. It is not too much to say that, when once it is recognised that prayer for the departed does not necessarily involve any belief in purgatory,² there are not more than three or four passages which require any consideration whatever.

The following are perhaps the most important, and are sometimes quoted at the present day, as implying a terminable punishment, which is said to be purgatorial only, after death:—

S. Matt. v. 26: "Thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the last farthing." Cf. S. Luke xii. 59.

S. Matt. xviii. 34: "His lord delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due. So likewise shall also my heavenly Father do unto you," etc.

S. Matt. xii. 32: "It shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come."

¹ *De Purgatorio*, I. c. xv. The twenty passages are these,—ten from the Old Testament and ten from the New Testament,—2 Macc. xii. 44; Tobit iv. 17; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; Ps. xxxviii. 1, lxvi. 12; Is. iv. 4, ix. 18; Mic. vii. 8, 9; Zech. ix. 11; Mal. iii. 3; S. Matt. xii. 32; 1 Cor. iii. 12–15, xv. 29; S. Matt. v. 25, 26, v. 22; S. Luke xvi. 9, xxiii. 43; Acts ii. 24; Phil. ii. 10; Rev. v. 3. See the discussion of them in *op. cit.* c. iii.–viii.

² 2 Macc. xii. 44 certainly shows the belief of the ancient Jews in the efficacy of prayer for the departed in the first or second century B.C.

In the case of the first two passages cited, it is urged that they place a term to the punishment, and therefore imply a purgatory from which men will at some time be delivered. But such an inference is extremely precarious, and those who rely on it would probably be the last to apply a similar method of arguing to the parallel phrase in S. Matt. i. 25. The exegesis of S. Chrysostom is surely sound, which takes it as a form of expression intended to indicate the perpetual duration of the penalty, *τούτεστι διηνέκως, οὐδέπω γὰρ ἀποδώσει*.¹ While in the case of the third passage, the form of expression is evidently intended as an emphatic way of stating the irremediableness of the condition, and there is nothing in it to warrant the inference that some sins are forgiven in the world to come which are not forgiven in this world.²

There remains the passage in 1 Cor. iii. 10–15; and this, if carefully considered, will be seen to have no bearing whatever on the doctrine. It stands as follows in the Revised Version:—

“According to the grace of God which was given unto me, as a wise master-builder I laid a foundation; and another buildeth thereon. But let each man take heed how he buildeth thereon. For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ, But if any man buildeth on this foundation gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay, stubble, each man’s work shall be made manifest; for the day shall declare it, because it is revealed in fire; and the fire itself shall prove each man’s work of what sort it is. If any man’s work shall abide, which he built thereon, he shall receive a reward.

¹ *Hom. in loc.* Cf. Augustine, “Miror si non eam significat poenam quæ vocatur æterna.”—*De Sermone Domini in Monte*, I. xi.

² See Salmond’s *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, p. 380, for a good statement of this.

If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss : but he himself shall be saved ; yet so as through fire."

It is probable that it is from this passage, more than from any other, that the idea of a purgatorial *fire* has arisen. But, as a matter of fact, whatever the passage may mean,—and there are different interpretations of it which are possible,—the one thing it cannot refer to is a purgatory between death and judgment. According to the Apostle, it is "the day" which "is to be revealed in fire" (*ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται*), and such an expression is never used of the intermediate state. It can only refer to the judgment day, or to the day of persecution in this life. It appears to signify the former here ; and if so, the Apostle is here regarding the day of judgment as a fiery ordeal which will test the work of Christian ministers. If the structure they have reared be durable, "it shall abide." If, however, through weakness and incompetence, they have built one of perishable material, it shall be burnt, and the careless builder shall "suffer loss," even though (since he built on the right foundation) "he himself shall be saved ; yet so as by fire."¹ This appears to be the general drift of the passage ; and, as was said above, it cannot fairly be used in support

¹ Cf. Bp. Lightfoot, *Notes on the Epistles of S. Paul*, p. 193 : "That the Apostle does not intend any purgatorial fire by this expression will appear from the following considerations :—(1) Fire is here simply regarded as a destructive agency ; there is no trace here of the idea of refining or purging, an attribute elsewhere given to it, as in Mal. iii. 3, though even there the prophet seems to speak of purging the whole nation by destroying the wicked, not of purging sin in the individual man. (2) The whole image implies a momentary effect, and not a slow, continuous process. The Lord shall appear in a flash of light and a flame of fire. The light shall dart its rays into the innermost recesses of the moral world. The flame shall reduce to ashes the superstructure raised by the careless or unskilful builder. The builder himself shall flee for his life. He shall escape, but scorched, and with the marks of the flames about him."

of the doctrine we are now considering. The fire is *probatory*, not purgatorial; and it is placed at the last day, not in the interval between death and judgment.

Since, then, these passages, which have sometimes been urged in favour of the doctrine, have broken down, it is now generally acknowledged that there is little or nothing directly bearing on the subject in Scripture. The question must, therefore, be decided by broad considerations, and by reference to the general tenor of Scriptural teaching on the state after death, and man's relation to God. In this the following points, which bear on the matter before us, seem to stand out clearly:—

1. *This life* is the time of man's probation; and no countenance is given to the view that a "second chance," or time of probation, is to be looked for after death.¹ "We must all be made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ; that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad" (2 Cor. v. 10). The award will, then, be made for *things done in the body*, *i.e.* in this life.

2. The "dead which die in the Lord" are in a state of peace; "they rest from their labours" (Rev. xiv. 13). So for S. Paul "to depart" is "to be with Christ" (Phil. i. 23). But the dead are not yet made perfect. The souls of the martyrs are represented as "under the altar," and crying unto God—"and there was given them to each one a white robe; and it was said unto them that they should rest yet for a little time, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren, which should be killed even as they were, should be fulfilled" (Rev. vi. 9–11; cf. Heb. xi. 40).

The teaching summed up under this last head seems

¹ On 1 Pet. iii. 18, which is sometimes referred to in this connection, see p. 170 *seq.*

entirely inconsistent with any notion of a purgatory of pain, to be endured by the great majority of those who die in grace, before they are admitted to the rest of Paradise. But we are told that "without holiness no man shall see the Lord" (Heb. xii. 14); and since the vast mass of the faithful pass out of this life in a state of very imperfect holiness, it is inferred that there is "a place in which souls who depart this life in the grace of God suffer for a time because they still need to be cleansed from venial, or have still to pay the temporal punishment due to mortal, sins, the guilt and the eternal punishment of which have been remitted."¹ In this form the doctrine is stated by modern Romanists. But even in this form (which is very different from the current medieval teaching) it must be rejected as wanting in Scriptural and Patristic authority, as well as because it involves a purgatory of *pain*. That there is *progress* after death would seem to be implied in Scripture;² and it is probable that this may involve a process of gradual purification, only it cannot be said that so much is actually revealed. The possibility remains, that the stains of sin, which cling even to the best, may be removed in the moment of death, so that the sanctification may be complete, "without which no man shall see the Lord." But to many minds it will appear far more probable, and far more in accordance with what we know of God's dealings with men, that as the stains were gradually acquired, and were gradually being removed during this life, so still after death their removal should be gradual. Such a view is certainly not condemned by the terms of the Article before us.³ But

¹ Addis and Arnold, *A Catholic Dictionary*, p. 766.

² See Phil. i. 6: "Being confident of this very thing, that He which began a good work in you will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ."

³ Cf. *The Life and Letters of F. J. A. Hort*, vol. ii. p. 336: "Nothing,

even though it should appear to be highly probable, it cannot be regarded as revealed doctrine. It is but a "pious opinion," and not a matter which ought to be taught as part of God's certain truth. We may fairly conclude, with Bishop Andrewes: "Whatever has not a stronger basis in Holy Scripture may have a place among the opinions of the school, which are not without fear of the contrary being true; but among Articles of faith it cannot. Let it therefore occupy its own place; let it be an opinion . . . but let it not pertain to the faith, nay, let it not even be accounted an ecclesiastical doctrine."¹

II. *Pardons (Indulgentiæ).*

The **Romish doctrine of pardons** is so closely connected with the theory of "works of supererogation," that in discussing the fourteenth Article it was necessary to anticipate much that would naturally have found a place here. There is no need to repeat the sketch there given of the growth of the system of granting indulgences; or of the Scriptural arguments against the practice. All that seems to be required here is (*a*) to give an explanation of the word "indulgences," and (*b*)

I think, can be clearer than that the Article does *not* condemn *all* doctrine that may be called a doctrine of purgatory. . . . 'Purgatory' is not a word that I should myself spontaneously adopt, because it is associated with Roman theories about the future state for which I see no foundation. But the idea of purgation, of cleansing as by fire, seems to me inseparable from what the Bible teaches us of the Divine chastisements; and though little is said directly respecting the future state, it seems to me incredible that the Divine chastisements should in this respect change their character when this visible life is ended. Neither now nor hereafter is there reason to suppose that they act mechanically as by an irresistible natural process, irrespectively of human will and acceptance." Reference may also be made to Plumptre's *Spirits in Prison*, p. 307 *seq.*; and Mason's *Purgatory*, etc.: Lect. II.

¹ *Responsio ad Bellarminum*, c. viii. p. 287 (A. C. Lib.).

to add a brief description of the "Romish doctrine" against which the terms of the Article are directed.

(a) *The word "Indulgences."*—The word "*indulgentia*," which was originally used of gentleness and tenderness, had come in the language of the Latin jurisconsults to signify definitely a remission of taxation or of punishment;¹ and in all probability this suggested the technical use of the word which grew up in course of time within the Christian Church. But for centuries before any such technical use can be traced, the word had been a familiar one in Christian circles, in the sense of God's *pardon* and *forgiveness*. It is used in the Vulgate in Is. lxi. 1, "to proclaim liberty to the captives" (et prædicarem captivis *indulgentiam*), as well as in a few other passages;² and is a common word in the writings of the Christian Fathers from the earliest times:³ *indulgentia*, *relaxatio*, *remissio*, and *venia*, all being used generally of the pardon and forgiveness of God, sometimes in connection with the penitential system, and sometimes not. It was shown under Article XIV. that all these words were employed of the formal grants of "pardon" or "indulgence" dispensed by the Pope from the eleventh century onwards; and (probably for the reason stated above) the word "*indulgentiæ*" became in course of time the technical name by which they were known.

In England we find both words, "pardon" and

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI. v. 16; *Cod. Theod.* IX. xxxiv., *De indulgentiis criminum*.

² Viz. Judith viii. 14; Is. lxiii. 7, 9; 1 Cor. vii. 6.

³ Tertullian has it more than once: *De Exhort. Cast.* iii.; *Adv. Valent.* xxix.; *Adv. Marc.* IV. xxix.; and Cyprian uses it, not only of "favour" and "goodness," but definitely of "forgiveness." *De bono patientiæ*, viii. (*indulgentia criminis*); *De lapsis*, xvi. (*remittere aut donare indulgentia sua*); Ep. lv. § 7. See *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, vol. iv. p. 248.

"indulgence," freely used from the days of Langland downwards.

(b) *The Romish doctrine of pardons condemned in the Article.*—The sketch which has been already given of the growth of the system will have shown pretty clearly what the claims made for the indulgences granted by Tetzel and the preachers were.¹ Luther in his famous theses (1517) was prepared to admit them as a relaxation of canonical penance, but no further.² But, as is well known, this was totally insufficient for the ecclesiastical authorities. The decree of Leo x. (1518) reasserted the medieval doctrine, and the papal Bull of excommunication (*Exsurge Domine*, 1520) condemned as pestiferous, pernicious, and scandalous the assertions of Luther on this subject.³ The Council of Trent (1563), as we have seen, retained the custom, though frankly acknowledging the abuses. But unhappily the Roman Church still stands committed to the view that they can avail to help the souls in purgatory, though, as formally held, only *per modum suffragii*; and though the worst scandals have disappeared since the Tridentine decrees were issued, yet it is clear that Rome has retained only too much of the medieval system, and that the indulgences still granted are far more than a mere remission of ecclesiastical penance imposed by the Church. They differ, then, entirely from their original form, having practically little or nothing to do with ecclesiastical censures on the living, but being mainly concerned with God's chastisement in the intermediate state. And while we frankly admit the power of "binding and loosing" which belongs

¹ Cf. also Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, vol. v. p. 58 *seq.*, for an admirable sketch of the development of practice and teaching concerning indulgences.

² The theses are given in full in Schaff's *History of the (Lutheran) Reformation*, vol. i. p. 160 *seq.*

³ See the Bull itself in Schaff, *op. cit.* p. 235.

to the Church, we are compelled to reject altogether the theological defence for indulgences constructed by the schoolmen, and with it the whole practical system of granting them which it was constructed to support.

III. *The Adoration of Images and Relics.*

In considering **the Romish doctrine . . . of the worshipping and adoration, as well of images as of reliques**, it will once more be convenient to make a further division, and to consider separately (*a*) the history of the practice, and (*b*) the Scriptural arguments concerning it.

(*a*) *The history of the practice.*—In the earliest ages of the Church there was some not unnatural hesitation as to the use of art in connection with Christian worship.¹ It had been so steeped in the spirit of an impure heathenism, that the Church was shy of consecrating it for religious purposes. The Catacombs, however, reveal to us the beginnings of a Christian art; and we find from Tertullian that, by the end of the second century, it was customary to paint the figure of the Good Shepherd on the Eucharistic chalice.² In the fourth century, pictures began to be more freely introduced into the churches, though not without protest from various Fathers;³ and

¹ The language of Irenæus on the followers of Carpocrates does not look as if he approved of religious images and pictures, or as if such were usual among Christians: "Etiam imagines, quasdam quidem depictas, quasdam autem et de reliqua materia fabricatas habent, dicens formam Christi factam a Pilato, illo in tempore quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus. Et has coronant, et proponunt eas cum imaginibus mundi philosophorum, videlicet cum imagine Pythagoræ, et Platonis, et Aristotelis, et reliquorum; et reliquam observationem circa eas similiter ut gentes faciunt." —*Adv. Hær.* I. xx.

² "Pastor quem in calice depingis."—*De pudic.* c. x.; cf. c. vii. "picturæ calicum."

³ *E.g.* Epiphanius (390) describes how he found a painting of Christ or

from this time forward the cultus of both images and relics seems steadily to have increased. A great impetus was given to the latter by S. Helena's discovery of the remains of the true cross in 326. By the close of the fourth century it was believed that miracles were wrought by the relics of the saints and martyrs;¹ and by the eighth century, in spite of protests raised from time to time,² the practice of paying "worship" and "adoration" to images and relics had reached such a height that a reaction set in, and a vigorous protest was made against it. Whereas originally pictures and images had been but the "books of the unlearned," by this time they had come to be regarded with such superstitious reverence, and such acts of homage and "worship" were paid to them, that the Church could with difficulty be cleared from the charge of idolatry. Hence the great "iconoclastic controversy" of the eighth century, in which for the most part the Emperors at Constantinople (*e.g.* Leo the Isaurian and Constantine Copronymus) took the lead in destroying the images, and the Popes at Rome constituted themselves the champions of the cultus. Into the dreary history of the controversy there is no need to enter here.³ It will be sufficient to mention that the

some saint on a curtain in a church at Anablatha in Palestine, and tore it down because it was contrary to the authority of the Scriptures, in *S. Hieronymi Epistolæ*, li. 9. So the Council of Elvira (A.D. 305) forbade pictures to be placed in churches: "Placuit picturas in Ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur."—Canon xxxvi. This was "evidently not directed against a prospective or imaginary danger, but against an actual and probably a growing practice."—Westcott, *Epp. of S. John*, p. 329.

¹ See Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XXII. viii., and *Confessions*, IX. vii., for notices of some of these.

² See the letters of Gregory the Great to Serenus, *Epp.* VII. ii. 3, and IX. iv. 9.

³ See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 339 *seq.*, and the excellent lecture in Archbp. Trench's *Medieval Church History*, Lect. vii.

decisions of the iconoclastic Council of 754 at Constantinople (which claimed to be a general one) were reversed by the Council of Nicæa in 787, which has been finally accepted by both Greeks and Latins as the seventh General Council. At this the worship of images was decreed, and the following canon was passed:—

“With the venerable and life-giving Cross shall be set up the venerable and holy images, whether in colour, in mosaic work, or any other material, within the consecrated churches of God, on the sacred vessels and vestments, on the walls, and on tablets, on houses, and in highways—the images, that is to say, of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, of the immaculate mother of God, of the honoured angels, of all saints and holy men. These images shall be treated as holy memorials, worshipped, kissed, only without that peculiar adoration (λάτρευσις) which is reserved for the Invisible, Incomprehensible God.”¹

Even after this the struggle lasted a short time longer. In 814 a Council was held at Constantinople under the Emperor Leo the Armenian, which confirmed the decrees of the previous Council of 754 and anathematised the image worshippers. But, finally, in the reign of Michael Porphyrogenitus (840) the iconoclastic party entirely collapsed, and the “feast of orthodoxy” was established to commemorate the triumph of their

¹ Ὁρίζομεν οὖν ἀκριβεῖα πάση καὶ ἐμμελεῖα παραπλησίως τῷ τυπῷ τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ ἀνατίθестhai τὰς σέπτας καὶ ἀγίας εἰκόνας, τὰς ἐκ χρωμάτων καὶ ψηφίδος καὶ ἐτέρας ὕλης ἐπιτηδείως ἐχοῦσης ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις, ἐν ἱεροῖς σκεύεσι καὶ ἐσθῆσι, τοίχοις τε καὶ σανίσιν, οἴκοις τε καὶ ὁδοῖς τῆς τε τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνας, καὶ τῆς ἀχράντου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς ἀγίας Θεοτόκου, τιμίων τε ἀγγέλων, καὶ πάντων ἀγίων καὶ ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν . . . καὶ ταύταις ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν ἀπονέμειν οὐ μὴν τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν, ἣ πρέπει μόνῃ τῇ θεῇ φύσει.—Labbe and Cossart, vol. iv. p. 456. The translation given above is in Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 391.

opponents. From this time forward we hear but little of any opposition to image worship,¹ and the practice was generally accepted without question in both East² and West, until S. Thomas Aquinas lays down definitely that "the same reverence should be displayed towards an image of Christ and towards Christ Himself; and seeing that Christ is adored with the adoration of *latria*, it follows that His image is to be adored with the adoration of *latria*"; and again, "the Cross is adored with the same adoration as Christ, that is, with the adoration of *latria*, and for that reason we address and supplicate the Cross just as we do the Crucified Himself."³ In accordance with this we find in the Roman Missal an office for the adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, in which full directions are given for the adoration of the Cross, and an antiphon is sung, beginning, "Crucem tuam adoramus

¹ The Council of Frankfort (794), however, rejected the second Council of Nicæa, and the Caroline books absolutely condemned any adoration or worship of images. See Palmer, *Treatise on the Church*, vol. ii. p. 153 seq.

² The Eastern Church, it should be mentioned, while it encourages the veneration of pictures, does not admit sculptured or hewn images. The "icons" of the East are really pictures. For the Greek teaching on the subject see Winer, *Confessions of Christendom*, p. 76. One quotation may suffice here. 'Ἡμεῖς ὅταν τιμῶμεν τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὰς προσκυνούμεν, δὲν προσκυνούμεν τὰ χρώματα ἢ τὰ ξύλα. μὰ τοὺς ἀγίους ἐκείνους, τῶν ὁποίων εἶναι αἱ εἰκόνες, δοξάζομεν μὲ προσκύνησιν δουλείας, βάλλοντας μὲ τὸν νοῦν μας τὴν ἐκείνων παρουσίαν εἰς τὰ ὀμμυδιά μας.—*Conf. Orthod.* p. 328.

³ "Sequitur quod eadem reverentia exhibeatur imagini Christi et ipsi Christo. Cum ergo Christus adoretur adoratione latriæ consequens est quod ejus imago sit adoratione latriæ adoranda." "[Crux] utroque modo adoratur eadem adoratione cum Christo, scil. adoratione latriæ. Et propter hoc etiam crucem alloquimur et deprecamur quasi ipsum crucifixum."—*Summa* III. Q. xxv. arts. iii. iv. In view of the distinction drawn by Romanists between *latria*, the worship due to God alone, *hyperdulia*, that due to the Blessed Virgin, and *dulia*, that which is due to the saints, these words have caused no little difficulty, and are frequently explained away. But the statement of S. Thomas is clear enough and gives to the Cross *latria*.

Domine";¹ and in our own country the Constitutions of Archbishop Arundel, in 1408, emphatically urge the practice. "From henceforth let it be taught commonly, and preached by all, that the Cross and the image of the Crucified, and the rest of the images of the saints, in memory and honour of them whom they figure, as also their places and relics, ought to be worshipped (*venerari*) with processions, bendings of the knees, bowings of the body, incensings, kissings, offerings, lightings of candles, and pilgrimages, together with all other manners and forms whatsoever as hath been accustomed to be done in our predecessors' times."² It is needless to add illustrations of the gross abuses and superstitions, such as that of the "Rood of Boxley,"³ which had been exposed in the early years of the sixteenth century,—abuses which afford a painfully strong justification of the vigorous language in condemnation of this worshipping and adoration of images and relics contained in the Article before us.⁴

(b) *The Scriptural arguments concerning the practice.*—It might have been supposed that it would be sufficient to quote the language of the second commandment as entirely prohibiting worship in any form being offered to

¹ *Missale Romanum*. Feria vi. in Parasceve.

² "Ab omnibus deinceps doceatur communiter atque prædicetur, crucem et imaginem crucifixi cæterasque imagines sanctorum, in ipsorum memoriam et honorem quos figurant, ac ipsorum loca et reliquias, processionibus, genuflexionibus, inclinationibus, thurificationibus, deosculatationibus, oblationibus, luminarium accensionibus, et peregrinationibus, nec non aliis quibuscunque modis et formis quibus nostris et predecessorum nostrorum temporibus fieri consuevit, venerari debere."—See Johnson's *English Canons*, vol. ii. p. 469, and Lyndwood's *Provinciale*, V. De hæret. cap. *Nullus quoque*.

³ See Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 52 seq.

⁴ It should also be mentioned that in the Second Book of the Homilies there is a lengthy Homily on this subject, entitled "Against Peril of Idolatry."

images;¹ but since it has appeared to Roman Catholics that the Scriptures contain instances of image worship and exhortation to it, it may be well to examine the passages alleged by them. The action of David in dancing before the ark (2 Sam. vi.) has been referred to, but it is difficult to see what justification there is for the assertion that any *worship*, be it *latria* or *dulia*, was paid by him to it. But it is said that the 99th Psalm contains a direct charge to "adore His footstool, for it is holy," and that the Epistle to the Hebrews tells us that Jacob "adored the top of his rod."² These two instances shall be considered, and if nothing stronger is forthcoming it may safely be concluded that there is not a shred of evidence in favour of the practice to be adduced from Holy Scripture, or to be set against the emphatic condemnation of it in the Decalogue.³

¹ It need hardly be said that the second commandment cannot be strained into a condemnation of images and pictures as works of art, or for purposes of instruction. Had this been so, the figures of the cherubim, oxen, and lions would never have found place in the Tabernacle or Temple.

² Both of these passages are referred to as authorising "relative honour to the images of Christ and the saints" in a table of references at the end of a copy of the Douay Bible lying before me; and to the passage in Heb. xi. 21 is appended the following note: "The apostle here follows the ancient Greek Bible of the Seventy interpreters (which translates in this manner Gen. xlvii. 31), and alleges this fact of Jacob, in paying a relative veneration to the top of the rod or sceptre of Joseph as to a figure of Christ's sceptre and kingdom, as an instance and argument of his faith. But some translators, who are no friends to this relative honour, have corrupted the text by translating it, *he worshipped, leaning upon the top of his staff*: as if this circumstance of leaning upon his staff were any argument of Jacob's faith, or worthy the being thus particularly taken notice of by the Holy Ghost." The remarks above will show who are the real "corrupters of the text."

³ It is, to say the least, unfortunate that in the great majority of Roman Catholic Catechisms the Commandments are given in an abbreviated form, and, since according to the reckoning which obtains among them our *first* and *second* commandments form but one, the condemnation of image worship is *practically* unknown by the vast mass of the laity among them.

Ps. xcix. 5 in the English version stands as follows: "Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at His footstool, for He is holy" (margin: *it is holy*). In the "Douay version," however, which is commonly used by Roman Catholics, it stands thus: "Adore His footstool, for it is holy." The origin of the difference is this. The English version is taken from the Hebrew, and adequately represents the original הִשְׁתַּחֲוִי לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִי. The Douay version is translated from the Vulgate (Ps. xcvi. 5), where the preposition is ignored and the words rendered, "Adorate scabellum pedum ejus quoniam sanctum est."¹ Thus *the argument rests entirely on a mistranslation*. The same is true of the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 21). Here again the Vulgate, "adoravit fastigium virgæ ejus," *entirely misrepresents the meaning of the original*. The Greek is προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ, words which can only mean that Jacob worshipped *upon* (i.e. as the A.V. and R.V. "*leaning upon*") the top of his staff. With regard to the Scriptural argument for the adoration of relics, from the miracle wrought by the bones of Elisha (2 Kings xiii. 21) and the "handkerchiefs and aprons" brought from the body of S. Paul (Acts xix. 12), it cannot be said that they are worth anything. Neither the bones nor the handkerchiefs were preserved to be adored;² and until

¹ The construction in the original is precisely the same as in ver. 9, where both the Douay version and the Vulgate render correctly enough "Adore *at* His holy mountain," "Adorate *in* monte sancto ejus." Whereas, if only they were consistent, the mountain would have to be adored as well as the footstool.

² Cf. the Martyrdom of Polycarp, c. xvii., where the Christians pour scorn on the notion that they would want to worship the body of the saint, or worship any other than Christ. Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ νῦν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυνούμεν, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως ἕνεκεν εὐολας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλεία καὶ διδασκαλον. — Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, part II. vol. ii. § ii. p. 979.

something stronger is adduced by our opponents, we may safely rest satisfied that nothing stronger can be found.

III. *The Invocation of Saints.*

Once more we must consider separately (*a*) the history of the practice, and (*b*) the Scriptural argument concerning it.

(*a*) *The history of the practice.*—In tracing out the growth of the custom of invoking the saints at rest, it will be well to start from the fact that the early Church undoubtedly believed that they were still engaged in interceding for those whose warfare was not yet accomplished,¹ and very generally *prayed to God* to be benefited by a share in the prayers of the saints.² But there can also be no doubt that the early Christians did not think it right directly to ask the saints to use those intercessions, in whose efficacy she yet believed. The only writer during the first three centuries who has been quoted in favour of direct invocation is Origen (220), and it seems almost certain that in the passage in question he is really referring, not to the saints at rest, but to those still on earth. His words are these: "It is not improper to offer supplication, intercession, and thanksgiving to saints: and two of these—I mean intercession and thanksgiving—not only to saints, but to mere men; but supplication to saints only, if any Peter or Paul can be found, that they may help us: making us worthy to enjoy the licence which was granted them of forgiving sins."³ This passage, says Dean Luckock,

¹ See Origen, *In Jesu Nave*, Hom. xvi. c. 5; *In Cant.*, Lib. iii.; *Ep. ad Rom.*, Comment. ii. 4; Cyprian, *Ep.* lx.; *De Mortalitate, ad fin.* etc.; and cf. Luckock, *After Death*, part II. c. i.

² Such prayers are found in all the ancient Liturgies, in which there is no direct invocation of the saints themselves.

³ Δέησιν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐντευξιν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν οὐκ ἀποπον καὶ ἀγίοις προσ-

"seems to have been quite unjustly claimed in favour of addressing petitions to departed saints. It is next to certain, as the whole context shows, that he had in his mind none but living saints."¹ And this explanation is confirmed by words which he uses elsewhere, saying of the "ten thousand sacred powers" which men "have on their side when they pray to God," that *uninvoked* (*ἄκλητοι*), these pray with them and bring help to our perishable race, and, if I may so speak, take up arms alongside of it."²

It is, then, only in the latter part of the fourth century that the evidence for direct invocation really begins.³ The Fathers of this age who have been cited in favour of the practice are these: in the East, S. Basil the Great (370), Gregory Nazianzen (370) and Gregory Nyssen (370), Ephraem the Syrian (370) and S. Chrysostom (390). In the West, S. Ambrose (380) and S. Augustine (400). Their testimony has been carefully examined by Dean Luckock in his volume *After Death*, and the conclusion at which he arrives is that "S. Chrysostom's contradictions are such as to invalidate his evidence, that S. Gregory Nazianzen speaks doubtfully, that S. Ambrose, in the little which he has said upon the subject, is inconsistent with himself; but that the testimony of SS. Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Ephraem, and Augustine remains so far unshaken."⁴ Some of the

ενέγκειν ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν δύο, λέγω δὴ ἔντευξιν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν οὐ μόνον ἀγίοις ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἀνθρώποις, τὴν δὲ δέησιν μόνον ἀγίοις, εἰ τις εὐρεθελὴ Παῦλος ἢ Πέτρος ἵνα ὠφελήσωσιν ἡμᾶς ἀγίους ποιοῦντες τοῦ τυχεῖν τῆς δεδομένης αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας πρὸς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἀφιέναι.—*De Oratione*, 14.

¹ *After Death*, p. 187. Cf. Mason, p. 115.

² "Ὡστε τολμᾶν ἡμᾶς λέγειν, ὅτι ἀνθρώποις, μετὰ προαιρέσεως προτιθεμένοις τὰ κρείττονα, εὐχομένοις τῷ Θεῷ μυρία δοῦναι ἄκλητοι συνεύχονται δυνάμεις ἱεραὶ, συμπαρέχουσαι τῷ ἐπικηρῷ ἡμῶν γένει, καὶ ἴν' οὕτως εἴπω, συναγωνιῶσαι.—*Contra Celsum*, viii. 64.

³ It ought to be mentioned that such prayers are found (undated) in the Catacombs. See, however, Mason, p. 117.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 197.

passages in these Fathers certainly appear to be nothing more than rhetorical appeals, which can scarcely have been intended to be taken as seriously implying that the person so addressed was expected to be cognisant of the utterance,—as when S. Gregory Nazianzen apostrophises Constantius: “Hear, O soul of great Constantius (if thou hast any faculty of perception), and ye souls of all the kings who before him loved Christ.”¹ Concerning the intention of others, however, there is no room for doubt;² and it cannot be denied that by the time of Augustine the practice of directly invoking the saints was firmly established as a popular one, though even so there is no trace of such invocations being admitted into the formal services of the Church. Rather, it would appear from the language of Augustine that they were not allowed; for in a passage in which he is speaking of the miracles wrought by the martyrs, “or rather,” as he corrects himself, by “God who does them, while they pray and assist,” he says, “we do not erect altars at these monuments that we may sacrifice to the martyrs, but to the one God of the martyrs and of ourselves, and in this sacrifice they are named in their own place, and rank as men of God who conquered the world by confessing Him, *but they are not invoked by the sacrificing priest*” (non tamen a sacerdote qui sacrificat invocantur).³ After this time it would seem

¹ *Adv. Jul. Imp. Invect.* i. *Orat.* iv. 3.

² Thus S. Basil says: “I accept also the holy apostles, prophets, and martyrs, and I invoke them (ἐπικαλοῦμαι) for their supplication to God, that by them, that is, by their mediation, the merciful God may take compassion upon me, and that there may be granted to me redemption for mine offences.”—*Ex epist. ad Julian Apost.* cclx.; cf. *De Mart. Mamante*, *Hom.* xxiii. and *Hom. in xl. Mart.* § 8. These and the other passages from the Fathers mentioned in the text are all quoted in full in Luckock, *op. cit.*; and cf. Mason, p. 132 seq.

³ *De Civit. Dei*, Bk. xxii. c. x.: “Just before this (c. viii.) Augustine has told a story of a tailor who had lost his coat, and had prayed to the

that the custom grew apace. The practice having once established itself spread throughout the East and West,¹ and became part of the system of the Church. By the eighth century the invocations were introduced into the Litanies of the Church,² the only public authorised service in which they have ever been prominent, except later devotions in honour of the Blessed Virgin. Nor, unhappily, did the system long remain what it had been at first, *i.e.* merely asking the saints to pray for us. In time the saints were often invoked as if they were the authors of benefits; and the Blessed Virgin, in particular, was addressed in language which (with every wish to be charitable) it is impossible to avoid stigmatising as blasphemous and idolatrous. Thus in Bonaventura's *Crown of the Blessed Virgin Mary* we read: "O Empress and our most kind lady, by the authority of a mother command thy most beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ, that He would vouchsafe to lift up our minds," etc.³ Much more of the same character may be found in the *Psalter of the Blessed Virgin*,⁴ attributed to the same writer. And it cannot be doubted that in the sixteenth century

twenty martyrs, begging in a distinct voice that he might be heard." The sequel was evidently regarded by Augustine as a direct answer to his petition. Cf. also *De Cura pro mortuis*, c. iv.

¹ At the present day the doctrine of the Eastern Church on this subject differs in no respect from the formal teaching of the Latin Church. See Winer's *Confessions of Christendom*, p. 70, where citations are given from the "Orthodox Confession" of 1643, and that of Metrophanes Critopulus (1625). Cf. also the *Longer Catechism of the Russian Church* (translated by R. W. Blackmore), p. 78.

² It is hard to say exactly when they were introduced; but it was certainly some time before the middle of the eighth century. See the seventeenth canon of the Council of Clovesho (A.D. 747), which orders the name of Augustine to be introduced into the Litany, "post Sancti Gregorii vocationem." Haddan and Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 368.

³ See Usher's *Answer to Jesuit*, p. 424, where this and much more of the same kind is quoted.

⁴ Usher, *L.c.*

the practical system connected with the invocation of saints was grossly superstitious.¹ It naturally excited the indignation of our Reformers, and hence the emphatic condemnation of the "Romish doctrine" on the subject in the Article before us, and the vigorous polemic contained in the Homily "Concerning Prayer" which was issued in the reign of Elizabeth.²

(b) *The Scriptural argument concerning invocation of saints.*—In considering the teaching of Scripture on this subject, it is well to remember that it is admitted by all parties that to regard the saints as the *authors* of the benefits which they are asked to obtain is wrong,³ and contrary to Scripture, which distinctly forbids the worship of a creature, and contains striking instances of the refusal of worship by both men and angels. Thus in Acts x. 25 we read: "When it came to pass that Peter entered, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet and

¹ Thus Erasmus writes: "I call it superstition when all things are asked from the saints as if Christ were dead; or when we implore the aid of the saints with the idea that they are more easily intreated than God; or when we seek some particular thing from each, as if S. Catherine could bestow what S. Barbara could not; or when we call upon them, not as intercessors, but as authors of those good things which God grants us. I think that it may seem impious to thee to animadvert upon these things, but I well know that it would not seem superfluous, if thou knewest the prodigious superstition of our fellow-countrymen on this matter."—*Epist. ad Jac. Sadolet.*, quoted in Forbes, *Considerationes Modestæ*, vol. ii. p. 310. Cf. the "Ten Articles" of 1536, where, though direct invocation is retained, a caution is added, that "it be done without any vain superstition, so as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that one saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same."—*Formularies of Faith*, p. 15.

² See the "second part of the Homily Concerning Prayer," *The Homilies*, p. 341 (S.P.C.K.).

³ Bellarmine says, that as far as words go, it is lawful to say: "S. Peter pity me, save me, open for me the gate of heaven"; also "give me health of body, patience, fortitude," etc., provided that we mean "save and pity me by praying for me"; "Grant me this or that by thy prayers and merits."

worshipped him (*προσεκύνησεν*). But Peter raised him up, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a man."¹ So in the Revelation, twice over S. John "fell down before the feet of the angel to worship him" (*προσκυνῆσαι*), and twice over the angel refuses the worship. "See thou do it not; I am a fellow-servant with thee and with thy brethren that hold the testimony of Jesus" (xix. 10). "See thou do it not: I am a fellow-servant with thee, and with thy brethren the prophets, and with them which keep the words of this book: worship God" (xxii. 9). The advocates of the invocations would not attempt to justify more than the "Ora pro nobis" or its equivalent (since they explain away the far stronger language habitually used in their popular devotions). And even here they are compelled to admit that there is nothing in Scripture which *directly* sanctions the practice. It is based by them (1) on the evidence that the saints at rest are engaged in interceding for us, and (2) on the admitted power of intercessory prayer. To these arguments we reply, *first*, that it may be freely conceded that Holy Scripture does appear to imply that the saints at rest do pray for those still on earth,² and

¹ Acts xiv. 13 *seq.*, which is sometimes quoted against the invocation of saints, seems really not to bear upon the subject, for the men of Lystra desired to offer to the apostles divine honour, as to heathen deities; which under no circumstances could they have accepted. It is very different, therefore, from the passages cited in the text.

² This was certainly the belief of the Jews, as is shown by more than one passage in the Apocrypha. See 2 Macc. xv. 12-14: "And this was his vision: that Onias, who had been high priest . . . holding up his hands prayed for the whole body of the Jews. This done, in like manner there appeared a man with grey hairs, and exceeding glorious, who was of a wonderful and excellent majesty. Then Onias answered, saying, This is a lover of the brethren, who prayeth much for the people, and for the holy city, to wit, Jeremias, the prophet of God." Cf. Tobit xii. 12, where Raphael, "one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints," speaks of "bringing the remembrance" of Tobit's prayers "before the Holy One." Cf. also Rev. viii. 3, 4, and v. 8.

that therefore it cannot be wrong to ask God for a share in their prayers.¹ But when we are asked to go further, and address the saints themselves, we may well hesitate; for though, *secondly*, we fully believe in the power of intercessory prayer, yet if we wish to ask an earthly friend to exercise it for us, we take care that our words can reach him; and so, before asking the saints to do the same, we require evidence that they are cognisant of our prayers. With Bishop Richard Montague (1624) we say: "Demonstrate unto me infallibly by reason, Scripture, authentic tradition, that saints departed are all of them, or any of them, interested ordinarily *rebus viventium*; that by either evening or morning knowledge, natural endowment, or acquired accruments, by Divine revelation, angelical revelation, or other means, they do or can know and understand my necessities, exigencies, prayers, or practice in any time or place when I call upon them, or unto them, and I will unfeignedly join hands of fellowship, and say, 'Saint *Peter*, Saint *Paul*, pray for me.' Until that, ἐπέχω; and so I think will any desire to be excused for invocation; for to be persuaded, as some have told me that in their opinion saints nor do nor can be privy unto my necessities, nor hear my prayers, and yet to pray unto them, is to my understanding so poor a part of piety that it is without warrant of common sense."²

It does not appear that there is any evidence in Holy

¹ Cf. Field, *Of the Church*, bk. iii. Appendix: "That the saints do pray for us *in genere*, desiring God to be merciful to us, and to do unto us whatsoever in any kind He knoweth needful for our good, there is no question made by us; and therefore this prayer wherein the Church desireth God to be gracious to her and to grant the things she desireth, the rather for that the saints in heaven also are suppliant for her, will not be found to contain any point of Romish doctrine disliked by us."

² *A Treatise of the Invocation of Saints*, p. 218, quoted in H. R. Percival's *Invocation of Saints*, p. 111.

Scripture that the saints are already admitted to the beatific vision, or that they are cognisant of our prayers, such as would warrant us in addressing them.¹ Nor can it be said that there has been any certain and consistent tradition of the Church on the subject which would justify us in regarding it as "a Catholic practice." As we have already seen, there is no trace of direct invocation before the last half of the fourth century. In the fifth century S. Augustine uses language which betrays considerable doubt when discussing the question whether the saints know what is passing on earth.² In the twelfth century, all that Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences, can say with regard to the theory which obtains most widely at the present day, is that "it is *not incredible* that the souls of the saints, which in their secret dwelling rejoice in the illumination of the true light of the face of God, do in the contemplation thereof understand the things which are done in this outer world, as much as pertaineth either to them for joy or to us for aid. For as to the angels, so also to the saints, who stand before God, our petitions are made known in the word of God which they contemplate."³ Still later, Dun Scotus maintains "that it does not belong to the essence of blessedness that the blessed

¹ Cf. Mason, p. 145 *seq.* It would be precarious in the extreme to build anything upon Heb. xii. 1, where the word for "witnesses" is *μαρτύρες*.

² The question is discussed by Augustine in *De cura pro mortuis*, c. xiii. *seq.*; and though Augustine believed that the martyrs were able to help the living, he confesses that he is utterly unable to solve the question how they are made aware of what passes on earth.

³ "Sed forte quæris, Num quid preces supplicantium sancti audiunt, et vota postulantium in eorum notitiam perveniunt? Non est incredibile animas sanctorum, quæ in abscondito faciei Dei veri luminis illustratione lætantur, in ipsius contemplatione ea quæ foris aguntur intelligere, quantum vel illis ad gaudium vel nobis ad auxilium pertinet. Sicut enim angelis, ita et sanctis qui Deo assistunt, petitiones nostræ innotescunt in Verbo Dei quod contemplantur."—*Sentent.* IV. dist. xlv. 6,

hear our prayers, though it is *probable* that God reveals them to them";¹ and even so late as the sixteenth century Cardinal Cajetan is forced to admit that "we have no certain knowledge as to whether the saints are aware of our prayers, *though we piously believe it.*"²

In the absence, therefore, of any distinct revelation, and in the face of so much doubt and uncertainty, it would appear that the Church of England is amply justified (1) in removing from the public services of the Church all traces of such direct invocations, including the "Ave Maria" as well as the "Ora pro nobis";³ and (2) in condemning in round terms in the Article before us the current teaching and practice, which can be abundantly shown to be **a fond⁴ thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.**

¹ "Non esse ex ratione beatitudinis, quod beati audiant orationes nostras, probabile tamen esse quod Deus ipse revelat."—*In Sent.* IV. *dist.* xlv. q. 4, quoted in Forbes, *Consid. Modest.* vol. ii. p. 178.

² "Certa ratione nescimus an sancti nostra cognoscant, quamvis pie hoc credamus."—*In* 2a 2æ, q. lxxxviii. art. 5, quoted in Forbes, *op. cit.* p. 176.

³ When the English Litany was first published in 1544, all the invocations of saints (which had formed so prominent a feature in this service) were deleted, except three clauses, namely—

"Saint Mary, mother of God our Saviour Jesu Christ, pray for us.

"All holy angels and archangels, and all holy orders of blessed spirits, pray for us.

"All holy patriarchs and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven, pray for us."

On the publication of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. in 1549 these three clauses were omitted, and all trace of the direct invocation of the saints was removed from the public offices of the English Church.

⁴ Fond (*inanis*), *i.e.* foolish. Shakespeare uses the word in the same sense—

"Thou fond mad man, hear me but speak a word."

Romeo and Juliet, III. iii. 52.

"And for his dreams, I wonder he is so fond
To trust the mockery of unquiet slumber."

Richard III. III. ii. 26.

ARTICLE XXIII

De vocatione Ministrorum.

Non licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publice prædicandi, aut administrandi Sacramenta in Ecclesia, nisi prius fuerit ad hæc obeunda legitime vocatus et missus. Atque illos legitime vocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas vocandi Ministros atque mittendi in vineam Domini publice concessa est in Ecclesia, cooptati fuerint et asciti in hoc opus.

Of Ministering in the Congregation.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

THERE has been no change in the substance of this Article since it was first published in 1553. In that edition, however, and also in that of 1563, the title ran: "Nemo in ecclesia ministret nisi vocatus" ("No man may minister in the congregation except he be called"). The present title was substituted for this at the final revision in 1571.

The ultimate source of this Article is the fourteenth, "De ordine ecclesiastico," of the Confession of Augsburg: "De ordine ecclesiastico docent quod nemo debeat in ecclesia publice docere aut sacramenta administrare, nisi rite vocatus." Its debt to this Confession is, however, only indirect; for there can be little doubt that its immediate origin was the corresponding Article in the unfinished series of 1538, agreed upon by a joint

committee of Anglican and Lutheran divines.¹ This document adopts the language of the Augsburg Confession, but adds additional matter to it, which suggested the latter part of our own Article: "De ministris ecclesiæ docemus, quod nemo debeat publice docere, aut sacramenta ministrare, nisi rite vocatus, et quidem ab his, penes quos in ecclesia, juxta verbum Dei, et leges ac consuetudines uniuscujusque regionis, jus est vocandi et admittendi."² Since the Lutherans were lacking in episcopal government, it is obvious that in any common formula to be agreeable to both parties refuge must be taken in language of a vague and general character. Hence the reference to "the laws and customs of each country," which was omitted when the Article was remodelled for the use of the Anglican Church alone.

The object of the Article is to condemn the theory held by many of the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, that "anyone believing himself to be called to the ministry, was bound to exercise his functions as a preacher in defiance of all Church authority."³ The same error is condemned in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, in which, after the mention of various Anabaptist errors, we come to the following passage:—

"Similis est eorum amentia qui institutionem ministrorum ab ecclesia disjungunt, negantes in certis locis certos doctores, pastores atque ministros collocari debere; nec admittunt legitimas vocationes, nec solemnem manuum impositionem, sed per omnes publice docendi potestatem divulgant, qui sacris literis utcumque sunt aspersi, et Spiritum sibi vendicant; nec illos solum adhibent ad docendum, sed etiam ad moderandam ecclesiam, et distribuenda sacramenta; quæ sane universa cum scriptis Apostolorum manifeste pugnant."⁴

¹ See p. 6.

² See Hardwick, p. 270.

³ Hardwick, p. 102.

⁴ *Ref. Leg. Eccles.*, *De Hæres.* c. xvi.

So in Hermann's *Consultation* it is said of some of the Anabaptists, that they "dispipe the outwarde ministerie and doctrine of the Church, they denie that God worketh by the same. They teache that we muste loke for private illuminations and visions. Wherefore thei avoyed the common sermons of the Church, and holye assembles of the people of Christe, they wyth-drawe from the sacraments," etc.¹

Such a view as that here condemned can only lead to confusion and disorder, for according to it anyone who claims for himself the Spirit may set himself up as a minister of the word and sacraments, with no commission whatever from any external authority. In opposition to this the statement of the Article is clear and decisive. It falls into two parts, each of which requires some little consideration—

1. The need of an external call and mission.

2. The description of those through whom the call comes.

I. *The Need of an external Call and Mission.*

It is not lawful² for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the sacraments in the congregation (in ecclesia),³ before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. "Called and sent." The two words (which are repeated in the second part of the Article) should be carefully noticed. They refer to distinct things: the *call*, to the original

¹ English translation of 1548, fol. cxlii.

² Evidently, though this is not stated, by the law of God.

³ It is not clear why throughout this Article, in the heading as well as in the body of the Article, *ecclesia* is rendered by *congregation* and not by *Church*.

summons to enter the ministry: the *mission*, to the commission to execute it in a particular sphere. Unless the need of each of these is recognised there can only arise confusion, as if only the *call* were necessary different ministers properly ordained might assert rival claims to execute their office in the same place, and the whole principle of Church order would be destroyed. To obviate this they must be "*sent* to execute the same," as well as "*called*" to the office. Thus the requirement of "*mission*" follows from the general principle that "God is not a God of confusion, but of peace"; and from the necessity that "all things" should "be done decently and in order."¹ With regard to the "*call*" to the ministry, all Christians are agreed that a call from God is necessary before a man can presume to teach and minister in His name. "No man taketh the honour unto himself, but when he is called of God, even as was Aaron," and "how shall they preach except they be sent"?² So much is admitted by all. The question really is whether the "*inward call*" requires to be supplemented by an external one. And here all the evidence from Scripture and antiquity is in favour of insisting upon one from properly constituted authorities. While it cannot be doubted that under the Old Covenant in addition to the regularly constituted priesthood and Levitical ministry, God did from time to time raise up the prophets as His messengers, and send them forth with no commission from men, as he did afterward at the beginning of the gospel in the case of S. Paul, who always claimed to hold his apostolate "not from (*ἀπὸ*) men, neither through (*διὰ*) men, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father,"³ yet in these cases the call was authenticated by signs which could be recognised and

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 33, 40.

² Heb. v. 4 ; Rom. x. 15.

³ Gal. i. 1.

known by men.¹ The gift of prophecy and the power of working miracles no longer remaining with the Church, it can easily be seen that unless the necessity of an external call were insisted on, the Church would be at the mercy of any religious fanatic who might be pleased to claim to be taught by the Spirit of God.² And so we find that, as a matter of fact, from the very first men were set apart by the properly constituted authorities of the Church, and did not take upon themselves the ministerial office without such a call. Thus the seven were "appointed" (*οὓς καταστήσωμεν*) to the ministry by the Apostles, after they had been "chosen" (*ἐξελέξαντο*) by the whole multitude.³ Paul and Barnabas "appointed" elders in every church (*χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν*).⁴ Timothy received the gift "through (*διὰ*) the laying on of" S. Paul's hands, or, as it is elsewhere said, "through (*διὰ*) prophecy, with (*μετά*) the laying on of the hands of the presbytery."⁵ Titus is commissioned to "appoint elders in every city,"⁶ and Timothy receives full instructions as to the character and qualifications of those who are to be admitted into the ministry.⁷ These facts seem quite decisive, and it is a simple fact of history that from the Apostles' day to the present time the Church has always required an

¹ See Deut. xviii. 20-22.

² It will be remembered that the Church of England is equally emphatic in insisting on the need of an "inward" call, the first question addressed to candidates for the ministry being this—"Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration to serve God for the promoting of His glory and the edifying of His people?" Not till this has been satisfactorily answered is the further question put concerning the external call—"Do you think that you are truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the due order of this realm, to the ministry of the Church?"

³ Acts vi. 1-6.

⁴ Acts xiv. 23.

⁵ Cf. 2 Tim. i. 6 with 1 Tim. iv. 14.

⁶ Titus i. 5.

⁷ 1 Tim. iii.

external call in the case of all those whom she has recognised as Christian ministers. There is no necessity to prove this at length; but a single passage may be quoted from the first of the Christian Fathers to indicate how the matter was regarded in the very early times, and the principle of succession laid down—

“ Our apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop’s office. For this cause therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterwards they provided a continuance, that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those, therefore, who were appointed by them, or afterward by other men of repute with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered unblameably to the flock of Christ . . . these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration.”¹

II. *The Description of those through whom the Call comes.*

While the Article is perfectly clear in asserting the need of an external call, it cannot be maintained that it

¹ Οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἐρίσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόβλεψαν εἰληφότες τελείαν κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπιμονὴν δεδώκασιν ὅπως, εἰς κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ’ ἐτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, καὶ λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . τοὺτους οὐ δικαίως νομίζομεν ἀποβάλλεσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας.—*Ad Cor.* I. xlv. On the reading and difficult word ἐπιμονήν see Lightfoot’s note, *ad loc.* The old Latin published by Dom Morin (*Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. ii.) seems to have had ἐπινομίην, which it rendered by “legem.” Whichever be right, and whether κοιμηθῶσιν refers to the death of the presbyters or of the apostles themselves, the principle of succession to the ministry, and of the need of an external call to it, is here clearly traced to the appointment of the apostles themselves,

is equally clear in its description of those who are empowered to give this call. **Those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.** Who are these men "who have public authority given them in the congregation" (*ecclesia*)? The Article fails to tell us, and its silence on this point is to some extent explained (as we have seen) by the source to which it can be traced. But though an Article on the subject of the ministry, designed to be subscribed by Lutherans and Anglicans, must needs be vague and indefinite, the question may fairly be asked, Why, when the Article was to be signed by Anglicans alone, was not the indefiniteness removed, and a plain statement describing the proper authorities inserted? To this it may be answered that Article XXXV. of 1553 referred definitely to the "book of ordering ministers of the Church" as "godly and in no point repugnant to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel, but agreeable thereto," while the corresponding Article (XXXVI.) of the Elizabethan revision supported the claims of the Ordinal more definitely, asserting that it "doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering: neither hath it anything that of itself is superstitious or ungodly. And, therefore, whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the afore-named King Edward unto this time, or shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered." These citations show that the omission in the Article before us is made up elsewhere, and that the words under consideration are intended to refer to

the bishops, to whom alone is given in the Church of England this "public authority to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." And, since the reference of the terms was thus rendered unmistakable, it was probably considered unnecessary to introduce a more formal mention of the Episcopate here.¹ It will therefore be more convenient that in this Commentary upon the Articles the discussion of the questions connected with the Episcopate and the threefold ministry should be reserved until they can be treated of in connection with that Article in which they are distinctly mentioned.

¹ It must be remembered that the Articles were not designed to be a complete system of theology. Originally they were merely intended to be a *practical* test, called forth by the exigencies of the times. At the time when they were first drawn up in 1553 there was no practical question at issue in this country between Episcopal orders and Presbyterian; and all that was really necessary was to assert against the Anabaptists the need of an external call.

ARTICLE XXIV

*De precibus publicis dicendis in
lingua vulgari.*

Lingua populo non intellecta
publicas in ecclesia preces peragere,
aut Sacramenta administrare, verbo
Dei et primitivæ Ecclesiæ con-
suetudini plane repugnat.

*Of Speaking in the Congregation, in
such a tongue as the people under-
standeth.*

It is a thing plainly repugnant
to the word of God, and the custom
of the primitive Church, to have
public prayer in the Church, or to
minister the Sacraments in a tongue
not understood of the people.

THIS Article was rewritten and brought into its present form by Archbishop Parker in 1563. The corresponding Article in the Edwardian Series was this: "*Men must speak in the congregation in such tongue as the people understandeth.*"¹ It is most seemly and most agreeable to the word of God, that in the congregation nothing be openly read or spoken in a tongue unknown to the people, the which thing S. Paul did forbid, except some were present that should declare the same." The difference is practically this: Whereas in 1553 the Church of England contented herself with asserting that it was "most seemly and most agreeable to the word of God" that public worship should be held in a tongue familiar to those present, since 1563 she has maintained the position that the contrary is "plainly repugnant to the word of God and the custom of the primitive Church." It is necessary, therefore, to consider separately—

¹ This title was allowed to remain in 1563, the present one not being substituted for it till 1571.

1. The evidence of Scripture on this subject.
2. The custom of the primitive Church.

I. *The Evidence of Scripture.*

The only passage in the Bible which can be thought to bear directly upon the subject is 1 Cor. xiv., where S. Paul is speaking of the gift of tongues, and laying down rules for its exercise. His language implies that the "tongue" was ordinarily not intelligible to those present, and he expresses a strong preference for the gift of prophecy, on the ground that it conduces to the edification, comfort, and consolation of those present (ver. 3), whereas the speaker in a tongue speaketh to God only and not to men, "for no man understandeth" (ver. 2). "He that speaketh in a tongue edifieth himself; but he that prophesieth edifieth the Church" (ver. 4); and thus, "in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that I might instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue" (ver. 19). For this reason he further charges the man that "speaketh in a tongue" to "keep silence in the church, *if there be no interpreter*" (ver. 28). In all this the general principle is laid down that it is right not only to "pray with the spirit," but to "pray with the understanding also," and to "sing with the understanding also," as well as to "sing with the spirit." But it is obviously impossible for this to be done where the service is held "in a tongue not understood of the people." In such a case "the spirit" may "pray," but "the understanding" will be "unfruitful" (ver. 14).

It may be admitted that by the aid of a version in the vernacular, which shall be placed in the hands of the laity, the disadvantages of worship conducted in a dead language may be to some extent obviated. But even so

the broad principle laid down by the Apostle remains untouched: nor does it appear possible that the bulk of the congregation can really join in intelligently unless the language is one that is familiar to them; and however much the idea that the unity of the Church should be expressed by the unity of the language in which her prayers everywhere ascend to God may appeal to us, this is, after all, a matter of *sentiment*, and S. Paul's ruling distinctly places *edification* as the first consideration. We conclude, then, that **it is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God . . . to have public prayer in the Church or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people.**

II. *The Custom of the Primitive Church.*

It is also repugnant to **the custom of the primitive Church.** This assertion is scarcely open to question. The evidence of the ancient Liturgies, as well as of incidental statements in the writings of early Fathers,¹ is amply sufficient to prove that as various countries were evangelised, the services of the Church, including the administration of the Sacraments, were held in whatever language was familiar to the people of the country. Thus there still exist Liturgies, not only in Greek, but also in Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, etc.; and it was only in the same way that Latin came to be employed in worship at all, as the general language in use throughout the West.

¹ *E.g.* Origen, *Contra Celsum*, viii. 37: "The Greeks use Greek in their prayers, the Romans Latin, and so everyone in his own language prays to God, and gives thanks as he is able. And He that is Lord of every tongue hears that which is asked in every tongue." Cf. S. Jerome, *Ad Eustoch.*, *Epitaph. Paulæ*. The evidence of the Fathers is set out at length in the Homily on Common Prayer and the Sacraments, a large part of which is devoted to the consideration of the position maintained in this Article. See the Homilies, p. 378 *seq.* (S.P.C.K.).

Originally the Roman Church was Greek-speaking; and so long as this was the case the Liturgy there used was, not Latin, but *Greek*.¹ But by degrees, as Latin became universal in the West among all classes, so the use of Latin in public worship spread, although it was never adopted in the East. Its retention throughout the Western Church, after the dialects spoken in different quarters had diverged so greatly as to become different languages, as French, Spanish, and Italian, and after the conversion of the Teutonic races and the growth of their several languages, was for a time a real convenience, as Latin was the one language that was generally understood in all parts, and formed the medium of intercourse among educated people. But, as the old order changed, the disadvantages became greater than the advantages, though by a not unnatural conservatism the Church clung tenaciously to what was customary. Then, when the inconveniences were complained of, it was found necessary to justify the existent practice, and arguments were urged in its favour which are clearly afterthoughts, and if seriously pressed would be fatal to the use of Latin, and compel us to revert to the original language in which the Scriptures were written and the Eucharist instituted. But there is no need to enter into these here. Sufficient has been said to justify the position taken up in the Article, and that is all that is required from us.²

¹ A trace of this still remains in the Kyrie Eleison, which has never been translated into Latin, but is still used in its Greek form.

² The formal statement of the Roman Church is, "If anyone shall say that . . . the Mass ought only to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue . . . let him be anathema."—*Decrees of the Council of Trent*, Session XXII. canon ix. This session was held in Sept. 1562, shortly before the revision of the Articles in Elizabeth's reign. It is therefore possible that the alteration then made in the terms of the Article was in consequence of the promulgation of this canon.

ARTICLE XXV

De Sacramentis.

Sacramenta a Christo instituta, non tantum sunt notæ professionis Christianorum, sed certa quædam testimonia, et efficacia signa gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei, per quæ invisibiliter ipse in nobis operatur, nostramque fidem in se, non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat.

Duo a Christo Domino nostro in Evangelio instituta sunt Sacramenta, scilicet Baptismus et Cœna Domini.

Quinque illa vulgo nominata Sacramenta, scilicet, Confirmatio, Pœnitentia, Ordo, Matrimonium, et Extrema Unctio, pro Sacramentis Evangelicis habenda non sunt, ut quæ partim a prava Apostolorum imitatione profluxerunt, partim vitæ status sunt in Scripturis quidem probati, sed Sacramentorum eandem cum Baptismo et Cœna Domini rationem non habentes :¹ ut quæ signum aliquod visibile seu cæremoniam a Deo institutam non habeant.

Sacramenta non in hoc instituta sunt a Christo, ut spectarentur, aut circumferrentur, sed ut rite illis uteremur : et in his duntaxat qui digne percipiunt, salutare habent

Of the Sacraments.

Sacraments ordained of Christ, be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession : but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's goodwill towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five, commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures : but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about : but that we should duly use them. And in

¹ The edition of 1563 adds here : "quomodo nec pœnitentia."

effectum: qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.

such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as S. Paul saith.

THIS Article has undergone considerable alteration since the publication of the series of 1553. In that year it began with a quotation from S. Augustine: "Our Lord Jesus Christ hath knit together a company of new people, with sacraments most few in number, most easy to be kept, most excellent in signification, as is Baptism, and the Lord's Supper."¹ Then followed the *last* paragraph of our present Article, with the insertion (after the words "wholesome effect or operation") of the following words: "and yet not that of the work wrought, as some men speak, which word, as it is strange and unknown to Holy Scripture: so it engendereth no godly, but a very superstitious sense."² After this paragraph there stood what is now the *first* clause, with which the whole Article was concluded. In 1563 it was brought into the form in which it now stands by means of the following alterations: (1) The quotation from S. Augustine and the clause condemning the theory of grace *ex opere operato* were omitted; (2) the order of the two main paragraphs was reversed; and (3) between them two fresh paragraphs were inserted on (*a*) the number of sacraments ordained

¹ Cf. Augustine, *Epist.* liv.: "Sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatione facillimis, significatione prestantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit, sicuti est Baptismus Trinitatis nomine consecratus, communicatio Corporis et Sanguinis Ipsius; et si quid aliud in Scripturis Canonicis commendatur." Cf. also *De Doctr. Christiana*, III. c. ix.

² "Idque non ex opere (ut quidam loquuntur) operato; quæ vox ut peregrina est et sacris literis ignota, sic parit sensum minime pium, sed admodum superstitiosum."

by Christ, and (b) the five rites "commonly called Sacraments."¹

The origin of what now stands as the first clause may be found in the Confession of Augsburg,² from which it was taken through the medium of the thirteen Articles of 1538, where we read: "Docemus, quod Sacramenta quæ per verbum Dei instituta sunt, non tantum sint notæ professionis inter Christianos, sed magis certa quædam testimonia et efficacia signa gratiæ et bonæ voluntatis Dei erga nos, per quæ Deus invisibiliter operatur in nobis, et suam gratiam in nos invisibiliter diffundit, siquidem ea rite susceperimus; quodque per ea excitatur et confirmatur fides in his qui eis utuntur. Porro docemus, quod ita utendum sit sacramentis, ut in adultis, præter veram contritionem, necessario etiam debeat accedere fides, quæ credat præsentibus promissionibus, quæ per sacramenta ostenduntur, exhibentur, et præstantur. Neque enim in illis verum est, quod quidam dicunt, sacramenta conferre gratiam *ex opere operato* sine bono motu utentis, nam in ratione utentibus necessarium est, ut fides etiam utentis accedat, per quam credat illis promissionibus, et accipiat res promissas, quæ per sacramenta conferuntur."³ A comparison of this with the corresponding passage in the Confession of Augsburg shows the stronger position on the reality of sacramental grace which the Anglican

¹ The addition may perhaps have been suggested by the fact that the Confession of Württemberg contained a long section on the subject.

² *Conf. Augustana*, art. xiii.: "*De usu Sacramentorum*. De usu Sacramentorum docent, quod sacramenta instituta sint, non modo ut sint notæ professionis inter homines, sed magis ut sint signa et testimonia voluntatis Dei erga nos, ad excitandam et confirmandam fidem in his qui utuntur proposita. Itaque utendum est sacramentis, ita ut fides accedat, quæ credat promissionibus, quæ per sacramenta exhibentur et ostenduntur. Damnant igitur illos, qui docent, quod sacramenta ex opere operato justificent, nec docent fidem requiri in usu sacramentorum, quæ credat remitti peccata."

³ See Hardwick, p. 270.

divines maintained. There is nothing in the purely Lutheran document answering to the “*efficacia signa gratiæ*,” which has been transferred from this unfinished series to our own Article.

The object of the Article is (1) to condemn the inadequate views of sacraments held by the Anabaptists, and to state their true position; (2) to distinguish between the two “Sacraments of the Gospel” and the other five “commonly called Sacraments”; and (3) to insist upon the necessity of a right disposition on the part of the recipients of them. It consists of four paragraphs, treating respectively of the following subjects, which shall be here considered separately:

1. The description of sacraments ordained of Christ.
2. The number of such sacraments.
3. The five rites “commonly called Sacraments.”
4. The use of sacraments.

I. The Description of Sacraments ordained of Christ.

Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men’s profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace and God’s goodwill towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him.

Each phrase in this description requires careful consideration. Sacraments ordained of Christ are—

(a) **Badges or tokens of Christian men’s profession** (notæ professionis Christianorum). This was the regular phrase descriptive of sacraments among the Zwinglians,¹ and adopted also by the Anabaptists,

¹ The language of Zwingli himself sometimes gave to sacraments the lowest position possible. In the *Ratio fidei* he says boldly: “Credo,

who regarded the Eucharist and baptism as *nothing more* than such tokens. So we read in Archbishop Hermann's *Simplex ac pia deliberatio* (which was translated into English in 1547), that they "withdrawe from the sacramentes, which *they wil to be nothyng els than outward sygnes of our profession and felowship*, as the badges of capitaines be in warre; thei deni that they be workes and ceremonies instituted of God for this purpose; that in them we shulde acknowledge, embrace, and receyve thorough fayth the mercie of God and the merite and communion of Christ; and *that God worketh by these signes and exhibiteth unto us the gyftes in dede, which He offereth wyth these signes.*"² Similarly, the same view is condemned in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, in the following words: "Magna quoque temeritas illorum est, qui sacramenta sic extenuant ut ea pro nudis signis, et externis tantum indiciis capi velint, quibus tanquam notis hominum Christianorum religio possit a cæteris internosci, nec animadvertunt quantum sit scelus, hæc sancta Dei instituta inania et vacua credere."³ According to this Anabaptist theory, baptism was merely a "mark of difference whereby Christian men are discerned from other that be not christened," and the Eucharist was nothing more than "a sign of the love that

imo scio, omnia sacramenta tam abesse ut gratiam conferant, ut ne adferant quidem aut dispensent" (see Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, p. 24), and elsewhere (*De peccato originali declaratio*): "Symbola igitur sunt externa ista rerum spiritualium et ipsa minime sunt spiritualia, nec quidquam spirituale in nobis perficiunt: sed sunt eorum qui spirituales sunt, quasi tesserae." But his followers were to a great extent influenced by Calvin's teaching, and in the *Consensus Tigurinus* (1549) they admit that they are more than "marks or badges of profession." "Sunt quidem et hi sacramentorum fines ut notæ sint ac tesserae Christianæ professionis et societatis sive fraternitatis, ut sint ad gratiarum actionem incitamenta et exercitia fidei ac piæ vitæ, denique syngraphæ ad id obligantes. Sic hic unus inter alia præcipuus ut per ea nobis gratiam suam testetur Deus, repræsentet atque obsignet."—Niemeyer, p. 193.

² English translation (ed. 1548) fol. cxlii.

³ *De Hæres.* c. xvii.

Christians ought to have among themselves one to another." Our Article condemns this view of sacraments as "notæ professionis" (not only in the Article before us, but also in XXVII. and XXVIII.), as not in itself untrue, but simply as inadequate. As Hooker says, they are "marks of distinction to separate God's own from strangers." But they are **not only** this. Far more important is it to remember that they are—

(b) **Certain sure witnesses . . . of grace and God's goodwill towards us.** This view of sacraments as "witnesses" (testimonia) is one to which special prominence was given by both Lutheran and Calvinistic divines upon the Continent. Sometimes they spoke as if they were witnesses chiefly of *past* mercies, outward acts testifying to God's redeeming love, and assuring us of it in order to excite and confirm our faith in Him.¹ Sometimes, however, they regarded them also as witnesses of *present* blessings, testifying by outward ceremonies to that blessing which the grace annexed to the sacrament confers.² So also our own Hooker speaks of them as "marks *whereby to know when* God doth impart the vital or saving grace of Christ unto all that are capable thereof";³ and, in the Order for

¹ "Baptism testifies that we have been cleansed and washed; the Eucharistic Supper that we have been redeemed."—Calvin's *Institutes*, IV. xiv. 22. "Circumcision is nothing; so is baptism nothing; the communion of the Lord's Supper is nothing: they are rather testimonies and seals of the Divine will towards thee; through them is thy conscience assured, if it ever doubted, of the graciousness and the goodwill of God in thy regard."—Melanethon, quoted by Moehler, *Symbolism*, p. 202 (Eng. Tr.). Cf. the 13th Article of the Confession of Augsburg, quoted above, p. 587.

² So the *Apology for the Confession of Augsburg*: "Sacramentum est ceremonia vel opus, in quo Deus nobis exhibet hoc, quod offert annexa ceremoniæ gratia."

³ *Ecl. Polity*, bk. V. c. lvii.

Holy Communion we are reminded that the holy mysteries are "pledges of His love," and that by them God "assures us of His favour and goodness towards us."

But this is not all. They are also to be regarded as—

(c) **Effectual signs of grace** (*efficacia signa*). An "effectual sign" is a sign that carries its effect with it. As the Church Catechism teaches us, it is something more than a mere "pledge." It is also "a means whereby we receive the same" spiritual grace, of which it is "an outward visible sign." A sacrament, then, is "not only a picture of grace, but a channel of grace."¹ It "not only typifies, but conveys."² As Hooker puts it, the sacraments are "means effectual whereby God, when we take the sacraments, delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life, which grace the sacraments represent or signify."³ This phrase, "effectual signs of grace," first makes its appearance, as we have already seen, in the incomplete formulary of 1538, and it marks out very clearly the determination of the Anglican Divines to insist upon the truth that the sacraments are real *means of grace*.⁴

(d) By means of these effectual signs God **doth work invisibly in us**. In them "it pleaseth God to communicate by sensible means those blessings which are incomprehensible."⁵ Once more the words seem to have been inserted with the express purpose of laying stress on the reality of the Divine gifts which man

¹ Bp. Alexander.

² Bp. A. Forbes.

³ Hooker, *l.c.*

⁴ The phrase is a scholastic one (see Occam, *Sent.* IV. 9. 1), which had not commended itself to Luther, and he was only willing to accept it with some qualification. "Nec verum esse potest, sacramentis inesse vim efficacem justificationis, seu esse signa efficacia gratiæ. Hæc enim omnia dicuntur in jacturam fidei, ex ignorantia promissionis divinæ. Nisi hoc modo efficacia dixeris, quod si adsit fides indubitata, certissime et efficacissime gratiam conferunt."—*De Capt. Babyl. Ecc. Opp.* vol. ii. fol. 272 (Jenæ, 1600).

⁵ Hooker, *l.c.*

receives from God in and through the sacraments,¹ in which He "embraceth us, and offereth Himself to be embraced by us."² -

(e) Lastly, by them God **doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him.** In this phrase it appears to be natural to refer the first expression "quicken" (*excitat*) to the action of God's grace in Holy Baptism, and the second, "strengthen and confirm" (*confirmat*), to the action of the same grace in the Eucharist.

We have now gone through the description of sacraments ordained of Christ point by point. But before passing on to consider the next paragraph of the Article, it will be well to cite the definitions given in the Church Catechism and in the Homily on Common Prayer and the Sacraments, and to compare them with that in the Article before us. If we take the most familiar of them, viz. that in the Catechism, as the standard, and refer the other two to it, it will easily be seen that, though the forms are different, and belong to different dates,³ yet in each case *the same five points are brought out.*

According to the Church Catechism a sacrament is "(1) an outward and visible sign of (2) an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, (3) ordained by Christ

¹ These words, as well as "efficacia signa," have nothing corresponding to them in the Confession of Augsburg, being first inserted in the joint Confession of 1538. It is curious, however, to find something very similar to them in the *Confessio Belgica* (1562). "Sunt enim sacramenta signa ac symbola visibilia rerum internarum et invisibilium, per quæ, ceu per media, Deus ipse virtute Spiritus Sancti in nobis operatur."—Art. XXXIII. (On this Confession see p. 10.)

² *Homily on Common Prayer and the Sacraments*, p. 376 seq. (S.P.C.K.).

³ The Article to 1553 (or indeed to 1538); the Homily in question to the early years of Elizabeth's reign; the part of the Catechism treating of the sacraments to 1604.

Himself as (4) a means whereby we receive the same, and (5) a pledge to assure us thereof."

According to the Homily, sacraments, "according to the exact signification," are "(1) visible signs (3) expressly commanded in the New Testament, (4 and 5) whereunto is annexed the promise of (2) free forgiveness of our sins, and of our holiness and joining with Christ."¹

To the same effect the Article says that sacraments (3) "ordained of Christ are . . . (5) certain sure witnesses, and (4) effectual (1) signs of (2) grace and God's goodwill towards us, (4) by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him."

There are, of course, differences of detail, *e.g.* the Homily leaves us free to look for the outward sign anywhere "in the New Testament," whereas the Catechism, with which agrees the Article,² requires it to be ordained "by Christ Himself." The Catechism leaves the nature of the inward spiritual grace undefined. The Homily accurately makes it include, not only pardon, but sanctification and incorporation in Christ. Thus the different descriptions may be regarded as supplementing each other, and for teaching purposes none should be lost sight of.

II. *The Number of Sacraments ordained of Christ.*

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

¹ *Homily on Common Prayer and the Sacraments*, p. 376 (S.P.C.K.).

² Though the first paragraph does not mention the outward sign as "ordained by Christ Himself," yet the phrases used in the second and third paragraphs, "ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel," and "any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God," indicate agreement with the Catechism on this point.

In considering this statement it will be convenient (*a*) to trace out the history of the word sacrament, and (*b*) to endeavour to set forth the precise difference between England and Rome on the number of the sacraments.

(*a*) *The history of the word sacrament.* — The word *Sacramentum* is a familiar classical one, with two well-defined uses. It means either (1) a gage of money laid down by parties who went to law, or (2) the military oath taken by soldiers to be true to their country and general. The idea which is common to both these meanings is that of a *sacred pledge*. The earliest occurrence of the word in connection with Christianity and Christian associations is in Pliny's famous letter to the Emperor Trajan, in which he says that the Christians of Bithynia bound themselves *sacramento* not to commit any wrong.¹ It may be a matter of doubt to what precisely Pliny was referring, but there can be no doubt that his use of the word "sacrament" is little more than an accident. It can scarcely have been the word which the Bithynian Christians used. In a letter at the beginning of the second century from a Roman governor to a Roman emperor the word can only be interpreted in its classical sense of an oath or obligation. Ecclesiastical Latin was not yet in existence: indeed, it is almost certain that there was as yet no Latin-speaking Church; and thus, though it is interesting to find the word employed in connection with a Christian rite, yet later associations which have grown up round it must not be suffered to influence our interpretation of it. As an ecclesiastical term, its true home is *North Africa*, which

¹ Pliny, *Epist.* xvi.: "Affirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carnenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque *sacramento* non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent." See Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pt. II. vol. i. p. 51.

was the first Latin-speaking Church. Here we find it used from the first as the equivalent of the Greek *μυστήριον*, and as such it is employed with a wide latitude of meaning, for either a religious rite or a religious truth; generally, however, with the idea that some sacred meaning lies under a visible sign. So Tertullian (200) uses the word again and again, sometimes of the military oath,¹ sometimes of a sacred truth, or a mystery, sometimes of a sacred rite, and even of the rite of infanticide with which the Christians were charged.² Similarly with Cyprian (250) it means a sacred symbol, a sacred bond, or a sacred truth.³ From North Africa the word passed into the common language and familiar speech of Western Christendom through the Latin versions of the Scripture, in which it appears in several passages always as the rendering of *μυστήριον*.⁴ In Patristic writers the same latitude in the use of the term, which has been already noticed, may constantly be

¹ *De Spectaculis*, xxiv. *Scorpiace*, iv.

² See *Apol.* vii. (*Sacramentum infanticidii*); xv. (*Sacramenti nostri*); xix. (*Judaici Sacramenti*); xlvii. (*nostris Sacramentis*); *Adv. Marc.* V. viii. (*panis et calicis Sacramento*); *De Bapt.* i. (*aque Sacramentum*), etc.

³ Cyprian uses it twice of the military oath: *De lapsis*, xiii.; *Ep.* lxxiv. Elsewhere with wide latitude of meaning. Of Baptism, *Ep.* lxxiii.; of the Eucharist, *De zelo et livore*, xvii., *De lapsis*, xxv.; of the Passover, *De unitate*, viii.; of a sacred bond, *Ep.* lix., *De unitate*, vi. etc.; of doctrines, *De Dominica Oratione*, ix., *Testim. Præf.* etc. See the very careful note on his use of the word, which was "in many instances used with intentional vagueness," in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, vol. iv. p. 253.

⁴ "Sacramentum" appears in the Vulgate (1) in the Old Testament in Dan. ii. 18, 30, 47, iv. 6 (A.V. 9), each time as the equivalent of סֵּתֶר, a secret (Greek *μυστήριον*); and also in Tobit xii. 7; Wisd. ii. 22, vi. 24 (A.V. 22); in all of which places it represents the same Greek word, *μυστήριον*, as it does also (2) in the eight passages in which it is found in the New Testament, viz. Eph. i. 9, iii. 3, 9, v. 32; Col. i. 27; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Rev. i. 20, xvii. 7. It is also found occasionally in other passages in the "Old Latin," e.g. in Rom. xvi. 25.

observed. It is used frequently of sacred truths, as well as of sacred rites of mystic meaning. Even as late as the eleventh century it is applied by S. Bernard to the rite of feet washing.¹ But in comparatively early times there had been a tendency to contrast the sacraments or sacred rites of the Jews with those of the Christian Church, and to point to the former as numerous and burdensome, and the latter as few in number. Thus Augustine, in the passage quoted in the original Article of 1553, says that "under the new dispensation our Lord Jesus Christ has knit together His people in fellowship, by sacraments which are very few in number, most easy in observance, and most excellent in significance, as baptism solemnised in the name of the Trinity, the Communion of His Body and Blood, and also whatever else is commended to us in Canonical Scripture, apart from those enactments which were a yoke of bondage to God's ancient people, suited to their state of heart and to the times of the prophets, and which are found in the books of Moses."² Elsewhere in his book on Christian Doctrine he draws a similar contrast, pointing out how "our Lord Himself and apostolic practice have handed down to us a few significant rites (*signa*) in place of many, and these at once very easy to perform, most majestic in their significance, and most sacred in their observance. Such as the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Celebration of the Body and Blood of the Lord."³ From this contrast between the multiplicity of sacred rites imposed upon the Jews and the fewness of those enjoined in the gospel to Christians, there grew up in time a disposition to use the word *sacramentum* more particularly of those rites which could claim the authority of the New Testament, and to speak of the "Sacraments

¹ *Sermo in Cæna Domini*, § 24.

² See above, p. 586.

³ *De Doctrina Christiana*, III. ix.

of the Church " as limited in number. So in the East, " Dionysius the Areopagite " (c. 500), who is followed by later writers, describes in his book on the Ecclesiastical Hierarchies *six* Christian *μυστήρια*, Baptism, the Eucharist, Unction, Orders, Monastic Profession, and the Rites for the Dead. In the West, Paschasius Radbert¹ and Rhabanus Maurus,² in the ninth century, both speak of *four* sacraments, Baptism, Unction, the Body, and the Blood of the Lord. Not till the eleventh century is the number fixed at the mystic number *seven*, to correspond with the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit. The earliest writer to speak of this number (so far as is known) is Gregory of Bergamo,³ in his book, *De Eucharistia*. In this he says definitely that the sacraments of the Church instituted by our Saviour were *seven*;⁴ but in the next chapter he speaks of *three*, Baptism, Unction, and the Eucharist, as more worthy, and contradicts what he has said before, by maintaining that of these three, only the first and third were instituted by the Redeemer Himself, for unction has only apostolic authority.⁵ A few years later than Gregory was Peter Lombard,⁶ to whom it is generally stated that

¹ *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, iii. 2.

² *De Clericorum Institutione*, I. xxiv.

³ Gregory became Bishop of Bergamo in 1133, and died in 1146. His book, *De Eucharistia*, was first published in 1877, and since then has been included in Hurter's *Sanctorum Patrum Opuscula Selecta*, vol. xxxix.

⁴ *De Euch.* c. xiii.: "Verum ne quis occasione dictorum existimet tot esse sacramenta ecclesiæ, quot sunt quibus congruit sacramenti vocabulum, scire debemus ea solum esse ecclesiæ sacramenta a servatore nostro Jesu instituta quæ in medicinam nobis tributa fuere, et hæc numero adimplentur septenario."

⁵ *De Euch.* c. xiv.: "Tria siquidem in ecclesia gerimus sacramenta quæ sacramentis aliis putantur non immerito digniora, scilicet baptismum, chrisma, corpus et sanguis Domini. Quorum trium primum et ultimum ex ipsius Redemptoris institutione percepimus, ex apostolica vero traditione illud quod medium posuimus."

⁶ Peter Lombard became Bishop of Paris in 1159, and died in 1164.

the limitation of the number to seven is due. It is found in his writings,¹ and it was probably through his influence that it became generally accepted. From him it passed into the writings of the schoolmen, Aquinas² and others. It was laid down in the "decree to the Armenians" sent in the name of Pope Eugenius IV. from the Council of Florence (1439);³ and was definitely adopted by the Council of Trent at the seventh session of the Council (1547), when the following canon was passed: "If anyone shall say that the sacraments of the new law were not all instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord; or that they are more or less than seven, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, or Matrimony; or even that any one of these seven is not truly and properly a sacrament: let him be anathema."⁴ It will be seen from this brief sketch that our Reformers had a double use of the word before them. On the one hand, there was the wider sense given to it by the Fathers; on the other, the more restricted scholastic use. They

¹ *Sentent.* IV. *dist.* ii. § 1.

² *Summa*, III. Q. lxxv.

³ *Decretum Eugenii Papæ IV. ad Armenios*, Labbe and Cossart, vol. ix. pp. 434 and 437.

⁴ *Conc. Trid.* Sess. VII. canon 1: "Si quis dixerit sacramenta novæ legis non fuisse omnia a Jesu Christo Domino nostro instituta; aut esse plura vel pauciora quam septem, videlicet Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam, Pœnitentiam, extremam Unctionem, Ordinem, et Matrimonium, aut etiam aliquod horum septem, non esse vere, et proprie sacramentum, anathema sit." It should be mentioned that the Greek Church agrees with the Roman in reckoning the sacraments of the Church as seven in number; for though the Confession of Cyril Lucar says that only two sacraments were ordained of Christ (c. xv., see Kimmell's *Libri Symbolici*, p. 34), the "Orthodox Confession recognises the ἐν τὰ μυστήρια τῆς ἐκκλησίας (q. xcvi. *ib.* p. 170 *seq.*), as does also the Confession of Dositheos (*Decret.* xv. *ib.* p. 448); and see also "the Longer Catechism of the Russian Church" (Blackmore's *Doctrine of the Russian Church*, p. 84). The Confession of Metrophanes Critopulus calls Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀναγκαῖα μυστήρια. See Winer, *Confessions of Christendom*, p. 241.

recognised frankly that it was largely a question of definition. What they were concerned for was that Baptism and the Eucharist, as the two great rites ordained for all Christians by Christ Himself, should be put on a different footing from all others.¹ The medieval teaching about the seven sacraments might seem to obscure this; and therefore they felt that if the word was to be restricted to a limited number of rites, it would be well to restrict it to these two. But they

¹ According to the teaching of the earlier period, during the Reformation three sacraments were recognised as pre-eminent, Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance. These alone are mentioned in the Ten Articles of 1536, while in the "Institution of a Christian Man," or "the Bishops' Book," issued in the following year, they are expressly separated off from the others, and it is said that "although the sacraments of Matrimony, of Confirmation, of Holy Orders, and of Extreme Unction have been of long time past received and approved by the common consent of the Catholic Church to have the name and dignity of sacraments, as indeed they are well worthy to have . . . yet there is a difference in dignity and necessity between them and the other three sacraments, that is to say, the sacraments of Baptism, of Penance, and of the Altar, and that for divers causes," etc.—See *Formularies of Faith*, p. 128. In 1540 a series of questions was propounded, probably by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to a number of Bishops and Divines, and their answers revealed a great variety of opinions on the number of the sacraments, and the proper use of the word (see the answers in Burnet, "Records," Nos. xxi. and lxi., and cf. Dixon, vol. ii. p. 303 *seq.*). Cranmer and others denied that it should be rigidly used of seven. However, in the reactionary "King's Book" of 1543 the whole passage on the number of sacraments in the Bishops' Book is entirely rewritten, and the medieval view is more rigidly adhered to (see *Formularies of Faith*, p. 293). In the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, as might be expected, a great change of view is manifest, as the following extract will show: "Ad sacramenti perfectionem tria concurrere debent. Primum evidens est et illustris nota, quæ manifeste cerni possit, secundum est Dei promissum, quod externo signo nobis representatur et plane confirmatur. Tertium est Dei præceptum quo necessitas nobis imponitur, ista partim faciendi, partim commemorandi: quæ tria cum autoritate Scripturarum in Baptismo solum occurrant, et Eucharistia, nos hæc duo sola pro veris et propriis novi testamenti sacramentis ponimus."—*De Sacramentis*, c. ii. Similarly in the Catechism published with the Articles in 1553, only two sacraments are expressly recognised.

were perfectly willing to extend it to other rites also—indeed, to “anything whereby an holy thing is signified”—provided that it was made clear that the word was only used in a general sense. Thus the Article before us, after speaking of the five rites, “commonly called Sacraments,”¹ proceeds, not to deny the name to them altogether, but only to assert that they “have not the *like* nature of sacraments with Baptism and the Lord’s Supper,” *i.e.* they are not to be put on a level with them. Still clearer, perhaps, is the teaching of the Homily on Common Prayer and the Sacraments, which puts the matter so admirably that the passage must be quoted here in full.

“As for the number of them, if they should be considered according to the exact signification of a sacrament, namely for visible signs, expressly commanded in the New Testament, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of our sin, and of our holiness and joining in Christ, there be but two, namely, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord. For although Absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sin, yet by the express word of the New Testament it hath not *this* promise annexed and tied to the visible sign, which is imposition of hands. For this visible sign (I mean laying on of hands) is not expressly commanded in the New Testament to be used in Absolution, as the visible signs in Baptism and the Lord’s Supper are; and therefore Absolution is no such sacrament as Baptism and the Communion are. And though the ordering of ministers hath His visible

¹ It cannot be said that this expression discourages the application of the name to them, any more than it can be maintained that the parallel form of expression in the Prayer Book, “The Nativity of our Lord, or the Birthday of Christ, *commonly called* Christmas Day,” discourages the use of the popular name for the festival.

sign and promise, yet it lacks the promise of remission of sin, as all other sacraments except the two above named do. Therefore neither it, nor any other sacrament else, be such sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are. But in a general acceptation the name of a sacrament may be attributed to anything whereby an holy thing is signified. In which understanding of the word the ancient writers have given this name, not only to the other five, commonly of late years taken and used for supplying the number of the seven sacraments; but also to divers and sundry other ceremonies, as to oil, washing of feet, and such like; not meaning thereby to repute them as sacraments in the same signification that the two forenamed Sacraments are. *Dionysius; Bernard, De Cœna Domini, et Ablut. pedum.*"¹

It is perfectly clear from this that *in some sense* other sacraments are recognised by those who are responsible for the Homilies besides the two great ones, Baptism and the Communion.

We are now in a position to pass to the consideration of the next point:

(b) *The precise difference between England and Rome on the number of the sacraments.*—It is largely but not entirely a question of definition—not entirely, for, even admitting the Roman description of sacraments, we could not accept the Tridentine statement upon them. The real difference appears to be this: Rome says that the sacraments of the new law are *neither more nor less than seven*, and that they were *all* instituted by Christ. The Anglican Church maintains that the word should either be restricted to *two* rites with outward visible signs ordained by Christ Himself,² or else that sacraments are

¹ *Homily on Common Prayer and the Sacraments*, p. 376 seq. (S.P.C.K.).

² It must be remembered that the statement of the Catechism, "Two

not seven, but simply sacred rites, the number of which is not limited. Two points in the Roman position may be added, as they are sometimes overlooked. *First*, though the Tridentine divines have committed the Roman Church to the position that all the seven sacraments were instituted by Christ Himself,¹ yet they have never asserted that in every case the outward visible sign is of His institution; *secondly*, they asserted definitely that all the seven are not to be regarded as exactly on the same level of equality. "If anyone shall say that these seven sacraments are equal to each other in such wise as that one is not in any way more worthy than another: let him be anathema."² When these two points are remembered, it will be found that the difference between the two branches of the Church on this matter is comparatively small.

III. *The five Rites "commonly called Sacraments."*

Those five commonly called Sacraments, that

only as generally necessary to salvation," is not made in answer to the question, "How many sacraments are there?" but "How many sacraments *hath* Christ ordained in His Church?" Moreover it is not said absolutely that these are "two only," but "two only as *generally* necessary for salvation," *i.e.* as necessary for all men. Cf. Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*, p. 240. "It is none of the doctrine of the Church of England that there are two sacraments only; but that of those rituals commanded in Scripture, which the ecclesiastical use calls sacraments (by a word of art), two only are generally necessary to salvation." So Archbp. Secker in his *Lectures* (xxxv.), "Our Catechism doth not require it to be said absolutely that the sacraments are *two only*, but two only necessary to salvation, leaving persons at liberty to comprehend more things under the name if they please, provided that they insist not on the necessity of them, and of dignifying them with this title."

¹ Before the Council of Trent it was regarded as an open question whether they were all instituted by Christ; and some divines, as Bonaventura, Hugo, and Durandus, have questioned whether Confirmation and Unction were instituted by Him.

² *Conc. Trident.* Sess. VII. canon iii.

is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the apostles (a *prava apostolorum imitatione*), partly are states of life allowed (*probati*) in the Scriptures: but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

It cannot be said that the account given in this paragraph of the five rites is quite exact. It is said that they are (1) **such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the apostles**, *i.e.* from a bad imitation of them, a *prava apostolorum imitatione*. This would well apply, as will be shown below, to Extreme Unction, and perhaps also is intended to refer to Penance in its medieval form, in view of the superstitions connected with it. (2) They are **partly states of life allowed in the Scriptures**. "Allowed," it must be remembered, meant a good deal more in the sixteenth century than it does now. It did not stand for "permitted," but was equivalent to "approved of" (Latin, *probati*).¹ Thus "states of life allowed in the Scriptures" involves no lack of appreciation of the rites so described. The phrase may be taken to refer to Matrimony and Holy Orders, both of which can be spoken of as "states of life." But it cannot include Confirmation, which is

¹ So in Art. XXXV. of 1553 it is said that the "Book of prayers and ceremonies of the Church of England" ought to be received and *allowed* (approbandi). In XXXVI. of the same series, that "the civil magistrate is ordained and *allowed* (probatus) of God." A similar use of the word is found in the Baptismal Service in the Book of Common Prayer: "He favourably *alloweth* this charitable work of ours"; and cf. Ps. xi. 6 (P.B.V. "the Lord *alloweth* the righteous"), and S. Luke xi. 48, 1 Thess. ii. 4 in the A.V.

not a "state of life" at all. Nor does it seem probable that this apostolic ordinance, which the Church of England has always maintained and insisted upon, can be included under the first head.¹ It remains, then, that the description is somewhat carelessly drawn, and that one of the five rites is not really included in it. This, however, is not a matter of great importance, for **Confirmation**, equally with the others, fails to answer to the description of "Sacraments of the Gospel"; for although it is an apostolic rite, with its "outward visible sign" and its "inward spiritual grace," yet as it is only traceable to the Acts of the Apostles (see Acts viii. 17, xix. 6, and cf. Heb. vi. 2), we cannot positively say that it was "ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel," or that it has an "outward visible sign ordained by Christ Himself."

It will also be found that each of the other rites fails to answer to the restricted definition. **Penance**, of which absolution is the "form in which its chief force consists,"² most certainly was "ordained by Christ Himself" (see S. John xx. 23), but it cannot honestly be said to have "any visible sign or ceremony ordained of

¹ It is *possible*, however, as Dr. Mason thinks, that Confirmation is intended to be described as having grown out of "the corrupt following of the apostles," since "in the official language of the time, Confirmation meant distinctly the rite of unction, after a certain form, with a chrism elaborately compounded." See "The relation of Confirmation to Baptism," p. 426. I cannot, however, think that this view is probable, since "Confirmation" had been deliberately retained as the official title of the rite of laying on of hands in the Prayer Books of 1549, 1552, and 1559. It is curious to notice that at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, the Puritans complained that this phrase in the Articles involved a contradiction with the teaching of the Prayer Book, and that their complaint was dismissed as a "mere cavil." Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, p. 182.

² *Conc. Trid.* Sess. XIV. cap. iii. : "Docet præterea sancta synodus sacramenti poenitentiae formam, in qua præcipue ipsius vis sita est, in illis ministri verbis positam esse : Ego te absolvo," etc.

God." **Orders**, again, was "ordained by Christ Himself" on the same occasion (S. John xx. 21-23). It has its "inward spiritual grace," and from the days of the Apostles has had as its "outward visible sign" the laying on of hands. But once more the outward visible sign cannot be traced back to the Gospel, or to our Lord's own ordinance. Moreover, the grace given in it is official, rather than for the personal sanctification of the recipient. **Matrimony** is "an honourable estate, instituted of God in the time of man's innocency, signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and His Church"; and though "Christ adorned and beautified" it "with His Presence,"¹ it cannot be said that it was ordained of Him in the Gospel, nor has it any "outward visible sign" of Divine appointment.² **Extreme Unction** may seem to require further consideration; for whereas the other four rites are retained and "had in reverend estimation" by the Church of England, this one has been entirely disused, and no authority whatever is given for the application of oil to the sick by the formularies of this branch of the Church. The Scriptural authority that is pleaded for the rite is, of course, the injunction of S. James in his Epistle.

"Is any among you sick? let him call for the elders

¹ The Book of Common Prayer. The Order for the Solemnization of Holy Matrimony.

² In Eph. v. 32, after speaking of the union in marriage, S. Paul says τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν, which is rendered by the Vulgate "Sacramentum hoc magnum est," and consequently by the Douay version, "This is a great sacrament." It is, however, perfectly obvious that the Apostle's use of the word μυστήριον in this connection ("This mystery is great," R. V.) has no real bearing on the question whether marriage is a "sacrament" in the later technical sense of the word, though, as Bishop Ellicott notes (*in loc.*), the very fact of the comparison which the Apostle makes ("but I am speaking in reference to Christ and His Church") "does place marriage on a far holier and higher basis than modern theories are disposed to admit."

of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, it shall be forgiven him" (v. 14, 15).¹ It may be granted that this looks very much like an injunction to the Church for all time; but even so, if this were allowed, it would not give the unction a right to be regarded as a Sacrament of the Gospel, for it is not "ordained by Christ Himself." We find, however, in the writings of early Fathers so remarkable and complete a silence upon the subject that we can only conclude that it was not regarded by them as enjoining a rite to be continued after the *χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων* (1 Cor. xii. 9) had disappeared from the Church. There is, indeed, a constant stream of testimony to the use of oil for healing purposes by Christians in early ages;² but there is no evidence for its application as a religious rite until we come to the well-known letter of Innocent I. to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium, early in the fifth century. Decentius had written to ask whether the bishop might anoint the sick. Innocent replies, and, referring to the passage in S. James, tells him that he might do so, that the oil should be blessed by the bishop and used by all Christians in their hour of need, and that it is "a kind of sacrament."³ Now, even if it be

¹ The only other passage in the New Testament where such unction can possibly be referred to is S. Mark vi. 13, where it is said that the Apostles "anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them"; but this is so definitely *for healing*, that it is not generally regarded by Roman divines as "the sacrament of Unction."

² *E.g.* Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, c. iv.; *Vita Eugenii*, c. xi. (Rosweyd, 343).

³ *Ep. ad Decent.* § 8: "Sane quoniam de hoc, sicuti de cæteris, consulere voluit dilectio tua . . . quod in beati apostolis Jacobi epistola conscriptum est: *Si infirmus aliquis in vobis est*, etc.: quod non est dubium de fidelibus ægrotantibus accipi vel intelligi debere, qui sancto oleo chrismatis perungi possunt, quod ab episcopo confectum, non solum

admitted that the letter is genuine, it is clear that it is fatal to any claim for this religious unction to be regarded as *primitive*; for, as Bishop Harold Browne truly says, "If extreme unction were then a sacrament of the Church, it is impossible that one bishop should have asked this question of another; or if he did, that the other should not at once have reminded him that it was a well-known sacrament of immemorial usage."¹ Further, it appears from the letter that even when the blessing of the oil was restricted to the bishop, it was still regarded as immaterial by whom the unction was administered;² nor do we meet with any injunction to the priest to administer it himself *before the ninth century*.

Again, whereas the original intention of the unction had been primarily for the saving of the sick person's life, by degrees this dropped out of sight, and the rite came to be regarded as part of the preparation for death, and was only administered when all hope of recovery seemed to have passed away; and thus that

sacerdotibus, sed et omnibus uti Christianis licet, in sua aut in suorum necessitate ungendum. Cæterum illud superfluum esse videmus adjectum, ut de episcopo ambigatur, quod presbyteris licere non dubium est. Nam idcirco presbyteris dictum est, quia episcopi occupationibus aliis impediti, ad omnes languidos ire non possunt. Cæterum si episcopus aut potest aut dignum ducit, aliquem a se visitandum, et benedicere et tangere chrismate, sine cunctatione potest, cujus est chrisma conficere. Nam pœnitentibus istud infundi non potest, quia genus est sacramenti. Nam quibus reliqua sacramenta negantur, quomodo unum genus putatur posse concedi?"

¹ *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 588.

² Even after the days of Innocent I. the oil was frequently blessed by laymen, and even *women*. Thus S. Monegund (570) on her deathbed "blessed oil and salt," which were afterwards given to the sick; see Greg. Turon. *Vitæ Patrum*, c. xix. In 813 the Council of Chalons lays down that the sick ought to be anointed by the presbyters with oil which is blessed by the bishop (canon xlviii.). To the same effect, Hincmar (852), *Capit.* 5, and others about the same time. See the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 2004.

which had been originally simply "the last unction" (*extrema unctio*), as being (presumably) applied after the unctions in Baptism and Confirmation, came to be looked upon as nothing but "*unctio in extremis*," and was deferred until death seemed imminent. The subject was considered by the Council of Trent at its fourteenth Session, in 1551, when it was laid down that "this sacred unction of the sick was instituted by Christ our Lord, as truly and properly a sacrament of the new law, hinted at, indeed, in Mark, but recommended and promulgated to the faithful by James the apostle and brother of the Lord." The unction was said to "represent the grace of the Holy Ghost with which the soul of the sick person is invisibly anointed." The "effect of this sacrament" was further said to be "the grace of the Holy Ghost, whose anointing cleanses away sins, if there be any still to be expiated, and the remains of sin; relieves and strengthens the soul of the sick, by exciting in him a great confidence in the Divine mercy, whereby the sick being relieved, bears more easily the inconveniences and pain of sickness; and more readily resists the temptations of the devil, who lies in wait for his heel;¹ and sometimes obtains bodily health, when it is expedient for the welfare of his soul." It is also said that "this unction is to be applied to the sick, but especially to those who lie in such danger as to seem placed at their departure from this life: whence also it is called the sacrament of the dying." But it is added that "if the sick should recover, after having received this unction, they may again be aided by the succour of this sacrament when they fall into another like danger of death."² These quotations show how far the Roman

¹ The reference is to the Vulgate of Gen. iii. 15.

² *Conc. Trid.* Sess. XIV., *Doctrina de sacramento extremæ unctionis*, cap. i.-iii.

use has departed from the intention of the rite described by S. James, and how what was originally a practice enjoined for *life* has become a "sacrament of the dying," only administered at the present day after the Viaticum has been received.¹ Turning now to the consideration of the practice in the Church of England, it may be noticed that the "Bishops' Book" of 1537 contains a section devoted to the subject in which various abuses and superstitions connected with the rite are noticed,² though the practice is retained, and men are to be taught to repute it "among the other sacraments of the Church." But it is clearly stated that "the grace conferred in this sacrament is the relief and recovery of the disease and sickness wherewith the sick person is then diseased and troubled, and also the remission of his sins if he be then in sin."³ All this passage was considerably modified in the "King's Book" of 1543, which refers far less to the prospect of restoration to bodily health, and is, as might be expected, decidedly more medieval in tone.⁴ When the first English Prayer Book was pub-

¹ It is clear from the language of S. Thomas that in the thirteenth century extreme unction was administered *before* the Eucharist was given to the sick, for he says: "Per pœnitentiam et extremam unctionem præparatur homo ad digne sumendum corpus Christi."—*Summa*, III. Q. lxxv. art. 3.

² "No man ought to think that by receiving of this sacrament of anointing the sick man's life shall be made shorter, but rather that the same shall be prolonged thereby,—considering the same is instituted for the recovery of health both of the soul and body. Second, that it is an evil custom to defer the administration of this sacrament unto such time as the sick persons be brought by sickness unto extreme peril and jeopardy of life, and be in manner in despair to live any longer. Thirdly, that it is lawful and expedient to administer this said sacrament unto every good Christian man in the manner and form before rehearsed, so oft and whensoever any great and perilous sickness and malady shall fortune unto them."—*Formularies of Faith*, p. 127.

³ *Ib.* p. 125.

⁴ See *Formularies of Faith*, pp. 123–128 and 290–293.

lished in 1549, a simple form of anointing was provided to be used "if the sick person desire it." It was, however, entirely omitted in the Second Prayer Book in 1552, and has never been restored. If any justification be needed for this complete disuse of the practice, it may reasonably be found in the absence of any early authority for it, and the entire lack of evidence from early writers that the words of S. James were regarded as enjoining a rite to be of lasting obligation in the Church.

IV. *The use of Sacraments.*

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about; but that we should duly (rite) use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation. But they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as S. Paul saith.

There is a slight difficulty concerning the first words used here, because Baptism cannot possibly be "carried about," nor does there appear ever to have been any superstitious practice of "gazing upon" it. The custom of carrying about the Eucharist is referred to again in Article XXVIII., and it is easy to see that, in view of the superstitions of the day, it may well have been thought necessary to point out that this holy sacrament **was not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about;** and the probability is that the words are intended to refer specially to it.¹ This inter-

¹ Britton (*Horæ Sacramentales*, p. 97 *seq.*) argues that the plural "sacraments" may have been intended to refer to the two parts of the Eucharist which are spoken of in the Prayer Books of 1552 and 1559 as the *Sacraments* of His Blessed Body and Blood" (second exhortation to come to the Holy Communion). The word is altered into the singular in the edition of 1604.

pretation is confirmed by the fact that S. Paul's words in 1 Cor. xi. 29, to which allusion is made in the following sentence, are spoken only of the Eucharist.

It will scarcely be denied that the medieval system was exposed to serious danger of leading men to rest content with the mechanical act of receiving the sacraments, and of encouraging them to look on them almost as magical charms. Hence it was well that it should be definitely stated **that we should duly use them, and that in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation.** But it would seem superfluous to add proof of these statements here, for no Christian will be found to deny them.

With regard to the last words of the Article, which state that **they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as S. Paul saith,** it will be sufficient to remind the reader that the "damnation" spoken of here and in the Authorised Version of 1 Cor. xi. 29 (the passage alluded to), is not necessarily final condemnation. It is rather that "judgment" with which "we are chastened of the Lord, *that we may not be condemned with the world*" (ver. 32); *i.e.* the Apostle is speaking of a temporal chastisement, the object of which was to wean the unworthy communicant from his sin, and lead him to repentance, so that he might escape what is commonly called "damnation." The mistranslation, which is found in the Book of Common Prayer, as well as in the Articles and the Authorised Version, has happily been altered in the Revised Version of 1881. It may be said in extenuation of it that "damnation" was by no means so strong a term in the sixteenth century as it is now;¹ but all the same the rendering of κρίμα as "judicium" by the

¹ See Wright's *Bible Word Book*, p. 181.

Vulgate in the passage in question ought to have prevented the mistranslation, the practical consequences of which have certainly been serious.

A few words may be added in conclusion concerning the doctrine of grace *ex opere operato*, for it will be remembered that the phrase was expressly condemned in the clause corresponding to that now under consideration, in the Article of 1553. It may therefore be fairly asked, why was the condemnation of it removed in 1563? Does the Church of England hold the doctrine, or does it not? In answer to this it may be pointed out that the phrase was an ambiguous one, capable of a perfectly innocent sense, and of expressing a real truth, but capable also of a meaning which was grossly superstitious. It was originally used by medieval Theologians, and after them by the Council of Trent (Session VII. canon viii.), to describe the nature of the effects which the "seven sacraments" produce. In the technical language of the schools, man can by his perversity and wilful hardness "put a bar" (*ponere obicem*) against their effect,¹ and certain dispositions, as faith and repentance, are required on the part of the recipient. But the grace comes not from them, but from Christ Himself through the sacraments of His institution; for, as our own Article XXVI. points out, the sacraments are "effectual because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be administered by evil men." It was to guard this truth that the phrase that grace comes *ex opere operato* was invented; and it was intended to indicate that "grace

¹ Cf. the answer of the bishops at the Savoy Conference in 1661 to the objection of the Puritans to the statement that every child is regenerate in Baptism. "Seeing that God's sacraments have their effects where the receiver doth not 'ponere obicem,' put any bar against them (which children cannot do); we may say in faith of every child that is baptized, that it is regenerated by God's Holy Spirit."—Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, p. 356.

is conferred by virtue of the sacramental act instituted by God for this end, not by the merits of the minister or the recipient."¹ But while, as employed by careful and instructed theologians, the phrase meant nothing more than this, yet in the mouths of ignorant and ill-instructed persons it was easily capable of "no godly but a very superstitious sense," and might be taken to imply that the grace was so tied to the sacraments that the sacramental act became almost of the nature of a magical charm, bringing grace to the recipient *ex opere operato*, whatever his spiritual condition might be.² It was this which led to the condemnation of the phrase in 1553. But by the time of the revision of 1563 it had been made abundantly clear that this superstitious use was not the only one which the phrase conveyed. Consequently there was a danger lest the language of the

¹ So Bellarmine (*De Sacram.* ii. 1) explains it: "Id quod active et proxime atque instrumentaliter efficit gratiam justificationis est sola actio illa externa, quæ sacramentum dicitur, et hæc vocatur *opus operatum*, accipiendo passive (operatum), ita ut idem sit sacramentum conferre gratiam ex opere operato, quod conferre gratiam ex vi ipsius actionis sacramentalis a Deo ad hoc institutæ, non ex merito agentis vel suscipientis. . . . Voluntas, fides, et pœnitentia in suscipiente adulto necessario requiruntur ut dispositiones ex parte subjecti, non ut causæ activæ, non enim fides et pœnitentia efficiunt gratiam sacramentalem neque dant efficaciam sacramenti, sed solum tollunt obstacula, quæ impedirent, ne sacramenta suam efficiam exercere possent, unde in pueris, ubi non requiritur dispositio, sine his rebus fit justificatio." And, among moderns, see the careful statement of Moehler, *Symbolism*, p. 198.

² This superstitious sense is indicated in the language of the Thirteen Articles of 1538, where the phrase is condemned (Art. IX.): "Neque enim in illis verum est, quod quidam dicunt, sacramenta conferre gratiam ex opere operato *sine bono motu utentis*, nam in ratione utentibus necessarium est ut fides etiam utentis accedat, per quam credat illis promissionibus et accipiat res promissas quæ per sacramenta conferantur." So in the "Apology for the Confession of Augsburg": "Damnamus totum populum scholasticorum doctorum qui docent quod sacramenta non ponenti obicem conferant gratiam ex opere operato *sine bono motu utentis*." Winer's *Confessions of Christendom*, p. 246.

Article might appear to condemn a real truth. Hence the clause was wisely omitted by Archbishop Parker,¹ and nothing whatever was said either to sanction or to condemn the phrase. The superstition which it was desired to guard against was effectually excluded by the statement that "in such only as duly receive" the sacraments "have they a wholesome effect or operation"; while the truth which the phrase had been originally intended to express was secured by the language of the following Article, which states "that they are effectual because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be administered by evil men."

¹ Cf. Hardwick, pp. 129, 130.

ARTICLE XXVI

*De vi Institutionum Divinarum,
quod eam non tollit malitia
ministorum.*

Quamvis in ecclesia visibili bonis mali semper sint admixti, atque interdum ministerio verbi et sacramentorum administrationi præsint, tamen cum non suo sed Christi nomine agant, ejusque mandato et auctoritate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti licet, cum in verbo Dei audiendo, tum in sacramentis percipiendis. Neque per illorum malitiam effectus institutorum Christi tollitur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur, quoad eos qui fide et rite sibi oblata percipiunt, quæ propter institutionem Christi et promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per malos administrantur.

Ad Ecclesiæ tamen disciplinam pertinet, ut in malos ministros inquiratur, accusenturque ab his, qui eorum flagitia noverint, atque tandem justo convicti judicio deponantur.

*Of the Unworthiness of the ministers,
which hinder not the effect of the
Sacraments.*

Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometime the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and Sacraments: yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name but in Christ's, and do minister by His commission and authority, we may use their ministry, both in hearing the word of God, and in the receiving of the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them, which be effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally, being found guilty by just judgment, be deposed.

THIS Article has remained practically unchanged¹ since

¹ "Malos ministros" was substituted for "eos" in the last paragraph in 1563, and in 1571 the English was brought into conformity with the

its first issue in 1553. It is drawn substantially from the fifth of the "Thirteen Articles of 1538,"¹ which in its turn rested to some extent on the eighth of the Confession of Augsburg.² Its object is to condemn the view maintained by the Anabaptists, that the ministry of evil ministers is necessarily inefficacious and ought to be rejected. The same view is expressly condemned in the Confession of Augsburg in the following words: "Damnant Donatistas et similes, qui negabant licere uti ministerio malorum in ecclesia, et sentiebant ministerium malorum inutile et inefficax esse."³ Similarly the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* says that some of the Anabaptists "ab ecclesiæ corpore seipsos segregant, et ad sacrosanctam Domini mensam cum aliis recusant accedere, seque dicunt detineri vel ministrorum improbitate vel aliorum fratrum."⁴

Latin by the alteration of "such" into "evil ministers." The title also in its present form only dates from 1571. In 1553 and 1563 it was "the wickedness of the ministers doth not take away the effectual operation of God's ordinances." "Ministrorum malitia non tollit efficaciam institutionum divinarum."

¹ "Quamvis in ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem mali sint bonis admixti atque etiam ministeriis verbi et sacramentorum non nunquam præsent; tamen cum ministrent non suo sed Christi nomine, mandato, et auctoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti, tam in verbo audiendo quam in recipiendis sacramentis juxta illud: 'Qui vos audit me audit.' Nec per eorum malitiam minuitur effectus, aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus; sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem et ordinationem Christi, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur."

² "Quanquam ecclesia proprie sit congregatio sanctorum et vere credentium; tamen cum in hac vita multi hypocritæ et mali admixti sint, licet uti sacramentis, quæ per malos administrantur, juxta vocem Christi: *Sedent Scribæ et Pharisei in Cathedra Moisis*, etc. Et sacramenta et verbum propter ordinationem et mandatum Christi sunt efficacia, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur."

³ *Confessio Augustana*, Art. VIII. *sub fine*.

⁴ *Ref. Legum Ecclesiast.*, *De Hæres.* c. xv. Cf. Rogers *On the Articles* (published in 1586). "The Anabaptists will not have the people to use the ministry of evil ministers, and think the service of wicked ministers

It has been sometimes thought that the Article may have also been aimed at the doctrine of "Intention."¹ This, however, is unquestionably a mistake. The language of the Article in no way bears on the doctrine, and it is difficult to see how it could ever have been thought to do so. Certainly when the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 asked that a condemnation of the doctrine might be inserted in the Articles, it cannot have occurred either to them or to the Bishops who answered them that a condemnation of it was there already.² Moreover, when in 1633 Francis a Sancta Clara (Davenport) wrote his Commentary on the Thirty-Nine Articles, endeavouring to reconcile them with the Tridentine decrees, while some of the statements in the Articles were evidently stubborn facts which it was hard to manipulate, the Article before us gave him no trouble whatever. It appeared to him entirely satisfactory, and the only comment which he deemed necessary upon it was this: "This is the very doctrine of the Church and of all the Fathers."³

Taking, then, the Article as aimed solely against the notions of the Anabaptists, it needs but little comment

unprofitable and not effectual; affirming that no man who is himself faulty can preach the truth to others. . . . The disciplinary Puritans do bring all ministers who cannot preach, and their services, into detestation. For their doctrine is that where there is no preacher, there ought to be no minister of the sacraments. None must minister the sacraments which do not preach, etc. . . . So the Brownists: no man is to communicate (say they) where there is a blind or dumb ministry." Rogers *On the Thirty-Nine Articles* (Parker Society), p. 271.

¹ See Bishop Harold Browne *On the Articles*, p. 607.

² Cf. Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, p. 185.

³ Davenport's book, which is more remarkable for ingenuity than for anything else, has been republished by the Rev. F. G. Lee (J. T. Hayes, 1872).

or explanation.¹ The opinions condemned in it, which have found favour with Puritan sects from the days of the Donatists onward, would, if admitted, make all ministerial and sacramental acts utterly uncertain, for no man can see into the hearts of the ministers, and say who are in the sight of God "evil" and who are not. Besides this, there is ample support in Holy Scripture for the position maintained in the Article. The principle underlying our Lord's words, "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all things, therefore, whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe; but do not ye after their works" (S. Matt. xxiii. 2, 3), may fairly be applied to the case of "evil ministers" in the Christian Church. When the Twelve were sent forth two and two, and given "power against unclean spirits to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease," the ministry of Judas must have been effectual like that of the rest of the Apostles, or suspicion would have been directed towards him. Again, our Lord lays down the rule with regard to "the Seventy" which must apply to Christian ministers also: "He that heareth you heareth Me; and he that rejecteth you, rejecteth Me; and he that rejecteth Me, rejecteth Him that sent Me" (S. Luke x. 16); and S. Paul teaches that the minister is nothing. "What then is Apollos? and what is Paul? ministers through whom ye believed; and each as the Lord gave to him. I planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase" (1 Cor. iii. 5, 6). Such passages when fairly considered seem sufficient to establish the position taken up in the Article, and to lead us to believe that even in an extreme case, when **the evil have chief authority in the ministration of**

¹ The doctrine of "Intention" is noticed in connection with the question of the validity of Anglican Orders in the Commentary on Article XXXVI. See below, p. 755.

the word and sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by His commission and authority, we may use their ministry, both in hearing the word of God, and in the receiving of the sacraments.

At the same time, important as it is that this principle should be established, it is no less necessary that the Church should guard herself with the utmost care from any suspicion of indifference to the character of the lives of her ministers, whom she charges before their ordination to the priesthood to "endeavour themselves to sanctify their lives, and to fashion them after the rule and doctrine of Christ, that they may be wholesome and godly examples and patterns for the people to follow"; and, therefore, it is well that the statement already considered should be followed by that in the last paragraph of the Article, which must commend itself to everyone, and seems to require no formal proof. **It appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally, being found guilty by just judgment, be deposed.**

ARTICLE XXVII

De Baptismo.

Baptismus non est tantum professionis signum ac discriminis nota, qua Christiani a non Christianis discernantur, sed etiam est signum Regenerationis, per quod tanquam per instrumentum recte baptismum suscipientes, ecclesiæ inseruntur, promissiones de remissione peccatorum atque adoptione nostra in filios Dei, per Spiritum sanctum visibiliter obsignantur, fides confirmatur, et vi divinæ invocationis, gratia augetur.

Baptismus parvulorum omnino in ecclesia retinendus est, ut qui cum Christi institutione optime congruat.

Of Baptism.

Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from other that be not christened: but is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly, are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed: faith is confirmed: and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God.

The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

THIS Article dates from 1553; but in the revision of Elizabeth's reign, ten years later, the last paragraph was rewritten, and the language on Infant Baptism was considerably strengthened. The earlier clause had simply stated that "the custom of the Church to christen young children is to be commended, and in any wise to be retained in the Church."¹ The language of the Article

¹ It should be mentioned that though the words "per Spiritum Sanctum" stand in the *Latin* edition of 1553, there is nothing to correspond to them in the English. The omission was rectified in the English edition of Jugge and Cawood in 1563.

has not been traced to any earlier source. There is nothing in the Confession of Augsburg¹ or in the Thirteen Articles of 1538 suggesting its phraseology; nor is there any resemblance between its language and that of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* on the same subject.²

The object of the Article is to state the Church's teaching on Holy Baptism, in view of the errors of the Anabaptists, who (1) maintained an utterly unspiritual view of the sacrament, and (2) denied that Baptism ought to be administered to infants and young children.³

There are two main subjects which come before us for consideration—

- (1) The description of Baptism and its effects.
- (2) Infant Baptism.

I. *The Description of Baptism and its Effects.*

Each phrase in the description requires separate consideration.

(a) **Baptism is . . . a sign of profession.** So much was admitted by Zwingli and the Anabaptists, who regarded Baptism as little more than this. The expression used in the Article may be illustrated by the language of the closing exhortation in the Office for the Public Baptism of Infants in the Book of Common Prayer, where it is said that "Baptism doth represent unto us our profession; which

¹ The Article in the Confession of Augsburg (IX.) is this: "De Baptismo docent, quod sit necessarius ad salutem, quodque per baptismum offeratur gratia Dei; et quod pueri sint baptizandi, qui per baptismum oblati Deo recipiantur in gratiam Dei. Damnant Anabaptistas, qui improbant baptismum puerorum, et affirmant pueros sine baptismo salvos fieri."

² *Ref. Legum Ecclesiast., De Sacramentis*, cap. 3.

³ This, together with other errors on Baptism, is condemned in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, *De Hæres.* cap. 18; and cf. Hermann's "Consultation," fol. cxlii.

is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto Him: that as He died and rose again for us, so should we who are baptized, die from sin and rise again unto righteousness; continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living."¹ This view of Baptism is based directly on the language of S. Paul in Rom. vi. 4, "We were buried with Him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life" (cf. also Col. ii. 12, "Having been buried with Him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with Him through faith in the working of God, Who raised Him from the dead").

(b) It is a **mark of difference whereby Christian men are discerned from other that be not christened** (a non Christianis). Just as circumcision was a mark distinguishing the Jews from all others, so also Baptism distinguishes Christians from non-Christians. It is the initial rite by which a man is, so to speak, made a Christian. But Baptism is much more than this. It is to be regarded **not only** as a badge or mark, for,

¹ Cf. also the Collect for Easter Even (1662), "Grant, O Lord, that *as we are baptized into the death of thy blessed Son our Saviour Jesus Christ*, so by continually mortifying our corrupt affections we may be buried with him; and that through the grave and gate of death we may pass to our joyful resurrection; for His merits," etc. Expression is also given to the same thought in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiast.*, *De Sacramentis*, cap. 3:

'Dum autem in aqua demergimur et rursus ex illa emergimus, Christi mors nobis primum et sepultura commendantur, deinde suscitatio quidem illius, et reditus ad vitam,' etc. See also Bishop Lightfoot on Col. ii. 12: "Baptism is the grave of the old man, and the birth of the new. As he sinks beneath the baptismal waters the believer buries there all his corrupt affections and past sins; as he emerges thence, he rises regenerate, quickened to new hopes and a new life. . . . Thus Baptism is an image of his participation both in the death and in the resurrection of Christ." It is obvious how much the *dramatic* impressiveness of Baptism and its representative force is increased where immersion is the method employed.

(c) It is **also a sign of regeneration or new birth.** Here it must be remembered that sacraments have been already defined in Article XXV. as “effectual signs of grace,” and therefore, since “Regeneration” is the word which the Church has ever used to describe the grace of Baptism, and to sum up the blessings conveyed in it, we must interpret “sign” in this clause as an effectual sign; and thus the whole expression will mean that in Baptism the blessings of regeneration are not only represented, but are also conveyed to the recipient. The word Regeneration is expanded in the Church Catechism into “a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness,” and explained in the following words: “For being by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace.” It has been selected by the Church, not only because of its use by S. Paul, who speaks in Titus iii. 5 of a “laver of regeneration” (λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας),¹ in a connection in which it can only refer to Baptism, but also because, previously to this, expression had been given to the thought of a “new birth” as requisite by our Lord Himself in His conversation with Nicodemus, where, after saying, “Except a man be born anew (or *from above*, ἀνωθεν) he cannot see the kingdom of God,”² He explains His words by adding the statement that a man must be

¹ The only other passage in the New Testament in which the word παλιγγενεσία occurs is S. Matt. xix. 28, where it has no reference to Baptism.

² Thus among the Greek Fathers ἀναγέννησις occurs from the days of Justin Martyr onwards (*Apol.* I. lxi. : Ἐπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἐνθα ὕδωρ ἐστί, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννώμεθα). (Cf. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* I. xiv. 1 : εἰς ἐξάρνησιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἀναγεννήσεως). Indeed it is more common in this connection than παλιγγενεσία. For these two words the Latins have but the one equivalent, *Regeneratio*, which is apparently first found of Christian Baptism in Tertullian, *De Resurr. Carnis*, xlvii. (its use in *De Carne Christi*, iv., is ambiguous).

“born of water and the Spirit” (ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνευ-
ματος), S. John iii. 3, 5.¹

But though the word Regeneration sums up the special grace of Baptism, yet the precise blessings conveyed by it may seem to demand more explicit statement, and therefore the Article proceeds to define them, and to state them under at least three distinct heads.

1. By it (Latin *per quod*, i.e. by the *signum regenerationis*), **as by an instrument,² they that receive Baptism rightly** (recte) **are grafted into the Church.** So in the Church Catechism (dating in this part from 1549), the child is taught to speak of “my Baptism wherein I was made *a member of Christ*,” that is, a member of His mystical body, the Church; and the language of the Article is capable of abundant illustration from the Baptismal Offices in the Book of Common Prayer, which frequently speak of admission to the Church as one of the blessings of Baptism. Most pertinent are the words of the declaration of Regeneration to be used after the actual Baptism, which, as they date from the revision of 1552, are almost exactly contem-

¹ Since exception is sometimes taken to the reference of these words to Christian Baptism, it may be well to remind the reader of Hooker's forcible vindication of the Catholic interpretation of them, and the three arguments by which he supports it. (1) Where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst; (2) of all the ancients, there is not one that can be named that did ever understand it except of Baptism; and (3) “where the letter of the law hath two things plainly expressed, *water* as a duty on our part, *the Spirit* as a gift which God supplieth, there is danger in presuming so to interpret it as if the clause concerning ourselves were more than needeth. By such rare expositions we may perhaps in the end attain to be thought witty, but with ill advice.”—*Eccl. Pol.* bk. V. c. lix.

² The phrase *tanquam per instrumentum* was perhaps suggested by the Confession of Augsburg, which says (Article V.) that “per verbum et sacramenta, *tanquam per instrumenta*, donatur Spiritus Sanctus.” But the expression is not uncommon in contemporary writings. See Hardwick, p. 414.

porary with the Article before us. "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child *is regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church,*" etc. The metaphor of "grafting" employed here and in the Article is suggested by the language of S. Paul in Rom. xi. 17 *seq.*; but throughout the Acts of the Apostles, Baptism everywhere appears as the rite of admission into the Church. Our Lord's charge after the resurrection had been, "Go ye and make disciples of all the nations, *baptizing them,*" etc. (S. Matt. xxviii. 19, cf. [S. Mark] xvi. 16), and from the day of Pentecost onward the command was obeyed, and those that received the word were forthwith "baptized." See Acts ii. 38, 41, viii. 12, ix. 18, x. 47, xvi. 15.

2. **The promises of the forgiveness of sin . . . are visibly signed and sealed.** So in the "Nicene" Creed the Christian is taught to say, "I acknowledge one Baptism *for the remission of sins,*" and Article IX. has already stated that "there is no condemnation to them that believe *and are baptized*" (*renatis et credentibus*). With regard to the expression employed in the Article, "signed and sealed" (*obsignantur*), its force will be clearly seen when it is remembered that "a seal is appended to a deed of gift or any other grant, when the donor, who has promised it, *actually makes the thing promised over to the receiver,* and thereby assures the possession of it to him."¹ Thus the

¹ Sadler's *Church Doctrine Bible Truth*, p. 120. It ought to be stated that what is called the "obsignatory" view of sacraments was widely held by many of the foreign reformers, who had a considerable following among our English divines. According to this theory, the sacraments were simply "seals of blessings which already appertained to the recipient as a child of grace" (see Hardwick, p. 94); and did this phrase in our Article stand alone, it might fairly be contended that it denoted the acceptance of this view. But the clause does not stand alone, and cannot be interpreted without regard to language previously used in this Article

words of the Article imply that Baptism is the moment in the spiritual life in which the forgiveness of sin is actually made over to us. It is not to be inferred that Divine grace has been altogether withheld from the Catechumen. In the case of adults it must have been present, or they would never have come forward "truly repenting, and coming to Christ by faith." But what is meant is that Baptism is the decisive moment in which a person passes out of the order of nature into that of grace, and in which, according to the teaching of Scripture and the Church, the forgiveness of his sins is "visibly signed and sealed." Very instructive is the language of Scripture on the case of S. Paul. There can be no question that he received Divine grace at the moment of his conversion. For three days after this he was left to himself, and grace was working in his heart: "For behold he prayeth," was the description of him given to Ananias (Acts ix. 11). But not till the time of his Baptism were his sins washed away, for the words of Ananias to him were these: "And now, why tarriest thou? arise, and *be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on His name*" (Acts xxii. 16). So on the day of Pentecost those who heard Peter speak received the grace of compunction, for "they were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter, and the rest of the Apostles, Brethren, what shall we do?" but the forgiveness of their sin is connected by the Apostle with the decisive act of Baptism: "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you unto the remission of your sins, and ye shall

and also in Article xxv.; and when the teaching of the Sacramental Articles is taken as a whole, it is very clearly seen that the compilers definitely intended to maintain something more than the obnoxious theory, and that they held that "grace is conferred by means of the sacraments, and that children are not justified or regenerated prior to their baptism." See the letter from Peter Martyr to Bullinger, quoted in Hardwick, p. 95.

receive the gift of the Holy Ghost" (Acts ii. 37, 38).¹ With these passages before us there can be no doubt that the Church is right in thus connecting, as she has ever done, the promise of forgiveness of sin with the sacrament of Baptism.²

It may be added that even John the Baptist "preached the baptism of repentance *unto remission of sins*" (S. Mark i. 4), and that the natural action of water in cleansing would almost of necessity suggest that something analogous to this in the spiritual sphere was intended to be effected by Baptism, more especially as the symbolism had been so fully recognised under the Old Covenant, *e.g.* in the symbolic washings of the priests under the law (Lev. viii. 6); the cleansing of the leper (Lev. xiv. 8); the Psalmist's prayer, "Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin" (Ps. li. 2); and many passages in the Prophets, such as Is. i. 16; Ezek. xxxvi. 25; Zech. xiii. 1, and others.

¹ Cf. Eph. v. 25, 26: "Christ also loved the Church, and gave Himself up for it; that He might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the word (*καθαρίσας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι*); that He might present the Church to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy, and without blemish."

² The teaching of the Church may be illustrated from the Baptismal Offices, wherein we are taught to "call upon God for this infant, that he, coming to Thy holy baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration," and pray that God would "sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sins." Naturally there is even more emphasis laid on this in the form for the Baptism of such as are of riper years, in whose case there is actual as well as original sin to be washed away. See especially the exhortation after the Gospel: "Doubt ye not therefore, but earnestly believe that He will favourably receive these present persons, truly repenting and coming unto Him by faith; *that He will grant them remission of their sins, and bestow upon them the Holy Ghost*; that He will give them the blessing," etc. The words in italics are substituted for "that He will embrace him with the arms of His mercy" in the corresponding passage in the Office for the Baptism of Infants.

3. **The promises . . . of our adoption to be the sons of God . . . are visibly signed and sealed.** So in the Catechism we have the expression "my baptism wherein I was made . . . the child of God"—the child, that is, by adoption and grace, for we are all children of God by creation, and Christ alone is God's "Son" by nature and eternal generation; and so (to illustrate the language of the Article once more from the Book of Common Prayer) after a child has been baptized we are taught to thank God "that it hath pleased [Him] to regenerate this infant with [His] Holy Spirit, *to receive him for [His] own child by adoption*, and to incorporate him into [His] holy Church."¹ Again, the language used in the Article is entirely Scriptural. S. Paul tells us that "when the fulness of the time came, God sent forth His Son, born of a woman, born under the law, that He might redeem them which were under the law, *that we might receive the adoption of sons*" (τὴν υἰοθεσίαν), Gal. iv. 4, 5; and in Rom. viii. 15–17 he says, "Ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye received the spirit of adoption (πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας), whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit Himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God: and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified with Him." It is true that there is no direct mention of the rite of Baptism in this passage; but the tense used (ἐλάβετε, Aorist) points to a *definite time*, and that can only be the time of Baptism,² with which the thought of sonship

¹ Compare the recognition of the same truth in the *Collect for Christmas Day*: "Almighty God . . . grant that we *being regenerate, and made thy children by adoption and grace*, may daily be renewed by thy Holy Spirit," etc.

² See Sanday and Headlam's *Commentary in loc.*

is connected by S. Paul in Gal. iii. 26, 27: "Ye are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus. *For* as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ."

We now come to the consideration of the words **by the Holy Ghost** (per Spiritum Sanctum), which stand in the Article in the middle of the sentence now under consideration. As usually taken, they are connected with the words which immediately precede them, so that the Article is made to speak of "the promises of . . . our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost" being "visibly signed and sealed." It seems, however, unquestionable that they were originally intended to be construed with the words that follow, and to refer to the action of the Holy Ghost in signing and sealing the promises. "The promises of the forgiveness of sin and of our adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Ghost are visibly signed and sealed." The words are thus punctuated in the authoritative Latin edition of 1563, and in the earliest English translations.¹ And

¹ The evidence, so far as I have been able to collect it, is this—(1) In 1553 in the Latin MS. signed by the royal chaplains (*State Papers*, Edward vi. "Domestic," vol. xv. No. 28), as well as in the published Latin edition, there is no stop till after *obsignantur*, "*promissiones de . . . adoptione nostra in filios Dei per Spiritum Sanctum visibiliter obsignantur*," etc. In the *English* the words "*per Spiritum Sanctum*" are not represented at all. (2) In 1563 in the Latin Parker MS. at Corpus College, Cambridge, there is no stop till after *obsignantur*, but in the *printed* edition, published by Wolfe, there is a comma after "*filios Dei*," "*adoptione nostra in filios Dei, per Spiritum Sanctum visibiliter obsignantur*." This is also the case in the *English* MSS. in the State Paper Office belonging to the same year (Elizabeth, "Domestic," vol. xxvii. Nos. 40 and 41), "*our adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Spirit are visibly signed and sealed*"; as well as in the English edition published by Jugge and Cawood. The Latin MS. among the *State Papers* (*ubi supra*, No. 41a) has no stop till after *obsignantur*, but the arrangement of the words in the lines looks as if the words "*per Spiritum Sanctum*" were intended to be read with what follows rather than with what precedes. (3) In 1571 the *English* MS. signed by some of the Bishops, now in the Library of Corpus College, Cambridge, has the

though in English the natural order, if this were the meaning, would be "visibly signed and sealed by the Holy Ghost," yet against this must be set the fact that in the edition of 1571 there stands a comma *before* as well as *after* the words, thus: "the promises . . . of our adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed," which does not look as if the translators intended them to be taken closely with the preceding words. Further, whatever may be the case elsewhere, in the instance before us the Latin is unquestionably the original, and in this there is nothing unnatural in the order of the words "*per Spiritum Sanctum visibiliter obsignantur.*" The words, then, should apparently be taken *as a definite recognition of the action of the Holy Spirit in Baptism.* By Him the promises are visibly signed and sealed. The "new birth," as our Lord Himself teaches us, is one of "water and the Spirit" (S. John iii. 5); and as S. Paul says, "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body" (1 Cor. xii. 13).¹ It is clear, then, from the teaching of Holy Scripture that a new relation is formed between the baptized person and the Holy Spirit who is the instrument of his regeneration, and that in some sense the Holy Spirit is "given" in Baptism. As

comma after "sons of God," "our adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Ghost are visibly signed and sealed." Of the published editions in this year the *Latin* (Daye) has no stop till after *obsignantur*; the English (Jugge and Cawood) punctuates as follows: "our adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed." (4) The English reprint of 1628 with the Royal Declaration prefixed to it adopts the same punctuation as in the edition of 1571 by Jugge and Cawood. But (5) in a reprint of 1662 we find the modern punctuation. "Our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed." I cannot say whether it ever occurs earlier than this, but this is the earliest edition in which I have discovered it.

¹ "Ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι denotes the means, and the εἰς (into one body) the result attained," Godet *in loc.*

Hooker puts it with his usual accuracy, "Baptism was instituted that they which receive the same might thereby be incorporated into Christ, and so through His most precious merit obtain as well that saving grace of imputation which taketh away all former guiltiness, as also that infused divine virtue of the Holy Ghost, which giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition towards future newness of life."¹ But it is a further question whether it is right to say precisely that the gift of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit is given in Baptism apart from Confirmation. On the one hand, the gift of the Spirit is apparently definitely connected with Baptism (with no mention of Confirmation) in Acts ii. 38. On the other, though the action of the Holy Spirit might well be predicated, it is difficult to assert definitely the existence of the indwelling gift in the face of Acts viii. 15-17 and xix. 1-6, where the gift is distinctly connected with the "laying on of hands" which followed (in one case at least after some interval) after the actual Baptism. The question cannot be dealt with further here, as it is not directly raised by the terms of the Article. Indeed it appears to require a fuller consideration than it has yet received in the Church.²

There remain some other words of the Article of which it is hard to say what is the precise significance, **faith is confirmed: and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God** (vi divinæ invocationis). No Scriptural authority can be urged, as in the case of the statements already made, for connecting these blessings with the administration of Baptism. Moreover, the Article contemplates the Baptism of

¹ E. P. V. lx. 2.

² Reference should be made to A. J. Mason, *The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*.

infants, in whose case faith cannot be looked for; and yet the expression before us is "faith is *confirmed* and grace *increased*"—words which of necessity presuppose an already existent "faith" and "grace" which can be "confirmed" and "increased." The difficulty is a real one, and is not easily solved. But, on the whole, it appears to the present writer that the best solution is to understand the words as descriptive of that which takes place in the baptized, and subsequent to Baptism.¹ So in the Baptismal Office, the baptized persons present are taught to use these words, which correspond in a remarkable manner to the expression before us: "Almighty and everlasting God, heavenly Father, we give Thee humble thanks, for that Thou hast vouchsafed to call us to the knowledge of Thy *grace*, and *faith* in Thee. *Increase* this knowledge, and *confirm this faith* in us evermore." It is not claimed that this explanation of the words is altogether satisfactory; but it appears to be more free from difficulty than any other which has yet been suggested.²

¹ The following arrangement of the Article may serve to bring out the view taken of it in the text:—

Baptism is not only

(a) A sign of profession, and

(b) Mark of difference, etc., but is also

(c) A sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument,

(1) They that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church.

(2) The promises of the forgiveness of sin, and

(3) Of our adoption to be the sons of God,

} by the Holy Ghost are visibly signed and sealed.

Faith is confirmed; and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God.

² Cf. Britton, *Horæ Sacramentales*, p. 185: "The Church ends her description of the graces conferred by the sacrament with the word 'sealed'; and here speaks of the wholesome effect of her ritual upon the persons present." The clause is considered by Bishop Harold Browne in his work *On the Articles*, p. 667, where it is stated that "the Latin and English do not correspond, and appear to convey different ideas. The former would indicate that the invocation of God, which accompanies the

Since in some minds there appears to exist a certain amount of confusion on the subject of this Article, and a prejudice against the Church's doctrine of baptismal Regeneration, largely due, it is believed, to a misunderstanding of the term, it may be well if, before the subject of Infant Baptism be considered, a few words are added on the distinction between regeneration, conversion, and renewal. *Regeneration*, as we have seen, is the Church's name for the special grace of Baptism, and in the Church's formularies is never used for anything else. What those blessings are has been already stated, and they need not be further described here. *Conversion* is in the Prayer Book spoken of but rarely: once the term is used of what we call the "conversion" of S. Paul;¹ once of a change of religion, the turning from heathenism to Christianity;² and once only in a more general sense of a turning from a life of sin to God.³ It is in this sense that it is popularly used now; and the word well expresses an experience which is needed by all save those who, like the Baptist, have been sanctified from their mother's womb. The difference between it and Regeneration may be expressed in this way. In Regeneration God gives Himself to the soul; in Conversion the soul gives itself to God. It may be illustrated from the Parable of the Prodigal Son. All the time that he was

act of Baptism, confirms faith and increases grace. The latter would imply that the prayers of the congregation might, over and above the ordinance of God, be blessed to the recipient's soul: so that, whereas he might receive grace by God's appointment, whether prayer accompanied Baptism or not, yet the addition of prayer was calculated to bring down more grace and to confirm faith."

¹ The Collect for the Festival of the Conversion of S. Paul: "Grant that we, having his wonderful *conversion* in remembrance."

² Preface to the Book of Common Prayer: "The baptizing of natives in our plantations, and others *converted* to the faith."

³ The third Collect for Good Friday: "Nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be *converted* and live."

in the "far country" the prodigal was still a son. So the man who has once been regenerated in Baptism is still a "child of God," even though, like the prodigal, he has wandered away from the Father's house, and is spending his substance in riotous living. And that which in the parable is represented as the "coming to himself" of the prodigal, when he realised his condition and determined to arise and go to his father, and confess his sin, that in the spiritual reality is Conversion. Thus there is no sort of inconsistency in proclaiming both Regeneration and Conversion. It was just because the prodigal *was* a son that he could venture to arise and go to his father, and say, *Father*. So also just because a person *is* a child of God in virtue of his Baptism, he can venture to arise and, confessing his sin, yet call God by the name of *Father*. *Renewal*, the third term mentioned above, should be distinguished from both Regeneration and Conversion, as that which, owing to man's natural infirmity, is constantly and even daily required in all Christians even after they are "converted." It is that for which we ask in the Collect for Christmas Day, in which we pray "that we, *being regenerate* and made [God's] children by adoption and grace, *may daily be renewed* by [His] Holy Spirit"; and again in the "Order for the Visitation of the Sick," even after the sinner is absolved there is a prayer that God will "*renew* in him whatsoever hath been decayed by the fraud and malice of the devil, or by his own carnal will and frailness." If the language of the Book of Common Prayer in the various passages that have been here referred to be carefully attended to, it is believed that confusion will be avoided, and that the distinction between these several terms will be clearly apprehended.

II. *Infant Baptism.*

The Baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

In considering the evidence for this assertion it may be well to begin with (*a*) the silence of Scripture. It is often said that there is no command to baptize infants, and therefore they are not proper subjects for the administration of the rite. In answer to this it may be pointed out that the charge to baptize is perfectly general. There is nothing in our Lord's words to *exclude* infants, and it is believed that had He intended them to be excluded, He would have expressly said so. Indeed the silence of Scripture, so far from being an argument against the practice, may really be turned into one in its favour, for the Apostles and all Jews were perfectly familiar with the idea of children being brought into covenant with God by means of circumcision; and therefore when Christ instituted Baptism as the rite of admission to the new Covenant, and said nothing expressly as to the age of those to whom it was to be administered, the natural inference must have been that children were proper subjects of it, else the new Covenant would be narrower than the old. Nor was the analogy of circumcision the only thing that would incline the Apostles to the practice, if, as seems almost certain, Baptism was already practised by the Jews in the admission of proselytes. The Talmud lays down the express rule that infants were to be baptized with their parents;¹ and though its evidence does not positively prove that the custom was already in existence at the time of our Lord's earthly ministry, yet the probability

¹ See the passages cited in Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ* on S. Matt. iii. 6 (vol. ii. p. 56).

is very strong that the Talmud is recording a tradition which dates back to so early a date. If, then, the Apostles were accustomed (1) to circumcision, and (2) in the case of proselytês to Infant Baptism, it can hardly be doubted that to them it would have seemed natural to include infants, and admit them into the new Covenant by means of the rite enjoined for "making disciples."

(b) But there is positive evidence to supplement the argument from silence. When S. John iii. 5 is connected with S. Mark x. 13-16, the inference that children are proper subjects for Baptism appears irresistible. "Except a man (τις) be born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." These words teach the "necessity" of Baptism for admission into the Church. But in S. Mark we are expressly told that the kingdom is "of such" as children; and, as the Baptismal Office in the Book of Common Prayer reminds us, our Lord "commanded the children to be brought unto Him, blamed those that would have kept them from Him, took them in His arms, and *blessed* them." Nor is the fact (mentioned by S. Mark) that He thus "blessed them" without its importance in this connection. It teaches us that children are capable of receiving spiritual blessings, and thus furnishes an answer to a question sometimes asked—What good can Baptism do to them?

Thus we may say that **the Baptism of young children is . . . most agreeable with the institution of Christ, for**

(1) It was instituted as the rite of admission to His kingdom;

(2) He Himself has laid down no limit of age; but

(3) Asserts that children are to be allowed to come to Him, and

(4) Teaches that they are capable of receiving spiritual blessings.

(c) When we pass from the Gospels to the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, it is not surprising that there is but little which bears directly upon the subject. Wherever and whenever the Church is in a *missionary* stage, the Baptism of adults must be the rule—that of young children the exception. It is so in the present day, and must of necessity have been so in the days of the Apostles. But there are hints and indications which appear sufficient to warrant the inference that the Apostles must have admitted young children to Baptism where the opportunity of so doing was given them.

We shall, perhaps, be wise not to lay too much stress on the mention of *whole households* being baptized (Acts xvi. 15, 33; 1 Cor. i. 16), for it can never be proved that those particular households contained children (nor, however, on the other hand, is there the slightest evidence that they did *not*). But more to the point is it to notice that S. Peter in his address on the day of Pentecost seems expressly to point to the interest of children in the promise, and hence to their inclusion. "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ . . . for to you is the promise, *and to your children*, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call unto Him" (Acts ii. 38, 39). And in full accordance with this, we notice that S. Paul in his Epistles sends messages to children, treating them as within the Covenant, and therefore, according to all the evidence available, as already baptized (see Eph. vi. 1; Col. iii. 20).

(d) It may be said that these indications are but slight. But there is nothing to be set against them on the other side. And the inference here drawn from them is confirmed by the fact that there is sufficient evidence from the Fathers to show that from the second century onwards the Church was familiar with the idea

and practice of Infant Baptism, though, for the reason stated above, that she was still in her missionary stage, it must have been the exception rather than the rule. The Patristic evidence from the second and third centuries is here given. Beyond that period it is unnecessary to quote authorities for the practice.

Before the middle of the second century, the existence of the practice is implied in some words of Justin Martyr, who not only speaks of "many both men and women of sixty or seventy who had been Christ's disciples *from childhood*,"¹ but also compares Baptism with circumcision, and speaks of it as the "spiritual circumcision." This is especially noteworthy, as it occurs in his *Dialogue with Trypho*,² who was a Jew; and if the analogy failed in so important a point, it could hardly have been pressed as it is by Justin.

Towards the close of the century (A.D. 180) Irenæus has these words: "He came to save all by Himself—all, I say, who are regenerated by Him unto God, *infants, and little children*, and boys, and young men, and those of older age."³

No less decisive is the language of Tertullian (200), who in his book on Baptism argues strongly against the practice, urging that the rite should be postponed till the recipients of it are growing up. But the whole force of his words depends upon the fact that Baptism was actually being administered to young children when he wrote.⁴

¹ Πολλοὶ τινες καὶ πολλὰ ἐξηγοντοῦται καὶ ἐβδομηκοντοῦται, οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἐφθόροι διαμένουσιν.—*Apō. I. xv.*

² *Dial. cum Tryphone*, c. xliii.

³ "Omnes enim venit per semetipsum salvare: omnes, inquam, qui per Eum renascuntur in Deum, infantes et parvulos et pueros et juvenes et seniores."—*Adv. Hær. II. xxxiii. 2.*

⁴ "Itaque pro cuiusque personæ conditione ac dispositione, etiam ætate, cunctatio baptismi utilior est, præcipue tamen circa parvulos. . . . Veniant ergo dum adolescent, etc.—*De Baptismo, xviii.*

In the writings of Origen (220) there is more than one passage which bears on the subject. Thus in his Commentary on the Romans he says definitely that it is an apostolic tradition "to administer Baptism *even to little children*," and gives the reason for this;¹ and in the Homilies on S. Luke he speaks to the same effect, saying that "infants are baptized for the remission of sins."²

The last witness who need be cited is S. Cyprian (250). In his day we find that the analogy of circumcision was so rigidly pressed, that it was questioned whether it was lawful to administer Baptism before the eighth day after birth. The question is considered by him, and decided in the affirmative.³ From this time onwards there can be no question as to the custom of the Church permitting Infant Baptism, although in many cases it was deliberately deferred owing to the dread of post-baptismal sin. This, however, has no real bearing on the question before us; and the passages quoted are sufficient to justify the statement made above, that from the second century onwards the Church was familiar with the idea and practice of Infant Baptism.

¹ "Pro hoc et ecclesia ab Apostolis traditionem suscepit, etiam parvulis baptismum dare. Sciebant enim illi quibus mysteriorum secreta commissæ sunt divinorum quod essent in omnibus genuinæ sordes peccati, quæ per aquam et Spiritum ablui deberent."—*Com. in Ep. ad Rom.* bk. V. c. ix.

² "Parvuli baptizantur in remissionem peccatorum. Quorum peccatorum? vel quo tempore peccaverunt? aut quomodo potest ulla lavacri in parvulis ratio subsistere, nisi juxta illum sensum de quo paulo ante diximus: Nullus mundus a sorde, nec si unius diei quidem fuerit vita ejus super terram? Et quia per baptismi sacramentum nativitatis sordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur et parvuli. Nisi enim quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu non potuerit intrare in regnum cælorum."—*In Lucam Homilia XV.*; cf. *Hom. in Levit. viii.* § 3.

³ *Ep.* lxiv. (ed. Hartel).

ARTICLE XXVIII

De Cœna Domini.

Cœna Domini non est tantum signum mutuæ benevolentiæ Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis. Atque ideo rite, digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus, est communicatio corporis Christi: similiter poculum benedictionis, est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia, ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis Scripturæ verbis adversatur, sacramenti naturam evertit, et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

Corpus Christi datur, accipitur, et manducatur in cœna, tantum cœlesti et spirituali ratione. Medium autem quo Corpus Christi accipitur, et manducatur in cœna, fides est.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ ex institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.

Of the Lord's Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death. Insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ; and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

IN no Article are the changes introduced at the revision of 1563 of greater importance than in this. It is not

too much to say that they completely transform it and alter its character. In order to make this clear, it will be necessary to remind the reader briefly of the course of thought on the subject of the Eucharist in the Church of England during the sixteenth century.

In all the formularies put forth in the reign of Henry VIII. the doctrine of the real presence is strongly asserted,¹ as also in the abortive series of Articles agreed

¹ (1) The Ten Articles of 1536. "As touching the Sacrament of the Altar, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe, that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption; and that under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received of all them which receive the said sacrament."—*Formularies of Faith*, p. 11.

(2) "The Institution of a Christian man" (the "Bishops' Book") of 1537 repeats this almost word for word.—*Op. cit.* p. 100.

(3) The "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian man" (the King's Book) of 1543, not content with this, substitutes a passage which clearly teaches the doctrine of transubstantiation. "In the other sacraments the outward kind of the thing which is used in them remaineth still in their own nature and substance unchanged. But in this most high Sacrament of the Altar, the creatures which be taken to the use thereof as bread and wine, do not remain still in their own substance, but by the virtue of Christ's word in the consecration be changed and turned to the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. So that although there appear the form of bread and wine, after the consecration, as did before, and to the outward senses nothing seemeth to be changed, yet must we, forsaking and renouncing the persuasion of our senses in this behalf, give our assent only to faith and to the plain word of Christ, which affirmeth that substance there offered, exhibited, and received, to be the very precious body and blood of our Lord. . . . By these words it is plain and evident to all them which with meek, humble, and sincere heart will believe Christ's words, and be obedient unto faith, that in the sacrament, the things that be therein be the very body and blood of Christ in very substance."—*Op. cit.* p. 262.

upon by the Anglican and Lutheran divines in 1538.¹ But about the year 1545 Ridley came across the book of "Bertram," or rather Ratramn of Corbie (840), *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*.² By this he was greatly impressed. "This Bertram," he said, "was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that brought me from the common error of the Romish Church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical Fathers in this matter."³ Nor did the influence of Ratramn's book end here; for Ridley, having been convinced by it himself, never rested till he had won over Cranmer also, and under his influence Cranmer was led definitely to abandon the medieval theory of transubstantiation.⁴ Even so, however, he wavered and hesitated as to what his *positive* belief was, and for a considerable time appears to have inclined to something like the Lutheran tenet of consubstantiation;⁵ though finally, after the death of Bucer

¹ Art. VII. *De Eucharistia*: "De Eucharistia constanter credimus et docemus, quod in sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, vere, substantialiter, et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi sub speciebus panis et vini. Et quod sub eisdem speciebus vere et realiter exhibentur et distribuuntur illis qui sacramentum accipiunt, sive bonis sive malis." This is decidedly stronger than the Article in the Confession of Augsburg, which in the original edition of 1530 runs as follows: "De cœna Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint, et distribuuntur vescentibus in cœna Domini, et improbant secus docentes." This was altered in the edition of 1540 to "De cœna Domini docent, quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in cœna Domini."—See *Sylloge Confessionum*, pp. 126 and 172.

² Ratramn's book was written in answer to questions addressed to him by Charles the Bald, in consequence of the work of Paschasius Radbert, in which a theory of transubstantiation had been plainly put forward. As against this, Ratramn strongly asserts that there is no change in the elements. See below, p. 650.

³ See Moule's *Bishop Ridley on the Lord's Supper*, p. 11.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 13.

⁵ In 1548 he issued an English translation of a Lutheran Catechism, and great was the dissatisfaction and disappointment among the more

early in 1551, he seems to have fallen completely under the influence of the Polish refugee John a Lasco, who sympathised entirely with the Swiss or Zwinglian school on the subject of the Eucharist. The result is seen in some of the changes introduced into the Book of Common Prayer in 1552, and in the publication of the Twenty-ninth Article, *De cœna Domini*, in 1553. It will be remembered that in the Prayer Book of 1552, among other changes, the words of administration were altered,

ardent spirits at the position which he took up. "The Archbishop of Canterbury, moved, no doubt, by the advice of Peter Martyr and other Lutherans, has ordered a Catechism of some Lutheran opinions to be translated and published in our language. This little book has occasioned no little discord; so that fightings have frequently taken place among the common people, on account of their diversity of opinion, even during the sermons."—Burcher to Bullinger, Oct. 29, 1548 (*Original Letters*, p. 642). "This Thomas," wrote John ab Ulmis to the same correspondent (Aug. 18, 1548), "has fallen into so heavy a slumber that we entertain but a very cold hope that he will be aroused even by your most learned letter. For he has lately published a Catechism, in which he has not only approved that foul and sacrilegious transubstantiation of the Papists in the Holy Supper of our Saviour, but all the dreams of Luther seem to him sufficiently well grounded, perspicuous, and lucid" (*ib.* p. 380). Towards the end of the year a change was noticed, for in November the same correspondent writes: "Even that Thomas himself about whom I wrote to you when I was in London, by the goodness of God and the instrumentality of that most upright and judicious man, Master John a Lasco, is in a great measure recovered from his dangerous lethargy" (p. 383). In 1549 he was apparently again inclined to higher views than were acceptable to the extreme men. Bucer had "very great influence with him"; he was with him "like another Scipio, and an inseparable companion" (pp. 64, 67). But by the end of the year he had taken a decided step. "The Archbishop of Canterbury," wrote Hooper to Bullinger on December 27, "entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper, and is now very friendly towards myself. He has some Articles of religion, to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe, or else a licence for teaching is not granted them, and in these his sentiments respecting the Eucharist are pure and religious, and similar to yours in Switzerland" (p. 71). In the following year no room for doubt was left, as Cranmer's own *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament* was published,

“Take and eat (drink) this in remembrance,” etc., being *substituted* for “the body (blood) of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given (shed) for thee,” etc., and that there appeared at the end of the Communion Office the “black rubric” or declaration concerning kneeling, which asserted **that** “thereby no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential Presence of Christ’s natural Flesh and Blood. For the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were Idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians); and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here,—it being against the truth of Christ’s natural Body to be at one time in more places than one.”¹ In the Article as published in the following year, 1553, the first, second, and fourth paragraphs were the same as those in our present one (save that the words “overthroweth the nature of a sacrament” were added in 1563). But the third paragraph was widely different from that which the Article now contains. It stood thus:

“Forasmuch as the truth of man’s nature requireth, that the body of one and the self-same man cannot be at one time in diverse places, but must needs be in some one certain place: therefore the body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and diverse places. And because (as Holy Scripture doth teach) Christ was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe or openly to confess the real and bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ’s flesh and blood, in the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper.”

¹ On the history of this rubric, which was added at the last moment, see Dixon, iii. 475 *seq.*

Exactly in accord with this teaching is the language of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, which, it will be remembered, dates from the same period. In this a violent and rather coarse attack is made on both transubstantiation and consubstantiation, or "impanation," as it is called; and the "real presence" is positively denied.¹ On a review of these and other facts, there can be little doubt that in 1552 and 1553 the formularies of the Church in this country were (to say the least) intended to be acceptable to those who sympathised with the Zwinglian School of Reformers in regard to the Eucharist, and who held that the Presence was merely figurative. But happily the accession of Elizabeth, after the Marian reaction, brought with it a return to wiser counsels, and a great and marked change in the language of our formularies. In the Prayer Book (1559) the words of administration used in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. were restored, in addition to the formula of the second book, so that there might be once more a definite recognition of the Presence at the moment of administration to each individual; and the "black rubric" was altogether omitted.² In the Article, when it was republished a few years later (1563), the third paragraph, denying the "real and

¹ *Reformatio Legum Eccles.*, *De Hæres.* c. 19; cf. *De Sacramentis*, c. 4: "Cum autem ad hæc omnia nec transubstantiatione opus sit, nec illa quam fingere solebant reali præsentia corporis Christi, sed potius hæc curiosa hominum inventa primum contra naturam humanam sint a Filio Dei nostra causa sumptam, deinde cum Scripturis divinis pugnent, et præterea cum universa sacramentorum ratione configant, ista tanquam frivola quædam somnia merito desecanda curavimus, et oblivione obruenda, præsertim cum magnum ex illis et perniciosum agmen superstitionum in ecclesia Dei importatum fuerit." This may well be contrasted with the much more sober condemnation of transubstantiation in the Articles.

² The rubric was restored in 1662 with the very important substitution of "corporal" for "real and essential."

bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood," was also deleted,¹ and in its place was inserted our present *third* paragraph, asserting in careful and accurate language that "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner; and the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." The author of this paragraph was Edmund Guest, Bishop of Rochester, who says in a letter to Cecil that is still preserved, that it was of "mine own penning," and that it was not intended to "exclude the Presence of Christ's Body from the Sacrament, but only the grossness and sensibleness in the receiving thereof."²

Naturally these changes were not agreeable to the Puritan party in the Church,³ for they amounted to a complete change. Whereas in the latter years of Edward VI.'s reign the formularies had seemed to exclude the doctrine of the real Presence and to incline to Zwinglianism, they were now (at the lowest estimate) patient of a Catholic interpretation, and contained nothing under cover of which the Zwinglianizing party could honestly

¹ What makes the omission more noteworthy is that the following clause was presented to the Synod and rejected by it: "Christus in cœlum ascendens, corpori suo Immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit, humanæ enim naturæ veritatem (juxta Scripturas) perpetuo retinet, quam uno et definito loco esse, et non in multa, vel omnia simul loca diffundi oportet, quum igitur Christus in cœlum sublatus, ibi usque ad finem seculi sit permansurus, atque inde non aliunde (ut loquitur Augustinus) venturus sit, ad judicandum vivos et mortuos, non debet quisquam fidelium, carnis ejus et sanguinis, realem et corporalem (ut loquuntur) presentiam in Eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri." See Lamb's *Historical Account of the XXXIX. Articles*, p. 12.

² The letter quoted in full in G. F. Hodge's *Bishop Guest, Articles XXVIII. and XXIX.* p. 22.

³ See the letter of Humphrey and Sampson to Bullinger, quoted on p. 41, and the notice in Strype of the controversies concerning the Real Presence, and of Parker's supposed "Lutheranism," *Annals*, vol. i. p. 334; cf. Zurich Letters, p. 177.

shelter themselves. Moreover, they have since been supplemented by the clear teaching of the Church Catechism (1604). It follows from all this that the opinions of the Edwardian Reformers, such as Cranmer and Ridley, on the subject of the Holy Communion, have nothing more than an historical interest for us. Destructively they performed a task for which we owe them a great debt, in courageously attacking the medieval teaching on transubstantiation. But the positive character impressed upon the Articles in regard to Eucharistic doctrine is not theirs; nor have their writings any claim to be regarded even as an *expositio contemporanea* of formularies, which, in their present form, belong to a later date, and to a time when much greater respect was shown to the ancient teaching of the Church.

We are now in a position to consider the substance of the Article as it has stood unchanged since 1563. It contains four paragraphs dealing with the following subjects:—

1. The description of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
2. The doctrine of Transubstantiation.
3. The nature of the Presence, and the "mean whereby it is received."
4. Certain practices in connection with the Eucharist.

I. *The Description of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*

(a) **It is a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another.** So much was admitted by the Anabaptists, who regarded it as an outward sign of our profession and fellowship, but nothing more. The Article admits that it is this, but it is **not only** this. Far more important is it to remember that it is **rather**

(b) **A sacrament of our redemption by Christ's**

death. It was instituted "for the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby," and by it we "proclaim the Lord's death till He come" (1 Cor. xi. 26).

(c) **To such as rightly** (rite), **worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking** (communicatio) **of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.** This clause is entirely founded on S. Paul's words in 1 Cor. x. 16, the words of which it follows very closely: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion (*κοινωνία*, Vulg. communicatio) of the Blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion with the Body of Christ?" This passage forms an inspired commentary upon the account of the institution, when (to follow S. Paul's own narrative of it) our Lord "took bread; and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said, This is My body, which is for you: this do in remembrance of Me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in My blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me." The value of the words of the Apostle cannot be over-estimated as interpreting the meaning of our Lord's words: "This is My body." They seem conclusive against transubstantiation on the one hand, and against a merely figurative presence on the other. The bread, he says, which we break,¹ is it not a *κοινωνία* with the body of Christ? *i.e.* that which coming between unites us with and makes us partakers of the body; for so we

¹ It is noteworthy that S. Paul's words are "the bread which we break," and "the cup of blessing which we bless," not simply "which we eat and drink." Thus he seems to lay the stress on the breaking of the bread and the blessing of the cup, *i.e.* on the consecration with which the Church has always connected the fact of the Presence.

may paraphrase the word. Thus the heavenly part of the Sacrament is conveyed to us through the earthly symbol consecrated by Christ's word of power; and the "inward part or thing signified" is, in the emphatic words of the Catechism (rightly emphatic, because the Presence had been explained away by some), "the Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." Thus the Eucharist is, as Article XXV. maintains, an "effectual sign." It not only typifies, but also conveys; for all who "duly receive these holy mysteries" are fed "with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood" of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

So far the Article has spoken only of the fact of the Presence of Christ's Body and Blood, teaching us that it is conveyed to us through "the bread which we break," and "the cup of blessing which we bless." But questions had been raised, and much controversy had taken place with regard to the manner and nature of the Presence; and these could not be altogether passed by without notice. To them, therefore, the next two paragraphs are devoted.

II. *Transubstantiation.*

In considering this it will be well to treat separately—

- (a) The history of the doctrine, and
- (b) The grounds on which it is condemned.

(a) *The history of the doctrine.*—During the first eight centuries there are singularly few traces of controversy on the subject of the Eucharist, and as a consequence the teaching of the Fathers concerning the Presence is informal and unsystematic. It is, however, quite clear from the language used by them, as well as

from the expressions employed in the Liturgies of the Church, (1) that they believed in the Real Presence, and yet (2) that they were not committed to any formal theory of the manner of it such as that which was afterwards elaborated, and (3) that they held the permanence and reality of the elements even after consecration. The ninth century made a change, as the doctrine then became a matter of controversy. The first, so far as we know, to write a formal treatise on the subject was Paschasius Radbert of Corbie, in 831. In his work, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, a carnal theory, involving practically the destruction and annihilation of the elements, was boldly taught. Again and again he asserts that after consecration there is "nihil aliud quam corpus et sanguis Domini."¹ The work of Paschasius was answered among others by Ratramn, whose treatise, denying the carnal presence, and maintaining a spiritual view, had such an influence on Ridley, and through him on Cranmer.² Others, however, as Hincmar (c. 850) and Haimo of Halberstadt (c. 850), wrote in favour of the teaching of Paschasius; Haimo, indeed, expressly teaching that "the invisible priest changes His visible creatures into the substance of His flesh and blood," and that "though the taste and figure of bread and wine remain, yet the nature of the substances is altogether changed into the body and blood of Christ."³ After this, however, the controversy died down, till the days of Lanfranc and Berengar, Archdeacon of Angers,

¹ See cc. ii. viii. xi. xii. xvi. xx., and cf. Gore's *Dissertations*, p. 236 *seq.* The work of Paschasius is given in Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. cxx.

² On the teaching of Ratramn, see Gore, *op. cit.* p. 240 *seq.*

³ Migne, *Patrol.* vol. cxviii. p. 817. It is generally stated that John Scotus Erigena joined in this controversy and wrote a work on the Eucharist. But this does not appear to have been the case, for the work ascribed to him by later writers has been shown by Canon (now Bishop) Gore to be really the work of Ratramn. *Dissertations*, p. 240.

in the eleventh century. Berengar, who had attacked the popular doctrine with great vigour, was forced to recant at the Council of Rome under Nicholas II. (1059), and the form of recantation to which he was compelled to assent will show more clearly than anything else what was now the belief of the dominant party in the Church.

“Ego Berengarius indignus Sancti Mauricii Andegavensis ecclesiæ Diaconus cognoscens veram, Catholicam, et apostolicam fidem, anathematizo omnem hæresim, præcipue eam, de qua hactenus infamatus sum: quæ astruere conatur panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem solummodo sacramentum, et non verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, nec posse sensualiter, nisi in solo sacramento, manibus sacerdotum tractari, vel frangi, aut fidelium dentibus atteri. Consentio autem sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ sedi; et ore et corde profiteor de sacramento Dominicæ mensæ eandem fidem me tenere, quam dominus et venerabilis Papa Nicolaus et hæc sancta Synodus auctoritate evangelica et apostolica tenendam tradidit, mihiq; firmavit: scilicet panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, et sensualiter, non solum sacramento, sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri: jurans per sanctam et homocousion Trinitatem, per hæc sacrosancta Christi evangelia. Eos vero, qui contra hanc fidem venerint, cum dogmatibus et sectatoribus suis æterno anathemate dignos esse pronuntio. Quod si ego ipse aliquando contra hæc aliquid sentire aut prædicare præsumpsero, subiaceam canonum severitati. Lecto et perlecto sponte subscripsi.”¹

¹ Mansi, vol. xix. p. 900.

This asserts definitely that after consecration the bread and wine are the true Body and Blood of Christ in such a way that they are "sensibly," not only sacramentally, but really handled by the priest, broken, and ground by the teeth of the faithful. Practically this amounts to saying that the Body and Blood have *taken the place of* the elements; and it is very difficult to think that the expressions used can have been intended to be taken in any but a material sense of a sort of physical carnal presence.¹ But an obvious difficulty occurs here. If this is so, how is it that the appearances of bread and wine are there still? It was said that these were allowed to remain in order to test our faith, and to prevent the horror which would result were the Body and Blood to be openly manifested.² And further, advantage was taken by the schoolmen of the distinction drawn by the philosophy of the day between "substance" and "accidents." It was taught that the "accidents" remain, and that therefore taste, appearance, smell, etc. are unchanged, but that the "substance" of bread and wine had been annihilated and replaced by the "substance" of the Body and Blood, *i.e.* that the bread and wine had been *transubstantiated* into the Body and the Blood. The actual word by which this theory is commonly known, "transubstantiatio," appears to have been first used during the eleventh century,³ and was definitely adopted by Innocent III. at the Fourth Lateran Council in

¹ See the summary of the conclusions of Witmund, *De Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Veritate*, in Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 259.

² So Paschasius, x. xi.

³ It has been generally stated that the first known occurrence of the word is in the work of Stephen, bishop of Autun, *De Sacramento Altaris* (c. 1100). It appears, however, before this in the Exposition of the Canon of the Mass, by Peter Damien (who died in 1072), first published by Cardinal Mai, *Script. vet. nova Collectio*, vol. vi. p. 211 *seq.*; see c. vii.

1215, when a decree was promulgated, laying down that the Body and Blood are truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar under the forms of bread and wine, the bread being *transubstantiated* into the Body, and the wine into the Blood, by Divine power.¹

From this time onward the word was commonly employed in the Western Church.² But it is no more free from ambiguity than is the word "substance" itself. This, taken in its philosophical sense, is nothing that is tangible, or that the senses are cognizant of; these can only come in contact with the "accidents" or qualities. The "substance" is the underlying *something* which constitutes the thing, which makes it what it is, in which the "accidents" cohere. But, taken in its ordinary popular sense, "substance" suggests to plain, untrained, and unphilosophical minds something material and tangible, something which they can see, and with which the senses can come in contact. Hence it will be seen that even after it had been laid down that the elements were "transubstantiated" into the Body and Blood, there was still room for wide difference of opinion as to the nature of the change involved. By instructed theologians it was understood of a change

¹ "In qua [ecclesia] idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Jesus Christus, ejus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transubstantiatis pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem potestate divina."—Labbe and Cossart, vol. vii. p. 18.

² The Eastern Church accepts the corresponding term *μετουσίωσις*. It is doubtful, however, whether any instance of its use occurs earlier than the sixteenth century. The older words used for the change effected by consecration were *μεταστοιχείωσις*, *μεταβολή*, *μετάθεσις*, and *μεταλλαγή*; and Archbishop Platon of Moscow lays down that the word *μετουσίωσις* is to be taken in the sense in which the Fathers used these other terms, and is not to be understood of a physical and carnal transubstantiation, but of one that is sacramental and mystical. See Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*, vol. i. p. 172; but see the *Confession of Dositheus* (Kimmel, p. 457 *seq.*), and cf. Winer, *Confessions of Christendom*, p. 282.

that was spiritual and entirely free from any gross or carnal sense. But to those to whose minds the ordinary associations of the word "substance" clung, it could only suggest a material physical presence. The great schoolmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from Peter Lombard onwards, had done something to free the doctrine from the terribly materialistic ideas in which it had originated,¹ but after their days a period of decadence set in; the clergy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were for the most part not well-instructed theologians; and there can be no doubt that the doctrine commonly accepted at the beginning of the sixteenth century was a grossly carnal and material one. There is abundant and painful evidence of this, not only in the language of those who (often coarsely and in ill-considered language) assailed the popular theory, but also in the language of its defenders. Thus one of the forms of recantation submitted to Sir John Cheke under the direction of Cardinal Pole reasserts in plain terms the view contained in the recantation of Berengarius, cited above.²

¹ See, e.g., the language of Peter Lombard, *Libri Sentent.* IV. dist. xi. xii. xiii.

² See Strype's *Life of Sir John Cheke*, p. 123: "'I, Sir John Cheke, Knight,' etc. . . . The tenor of which was, that he pretended with heart and mouth to profess that he acknowledged the true Catholic and Apostolical faith, and did execrate all heresy, and namely that wherewith he lately had been infamed, as holding that the bread and wine upon the altar, after the consecration of the priest, remained only a sacrament, and were not the very Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, neither could be handled or broken by the priest's hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithful, otherwise than only in manner of a sacrament. That he consented now to the holy and apostolical Church of Rome, and professed with mouth and heart to hold the same faith touching the sacrament of the Lord's Mass, which Pope Nicholas with his Synod at Rome, anno 1058, did hold, and commanded to be held by his evangelical and apostolical authority; that is, that the bread and wine upon the altar, after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but also are

In spite, however, of the popular superstitions encouraged by the use of the term, it was authoritatively reasserted at the Council of Trent. The whole question of the Eucharist was there considered at the thirteenth session in October 1551, more than a year before the promulgation of the English Articles of 1553. At this session it was laid down—(1) that “in the august sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, after the consecration of the bread and wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and man, is truly, really, and substantially contained under the form of those sensible things”;¹ and (2) that “because Christ our Redeemer declared that which He offered under the form of bread to be verily His own Body, therefore it has ever been a firm belief in the Church of God, and this holy Synod doth now declare it anew, that by the consecration of the bread and wine, a conversion takes place of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the Body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of His Blood: which conversion is, by the holy Catholic Church, conveniently and properly called Transubstantiation.”² Further, the

the very true and self-same Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, felt and broken with hands, and chewed with teeth: swearing by the holy Evangelists that whosoever should hold or say to the contrary, he should hold them perpetually accursed; and that if he himself should hereafter presume to teach against the same, he should be content to abide the severity and rigour of the Canons,” etc.

¹ “Principio docet sancta Synodus et aperte ac simpliciter profitetur in almo sanctæ Eucharistiæ sacramento, post panis et vini consecrationem, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum verum Deum atque hominem, vere, realiter, ac substantialiter sub specie illarum rerum sensibilibus contineri.”—*Conc. Trid.* Sess. xiii. cap. 1.

² “Quoniam autem Christus redemptor noster, corpus suum id quod sub specie panis offerebat, vere esse dixit; ideo persuasum semper in ecclesia Dei fuit, idque nunc denuo sancta hæc Synodus declarat, per consecrationem panis et vini conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam Corporis Christi Domini nostri, et totius substantiæ vini

first two Canons passed at this session were the following:—

“If any one shall deny that in the sacrament of the most holy Eucharist are verily, really, and substantially contained the Body and Blood, together with the Soul and Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and consequently whole Christ; but shall say that He is only therein as in a sign, or in figure or virtue: let him be anathema.

“If any one shall say that in the sacred and holy sacrament of the Eucharist the substance of the bread and wine remains conjointly with the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shall deny that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the Blood, the form only of the bread and wine remaining, which conversion indeed the Catholic Church most aptly calls Transubstantiation: let him be anathema.”¹

Thus the scholastic theory was formally sanctioned by the Roman Church, and is regarded as an Article of faith in that communion to this day.

(b) *The grounds on which the doctrine is condemned.*

The Article gives *four* grounds for rejecting the

in substantiam Sanguinis Ejus; quæ conversio convenienter et proprie a sancta Catholica Ecclesia Transubstantiatio est appellata.”—*Ib.* cap. 4.

¹ “Si quis negaverit in sanctissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento contineri vere realiter et substantialiter Corpus et Sanguinem, una cum anima et Divinitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ac proinde totum Christum: sed dixerit tantummodo esse in eo, ut in signo, vel figura, aut virtute, anathema sit.

“Si quis dixerit in sacrosancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini, una cum Corpore et Sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi; negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiæ panis in Corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in Sanguinem, manentibus dumtaxat speciebus panis et vini, quam quidem conversionem Catholica Ecclesia aptissime Transubstantiationem appellat: anathema sit.”—*Ib.* Canons 1 and 2.

doctrine. It says that **Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord—**

(1) **Cannot be proved by Holy Writ.** It is hard to see how a philosophical theory such as Transubstantiation confessedly is, can ever be “proved by Holy Writ.” Romanists point to the words of institution, *Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου*. But though they can certainly be claimed in favour of the real Presence, yet to bring into them a theory of “accidents” remaining while the “substance” is changed, is to read into the text that which is certainly not contained in it, and what we deny can reasonably be inferred from it.¹

(2) It **is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture.** According to the theory now under consideration, what remains after consecration is no longer “bread,” and has no claim to be so called. But Scripture freely speaks of that which is received as “bread,” *e.g.* “As often as ye eat *this bread* and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord’s death till He come. . . . Let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of *the bread* and drink of the cup” (1 Cor. xi. 26, 28).

(3) It **overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament.** It is of the essence of a sacrament that there should be in it two parts—the “outward visible sign” and the “inward spiritual grace.” But if “bread,” the outward visible sign in the Eucharist, no longer remains after consecration, one of the two essential parts has been destroyed, and the “nature of a sacrament” is “overthrown.”

¹ Both Scotus and Bellarmine have allowed that there is no passage of Scripture so plain as to compel belief in Transubstantiation, apart from the decree of the Lateran Council. See Bellarmine, *De Eucharistia*, III. xxiii., where Scotus is referred to [*In IV. dist. xi. q. 3*]. Cf. Forbes, *Considerationes Modestæ*, vol. ii. p. 446.

(4) It **hath given occasion to many superstitions.** These words are only too painfully true, and in support of them reference may be made to the medieval stories of alleged miracles, such as those freely instanced by Paschasius Radbert,¹ in which the Host has disappeared, and the Infant Christ Himself been seen, or where drops of blood have been seen to flow from the consecrated wafer. Of these none is more to the point than the so-called miracle of Bolsena, which led to the institution of the Festival of Corpus Christi in 1264. According to one account, the miracle, in which the corporal was suddenly covered with red spots in the shape of a Host, actually happened to remove the priest's doubts concerning Transubstantiation.

These four arguments brought forward in the Article appear to be perfectly satisfactory, as directed against the coarse and carnal form of the doctrine which was present to the minds of those who compiled the Article. But it must be admitted that they scarcely touch the subtle and more refined and spiritual form in which it is held by thoughtful and well-instructed Romanists. With regard to the *first two* arguments, they may fairly point to the fact that the consecrated Host is actually termed "panis" in the Missal, and therefore may claim that they recognise it as in some sense "bread," and give it the same term as does S. Paul.² As to the *third*, they reply that "what we see, feel, or taste in the Blessed Sacrament is real, for the accidents are real entities, and the accidents are all that the senses ever do perceive. . . . It is, moreover, because the accidents remain that the Eucharist is a sacrament. They constitute the outward part—they are the sensible sign of

¹ A considerable number of such "miracles" are related in his work, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, c. xiv.

² Cf. Bellarmine, *De Eucharistia*, I. c. xi.

that refreshment of the soul which follows from a worthy reception of the Blessed Sacrament.”¹ The *fourth* argument is obviously inconclusive as an argument. If everything that “hath given occasion to many superstitions” is to be rejected, then Christianity itself must go, for there is scarcely a doctrine which has not been perverted and abused. But even with regard to the more refined and spiritual form in which the doctrine is capable of being presented, we cannot but feel compelled to resist it when it is pressed as an Article of faith, and our assent to it is required as a condition of communion. At best it is but a theory of the schools, a philosophical opinion which is “destitute and incapable of proof,”² as well as “involved in tremendous metaphysical difficulties.”³ As such we decline to be bound by it. But as an “opinion,” hard as it is to free it altogether from materialistic conceptions,⁴ it has been conceded by Anglican divines, representing very different schools of thought, that it need be no bar to communion, provided no assent to it were demanded from us.⁵

¹ Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 347.

² Bp. Thirlwall, *Charge*, 1866, Appendix B.

³ Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 269.

⁴ Cf. Gore, *op. cit.* p. 271, where it is pointed out that the accepted teaching of the Roman Church holds that the real Presence is withdrawn as soon as the process of digestion commences; and the following is quoted from Perrone, *Prælectiones Theologicæ*: “Etenim cum species eo devenerint ut corpus sive materia dissolvi seu corrumpi deberet, cessante reali corporis Christi præsentia, Deus omnipotentia sua iterum producit materialem panis aut vini substantiam in eo statu quo naturaliter inveniretur, si conversio nulla præcessisset, ut fides locum habent.”—*De Eucharistia*, § 151.

⁵ So Hooker, bk. V. lxxvii. 6: “‘This is My body,’ and ‘This is My blood,’ being words of promise, sith we all agree that by the sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform His promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, whether by consubstantiation or else by transubstantiation the sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ or no?—a thing which no way can either further or hinder us however it stand, because our participation of Christ in this sacra-

III. *The Nature of the Presence and the "Mean whereby it is received."*

On the nature of the Presence the teaching of the Article is this. The Body and Blood are in no way carnally and corporeally present, *i.e.* after the manner of a body, physically, and according to the laws which govern a local and material presence, for **the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner**; that is, it is present in a manner above sense and nature, by the power and working of God's Holy Spirit, and for the highest spiritual ends. It has been noticed by a thoughtful writer that in this clause "the body of Christ is not said in a general way to be 'received,' but to be 'given, taken, and eaten'; as if there were a solicitude, in correcting the abuses of the sacrament, explicitly to maintain the union between the heavenly and spiritual blessing

ment dependeth on the co-operation of His omnipotent power which maketh it His body and blood to us, whether with change or without alteration of the elements such as they imagine, we need not greatly to care nor inquire." Cf. the MS. note in which Hooker defends these words, quoted by Mr. Keble (*Hooker's Works*, vol. ii. p. 353). Bp. Andrewes: "*De Hoc est*, fide firma tenemus, quod sit: De, *Hoc modo est* (nempe, Transubstantiato in corpus pane), de modo quo fiat ut sit, per, sive *In*, sive *Con*, sive *Sub*, sive *Trans* nullum inibi verbum est. Et quia verbum nullum, merito a fide ablegamus procul: inter *Scita Scholæ* fortasse, inter *Fides Articulos* non ponimus."—*Resp. ad Bellarm.* p. 13 (A. C. Lib.). So Archbp. Bramhall places Transubstantiation "among the *opinions* of the schools, not among the Articles of our faith."—*Answer to Militiere*, p. 1. Burnet also says: "We think that neither consubstantiation nor transubstantiation, however ill-grounded we think them to be, ought to dissolve the union and communion of Churches."—*On Art. XXVIII.* And Bp. Harold Browne, in speaking of the teaching of Roman divines, admits that "by the more learned and liberal, statements have been made perpetually in acknowledgment of a spiritual rather than a carnal presence; and such as no enlightened Protestant would cavil at or refuse."—*Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles*, p. 701.

and the outward and visible sign. . . . To use these precise expressions, therefore, respecting the Body of Christ is, by clearest implication, to combine that 'heavenly and spiritual' blessing with the given and taken symbol."¹ The words of the whole paragraph imply that the Presence is what is now commonly called "objective," *i.e.* that it is *there*, in virtue of consecration, as something external to ourselves, in no way dependent on our feeling or perception of it. It is "given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner." But **the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith.** It is "given, taken, and eaten" (*datur, accipitur, et manducatur*). It is "received and eaten" (*accipitur et manducatur*). Three words are employed in the first sentence; only two in the second; and this designedly, for the Presence is not due to faith. Faith *receives*. It cannot *create* or *bestow*. The Presence must be there first, or it cannot be received. As Thorndike said, "the eating and drinking of it in the sacrament presupposes the being of it in the sacrament . . . unless a man can spiritually eat the Flesh and Blood of Christ in and by the sacrament, which is not *in* the sacrament *when* he eats and drinks it, but *by his* eating and drinking of it comes to be there."² If, however, it is clearly implied that the Presence is there first, before it is "received," it seems to be no less clearly taught in the last part of the clause that faith is a necessary condition to the reception of it, for "the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." So much is practically confessed by Bishop Guest, the author of the clause, in a remarkable letter addressed to Cecil in 1571. Guest was very anxious

¹ A. Knox, *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 173.

² *Laws of the Church*, c. ii. § 12,

that Article XXIX. "Impii non manducant," which had been withdrawn before publication in 1563, should not now be restored, or receive any sanction "because it is quite contrary to the Scripture and the Fathers"; and in order to make the Twenty-eighth Article harmonise with the view that the wicked do partake of the body, though not fruitfully, he suggested that the word "only" should be removed, and that the word "profitably" should be inserted, and that the words should run, "the mean whereby the body of Christ is profitably received and eaten in the Supper is faith."¹ The Article was, however, left untouched, and the Twenty-ninth was, against his wish, inserted; and, if the words of the Articles are to be taken in their plain literal and grammatical sense, the whole paragraph would seem to indicate, (1) that the Presence is there independent of us, and thus that it is offered to all; but (2) that the faithful, and the faithful only, are able to receive it.

The subject will require some further consideration under the next Article, but so much it seemed necessary to say here, for the right understanding of the words before us.

All the positive statements of the Article with regard to the Presence in the Eucharist have now been discussed (for the fourth paragraph which still remains is concerned only with certain practices in connection with the sacrament), and if the exposition that has been given is a fair one, the result of it will be this: that while the doctrine of the real Presence is distinctly taught, and the theory of Transubstantiation is condemned, there is an entire absence of any counter theory of the manner of the Presence. And in this lies the real strength of the position taken up by the Church of England. She

¹ *State Papers*, "Domestic," Elizabeth, vol. lxxviii. No. 37. Cf. p. 45.

devoutly accepts her Lord's words. She does not attempt to explain them away or to resolve them into a mere figure. But, on the other hand, she is content to hold them as a mystery. Her Lord has not explained them. He has nowhere revealed "how" His Body and Blood are present; and therefore she declines to speculate on the *manner*, and rejects as no part of the Church's faith all theories on the subject presented to her, whether that of Transubstantiation, or the Lutheran tenet of Consubstantiation, or that associated with the name of Calvin, the theory of a "virtual" presence only in the heart of the faithful recipient.¹

To the present writer it appears that on this mysterious subject we may well be content to make our own the words of Bishop Andrewes in the sixteenth century, and of Bishop Moberly in the nineteenth—

"Præsentiam credimus non minus quam vos veram : de modo præsentia nihil temere definimus, addo, nec anxie inquirimus."²

"The Body and Blood of Christ are present, not corporeally (for that we know from our Lord's words

¹ This, it must be remembered, is a distinct "theory" quite as much as Transubstantiation. It is probably largely owing to the belief that it was the view of R. Hooker that it has obtained such wide acceptance in this country. It cannot, however, be fairly said that it represents the *whole* of Hooker's teaching on the subject. See book V. c. lxxvii. § 1, where very strong language is used on "the power of the ministry of God," which "by blessing visible elements maketh them invisible grace" (a phrase which is scarcely reconcileable with a merely "receptionist" theory), and "hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world, and that blood which was poured out to redeem souls." The arguments in c. lxxvii. by which Hooker seeks to justify his conclusion that "the real Presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament," cannot be deemed convincing, and the reader will find an able criticism of them in Freeman's *Principles of Divine Service*, vol. ii. Introd. p. 202 seq.

² *Responsio ad Bellarm.* p. 13.

in John vi. 63), but spiritually, in and with the elements. We know no more . . . Consubstantiation, like Transubstantiation, is a *theory* of the *manner* of the Presence, whereas the Church only knows the Presence as a fact, respecting the mannêr and mode and extent of which she is not informed.”¹

IV. *Certain Practices in connection with the Eucharist.*

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped. Of the practices here spoken of, at least three are directly enjoined by the Council of Trent, and it is possible that to the promulgation of the decrees of the thirteenth session of that Council (October 1551) the paragraph before us is due. The decrees in question lay down, (1) that “there is no room left for doubt that all the faithful of Christ, according to the custom ever received in the Catholic Church, exhibit in veneration the worship of *latria*, which is due to the true God, to this most holy sacrament”; (2) that “very piously and religiously was this custom introduced into the Church, that this most sublime and venerable sacrament should be, with special veneration and solemnity, celebrated every year on a certain day, and that a festival; and that it should be borne reverently and with honour in processions through the streets and public places”;² and (3) that

¹ *Bampton Lectures*, p. 172 (ed. 1).

² “Nullus itaque dubitandi locus relinquitur, quia omnes Christi fideles pro more in Catholica Ecclesia semper recepto latriæ cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic sanctissimo sacramento in veneratione exhibeant. . . . Declarat præterea sancta Synodus pie et religiose admodum in Dei ecclesiam inductum fuisse hunc morem, ut singulis annis peculiari quodam et festo die præcelsum hoc et venerabile sacramentum singulari veneratione ac solemnitate celebraretur, utque in processionibus rever-

"the custom of reserving the Holy Eucharist in the 'sacrarium' is so ancient that even the age of the Council of Nicæa recognised it. Moreover, as to the carrying of the sacred Eucharist itself to the sick, and carefully reserving it to this purpose in churches, besides that it is conformable with the highest practice, equity, and reason, it is also found enjoined in numerous Councils, and observed according to the most ancient custom of the Catholic Church. Wherefore this holy Synod ordains that this salutary and necessary custom be by all means retained."¹ These chapters are followed as usual by canons condemning with an anathema those who deny the lawfulness of these practices.

The statement made in the Article is worded with the utmost care, and with studied moderation. It cannot be said that any one of the practices is condemned or prohibited by it. It only amounts to this: that none of them can claim to be part of the original Divine institution. **The sacrament . . . was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.** That is all that is said; and in a formulary, such as the Articles, that was sufficient. The four practices in question, belonging mainly to the ritual use of the Church, came more directly into consideration in connection with the arrangements for public worship in the Book of Common Prayer.

enter et honorifice illud per vias et loca publica circumferretur."—*Conc. Trid.* Sessio xiii. cap. 5.

¹ "Consuetudo asservandi in Sacrario sanctam Eucharistiam adeo antiqua est ut eam sæculum etiam Nicæni Concilii agnoverit. Porro deferri ipsam sacram Eucharistiam ad infirmos, et hunc usum diligenter in ecclesiis conservari, præterquam quod cum summa æquitate et ratione conjunctum est; tum multis in Conciliis præceptum invenitur et vetustissimo Catholicæ Ecclesiæ more est observatum. Quare sancta hæc Synodus retinendum omnino salutarem hunc et necessarium morem statuit."—*Ib.* cap. vi.

1. Reservation for the sick, undoubtedly a primitive practice,¹ was permitted, under certain restrictions, in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.² In the Second Book (1552), in view of the danger of superstitious reservation,³ the provision for it was omitted altogether. At the last revision in 1662 an express direction was inserted in one of the rubrics at the end of the Order for Holy Communion, that "if any remain of [the bread and wine] which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the church, but the priest and such other of the communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall, immediately after the blessing, reverently eat and drink the same." It is tolerably clear that the intention of this rubric was to guard against the irreverent custom, which was only too common, of a priest taking away what remained of the consecrated elements for his own use; but at the same time it is difficult to believe that the rubric could have been so worded had those who introduced it contemplated reservation as still permissible under the directions of the Book of Common Prayer.

¹ See Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I. c. lxvii.: τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέρμεται.

² The sick were communicated with the reserved sacrament if there was a celebration of the Holy Communion on the same day; but if the day was "not appointed for the open Communion in the church," provision was made for a special consecration. See the rubrics before "the Communion of the Sick" in the book of 1549.

³ The danger of such superstitious reservation is very clearly indicated by the last rubric at the close of the Order of the Holy Communion in the Prayer Book of 1549: "Although it be read in ancient writers that the people many years passed received at the priest's hands the sacrament of the body of Christ in their own hands, and no commandment of Christ to the contrary: Yet *forasmuch as they many times conveyed the same secretly away, kept it with them, and diversely abused it to superstition and wickedness*: lest any such thing hereafter should be attempted, and that an uniformity might be used throughout the whole Realm, it is thought convenient the people commonly receive the sacrament of Christ's body, in their mouths, at the priest's hand."

2. The festival of Corpus Christi was removed from the Calendar in 1549, and the "carrying about" of the Eucharist in procession through the streets and public places is forbidden by the rubric that has just been quoted.

3. *The Elevation of the Host* for purposes of adoration is said to have been introduced about the year 1100,¹ and (like the institution of the festival of Corpus Christi) was a direct consequence of the growth of a belief in Transubstantiation. It was distinctly prohibited in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., though the prohibition is not repeated in the Second Book.²

4. *Adoration* of Christ present in the sacrament is not and cannot be prohibited. But it is one thing to worship Christ there present, and quite another to find in the sacrament a distinct localised object of worship; and the "Declaration concerning Kneeling," restored (with the important modification previously mentioned) in 1662, expressly says that by the posture of kneeling "no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or unto any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood."³

¹ See Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 546 seq. (ed. 1). And on the earlier elevation connected with the proclamation τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, which was certainly not for purposes of adoration, see the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 605.

² "These words before rehearsed [*i.e.* the words of consecration] are to be said, turning still to the altar, without any elevation, or showing the sacrament to the people."—Rubric after Consecration in the Prayer Book of 1549.

³ Reference may be made in general on this subject to Mozley's *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, p. 210 seq.

ARTICLE XXIX

*De manducatione Corporis Christi,
et impios illud non manducare.*

Impii, et fide viva destituti, licet carnaliter et visibiliter (ut Augustinus loquitur) corporis et sanguinis Christi sacramentum dentibus premant, nullo tamen modo Christi participes efficiuntur. Sed potius tantæ rei sacramentum, seu symbolum, ad iudicium sibi manducant et bibunt.

*Of the Wicked which do not eat the
Body of Christ in the use of the
Lord's Supper.*

The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as S. Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

THE first appearance of this Article (to which there is nothing corresponding in the series of 1553) is in Parker's MS., which was signed by the bishops on January 29, 1563.¹ It is also found in two English MSS. of almost the same date, now in the Record Office, in one of which there is a marginal note: "This is the original, but not passed."² In a *Latin* MS. in the same office it is altogether wanting,³ as it is in the published edition issued a few months later by Wolfe, the royal printer, under the direct authority of the Queen. It must, therefore, have been omitted either in the passage of the Articles through the Lower House of Convocation, or else at an even later stage by the direct interposition

¹ See p. 30.

² *State Papers*, "Domestic," Elizabeth, vol. xxvii. Nos. 40 and 41.

³ *Ib.* No. 41A.

of the Queen herself, the reason for its omission evidently being a desire to avoid needlessly offending some of those who sympathised with medieval belief and feeling, whom it was desired, if possible, to retain within the limits of the Church. Since it lacked all authority it is naturally wanting in the printed copies up to 1571, when we meet with it again. On May 11th of that year the Articles were considered by the Upper House of Convocation, and a copy was subscribed by Parker and ten other bishops. In this the Twenty-ninth Article is contained.¹ A few days later we find Bishop Guest, by an appeal to Cecil, making a determined effort to prevent the ratification of it on the ground that it "will cause much business."² His efforts were, however, unavailing, as it is contained in the copy which was ratified by the Sovereign,³ and from this time forward it finds its place in all printed copies, both Latin and English. It will be remembered that by this date (1571) the Anglo-Roman schism was complete, and therefore there was not the same reason as there had been eight years earlier for withholding the Article.

The language of the Article has been traced to no earlier formulary; but it is throughout suggested by a

¹ A copy of this is given in Lamb's *Historical Account of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, No. iv.

² See above, p. 662, and G. F. Hodge's *Bishop Guest, Articles XXVIII. and XXIX.* p. 24.

³ Guest's letter in May 1571 had, however, apparently led to the interview between Cecil and Parker on June 4, referred to in Strype's *Parker*, pp. 331, 332, when Cecil questioned the reference to S. Augustine. The interview was followed by a letter from Parker on the same day, in which he told the Treasurer that he was "advisedly" still in the same opinion concerning the authority of S. Augustine, "and for further truth of the words, besides S. Austen, both he in other places and Prosper in his 'Sentences wrote of Austen' (Senten. 338 and 339), doth plainly affirm our opinion in the Article to be most true, howsoever some men vary from it." (Parker's *Correspondence*, p. 381.)

passage in the works of Augustine on S. John's Gospel. In the printed editions the text stands as follows: "Qui non manet in Christo et in quo non manet Christus procul dubio nec manducat [spiritualiter] carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem [licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi]: sed magis tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducat et bibit."¹ It is thought, however, that the text has been interpolated, and that the words placed in brackets are due, not to Augustine, but to Bede, in whose Commentary they are also found.

Coming now to the consideration of the substance of the Article, it may be noticed that the phrase employed in the title is not repeated in the Article itself. In the former, it is said of **the wicked** that they **do not eat the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper**. In the latter, the phrase used is that **in no wise are they partakers of Christ**. It has been thought that the heading is in itself inexact, and must be interpreted by the phrase in the Article itself, as many have held that though the wicked do actually receive the Body and Blood, and therefore in some sense "eat" it, yet since they receive it not to their soul's health, but to their condemnation, they are "in no wise partakers of Christ."² There can be no doubt that the medieval Church did thus teach that what the wicked receive in the Eucharist is the Body and Blood, Christ being present in the sacrament in their case to judge, as in the case of the faithful He is present to bless.³ But it may be doubted whether so

¹ *In Joann. Tract.* xxvi. § 18.

² See Pusey, *Real Presence*, p. 251 *seq.*

³ It is sufficient to refer to S. Thomas, *Summa*, iii. 80. 3: "Cum corpus Christi in sacramento semper permanet donec species sacramentales corrumpantur, etiam injustos homines Christi corpus manducare consequitur." For the Tridentine teaching, see Sess. xiii. cap. viii.

much would have been allowed in the early Church,¹ or whether it can be proved from Scripture. Two passages of the New Testament directly bear upon the question, (1) S. Paul's words in 1 Cor. xi. 27-29, and (2) S. John vi. 51-59. In the former passage the Apostle says: "Whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the

¹ On the teaching of Augustine, see the interesting correspondence between Pusey and Keble, quoted in vol. iii. of Pusey's *Life*, Appendix to c. xviii.; but see also Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 232, where it is admitted that Augustine's language, while "probably somewhat inconsistent," "may fairly be interpreted on a receptionist theory like Hooker's." Even so late and so materialistic a writer as Paschasius Radbert is not really clear as to what the wicked receive. *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, c. vi., and cf. the following from Mozley, *Lectures*, etc. p. 203: "The language of the Fathers is not indeed free from some real and much more apparent disagreement on this subject. On a subject where language has so many nice distinctions to keep, it will not always keep them; nor avoid indiscriminateness, saying one thing when it means something else close and contiguous to it, but still quite different from it. Thus the rule or custom by which the bread itself was called the Body, as being the figure of the Body; and by which the whole sacrament, not distinguishing its material part from its spiritual, was called the Body, as *containing* the Body, necessarily led to occasional confusion of language; writers saying that the Body was always, and in any case, eaten together with the reception of the sacrament, without any condition, when they really meant that the bread, which was the sacrament of the Body, was eaten. Where, however, this distinction was in the writer's mind, a large mass of language shows that the true Body of Christ in the sacrament could not be eaten except by the medium of faith. S. Augustine, who is quoted in our Article on this point, has frequent similar statements. S. Hilary says, 'The bread which cometh down from heaven is not received except by him who is a member of Christ' [*De Trinitate*, Lib. viii.]. S. Jerome says, 'Those who are lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, neither eat His Body nor drink His Blood' [*in Esai.* lxvi. 17]; though he also speaks of the polluted and unworthy approaching the altar and drinking His Blood. But the connection which this latter assertion has with the visible altar and the open reception of the sacrament gives the body and blood here rather the open and sacramental sense just mentioned, than the true sense. 'He who obeys not Christ,' says Prosper, 'neither eats His flesh nor drinks His blood' [*Sent.* 139]. 'He receives who approveth himself,' says Ambrose. 'The wicked cannot eat the word made flesh,' says Origen [*in Matt.* xv.]. See also Gore, *The Body of Christ* (1901), p. 144 *seq.*, on the Teaching of the Fathers.

blood of the Lord. But let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For he that eateth and drinketh, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself, if he discern not the body." These words beyond question teach us that the Body and Blood are so present that the unworthy communicant is guilty of their profanation. How could he fail to "discern" the Body, unless it was there? But it is by no means clear that S. Paul means to say that the unworthy communicant *receives* the Body. It is *there*, and he is so brought into contact with it as to be "guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord." But if it be true, as Article XXVIII. has asserted, that "the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith," then, although it is offered to him, he is incapable of receiving it, and thus **the wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth . . . the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their own condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.** This view of the meaning of S. Paul's words derives support from our Lord's own statements in S. John vi. 51-59. There throughout He speaks of "life" as the gift imparted by "eating His Flesh" and "drinking His Blood." No doubt the discourse has a wider reference than only to the Holy Communion. Our Lord is speaking primarily of the Incarnation, and faith therein as the means of life. But from this He proceeds to speak of the way in which men can be united with Him and thus made sharers of His life, especially by "eating His Flesh" and "drinking His Blood." And when it is remembered that exactly a year after this discourse was spoken He took bread and

gave it to His disciples, and said, "Take, eat, this is my Body," and gave them to drink of the cup, saying, "This is my Blood," it seems impossible to doubt that the Holy Communion is intended to be in ordinary cases the means of that eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood of which He is speaking; and if this is so, since the wicked are certainly not made to "have life" through participation in the sacrament, it would not appear to be safe to assert that they do "eat the Body of Christ in the sacrament."

It cannot be maintained that it follows as a *necessary* inference from the doctrine of the real Presence; for if the connection of the Presence with the elements be of such a nature that of necessity *all* those who receive the outward elements *must* thereby also receive the "inward part," ulterior consequences will follow: such as the reception of the Body of Christ by birds or mice, which might through some deplorable accident eat a portion of the consecrated bread.¹ To this it may be added that "nowhere in Scripture do we hear of an eating and drinking of the true Body and Blood of our Lord which is not profitable. The Body and Blood are of that nature, that they are in the reason of the case, by the simple fact of being eaten and drunk, beneficial; and no such thing is contemplated as a *real* eating of them, which is not a *beneficial* eating of them also. "Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood," saith the Lord, "hath eternal life. . . . He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood dwelleth in Me, and I in him. . . . He that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me." The spiritual food of our Lord's Body and Blood cannot, as has been said, be eaten except spiritually; it cannot be

¹ For the extraordinary shifts to which the medievalists were driven in order to explain *what* really happens under such circumstances, see Witmund, *De Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Veritate*, ii. § 7 *seq.*

eaten carnally by the mere natural mouth and teeth; such an idea is a discord and a contradiction in reason. But if it cannot be eaten except spiritually, how does the carnal man supply the spiritual medium and instrumentality of eating? The carnal man has only the natural mouth and teeth to apply; all this he has; but this is totally irrelevant to spiritual food."¹

On the whole, then, even if, as many have thought, the view that the wicked do actually receive the Body and Blood without being thereby made "partakers of Christ,"² be capable of reconciliation with the terms of this Article, yet it appears to be more in accordance with Holy Scripture and the mind of the primitive Church, as well as with the most obvious and natural meaning of Articles XXVIII. and XXIX.,³ to hold that the wicked, though brought (so to speak) in contact with the Body and Blood, are through want of faith unable to receive that spiritual food which is offered to them. Thus they are "in no wise partakers of Christ," because, lacking "the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper," they "eat not the Body of Christ."⁴

¹ Mozley, *op. cit.* p. 205.

² This phrase which is used in the Article is taken from Heb. iii. 14.

³ It ought to be stated that Bishop Guest, in spite of his criticisms of this Article, felt himself able to sign it; for his signature is contained with those of other bishops in the MS. of May 11, 1571.

⁴ It should be added that it was freely admitted by both Cranmer and Ridley that *in some sense* the wicked may be said to "eat the Body." And their language is *verbally* identical with that of the Council of Trent, where it was said that "some receive it sacramentally only, viz. sinners, others sacramentally and spiritually" (Sess. xiii. cap. viii.). So Cranmer: "I say that the same visible and palpable flesh that was for us crucified . . . is eaten of Christian people at His holy Supper . . . the diversity is not in the body, but in the eating thereof; no man eating it carnally, but the good eating it both sacramentally and spiritually, and the evil only sacramentally, that is, figuratively."—*On the Lord's Supper* (Parker Society), p. 224. So Ridley: "Evil men do eat the very true

and natural body of Christ sacramentally and no further, as S. Augustine saith ; but good men do eat the very true body both sacramentally and spiritually by grace."—*Works* (Parker Society), p. 246. In these two extracts "sacramentally" is equivalent to "figuratively," or rather eating the body sacramentally is equivalent to "eating the sacrament of the body" (cf. the remarks on the language of the Fathers in the extract from Mozley on p. 671, note 1). This may throw some light on the wording of the "Prayer of Humble Access" in the Book of Common Prayer : "Grant us . . . so to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His Blood, *that* our sinful bodies," etc.

ARTICLE XXX

De utraque specie.

Calix Domini Laicis non est denegandus: utraque enim pars dominici sacramenti ex Christi institutione et præcepto, omnibus Christianis ex æquo administrari debet.

Of both kinds.

The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people. For both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

THIS Article is one of the four which were added by Archbishop Parker in 1563. It was accepted by the Convocation, and has kept its place ever since without any change. In considering it, it will be well to treat separately—

1. The history of the practice condemned in it.
2. The arguments by which it has been justified.

I. The History of the Denial of the Cup to the Laity.

The evidence for the administration of **both the parts of the Lord's sacrament . . . to all Christian men alike**, whether clergy or laity, during the first eleven centuries, is so full and complete that it is not now even pretended by Roman divines that during this period the administration of the Eucharist in one kind was ever permitted in the Catholic Church, save only in exceptional cases, as (perhaps) to the sick.¹

¹ This admission was not always so readily made, for Bishop Watson in 1558 says that "the holy Church hath used, even from the time of Christ Himself and His Apostles, to minister this sacrament under the form of Bread only both to laymen and women, and also to priests, save

There is not one word in the New Testament to indicate that the Cup was to be withheld from the laity. On the contrary, S. Paul's language directly implies that he contemplated that all alike would receive both parts of the sacrament, for he says, "Let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of the bread, *and drink of the cup*" (1 Cor. xi. 28). The words of Justin Martyr are conclusive for the practice in the second century.¹ S. Cyril of Jerusalem² and many other Fathers supply evidence for the fourth and later centuries. But it is needless to cite testimonies when it is admitted by Cardinal Bona that "the faithful always and in all places, from the first beginnings of the Church till the twelfth century, were used to communicate under the species of bread and wine, and the use of the chalice began little by little to drop away in the beginning of that century, and many bishops forbade it to the people to avoid the risk of irreverence and spilling."³

There is, however, evidence which is very worthy of note, that during this period there was a tendency in some quarters to abstain from receiving the chalice, and that this was *severely condemned by the authorities of the Church*. Thus Leo I. (440) writes of certain Manichees, and says, "They receive Christ's Body with unworthy mouth, and entirely refuse to drink the Blood of our

when they do consecrate and minister to themselves with their own hands."—Serm. viii. p. xlvi (Lond. 1558); quoted in Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 621 (ed. 1). As Scudamore remarks: "A falsehood more gross and palpable could not be committed to writing."

¹ *Apol.* I. lxxv.: "The deacons give to each of those present to receive of the consecrated (εὐχαριστηθέντος) bread and wine and water, and they carry them to those not present."

² *Cat. Myst.* v. 22: "Then after having partaken of the Body of Christ, approach also to the Cup of His Blood; not stretching forth thine hand, but bending and saying in the way of worship and reverence, Amen; be thou hallowed by partaking also of the Blood of Christ."

³ *Rerum Liturg.* bk. II. c. xviii. § 1.

Redemption ; therefore we give notice to you, holy brethren, that men of this sort, whose sacrilegious deceit has been detected, are to be expelled by priestly authority from the fellowship of the saints.”¹

About fifty years later Gelasius I. (490) repeats the condemnation of the practice. “We have ascertained that certain persons, having received a portion of the sacred Body alone, abstain from partaking of the chalice of the sacred Blood. Let such persons, without any doubt (since they are stated to feel themselves bound by some superstitious reason), *either receive the sacrament in its entirety*, or be repelled from the entire sacrament, because the division of one and the same mystery cannot take place without great sacrilege.”²

From these early testimonies we may pass on to the close of the eleventh century, when the custom was beginning to creep into the Catholic Church, probably from motives of reverence, and anxiety to avoid accidents or scandals. At this time the matter attracted some attention, and the custom of communicating in one kind alone was definitely condemned by the Council of Clermont under Urban II. (1095), as well as by Pascal II. at the beginning of the next century (1118). The twenty-eighth Canon of the Council is clear, and states positively that “no one shall communicate at the altar unless he receive the Body *and the Blood* separately and alike, unless by way of necessity and for caution”;³

¹ *Hom.* xli.

² *Corpus Juris Canon. Decret.* III. ii. 12. The after-history of the decree is curious and instructing. Aquinas boldly says that “Gelasius speaks only in reference to priests, who, as they consecrate the whole sacrament, so ought they also to communicate in it whole.”—*Summa*, III. q. lxxx. art. xii.

³ *Conc. Clarom.* Can. xxviii. : “Ne aliquis communicet de altari nisi corpus separatim et sanguinem similiter, nisi per necessitatem et cautelam.”—Labbe and Cossart, vol. vi. p. 1719.

while the words of Pope Pascal are these: "Therefore, according to the same Cyprian, in receiving the Body and Blood of the Lord, let the Lord's tradition be observed; nor let any departure be made, through a human and novel institution, from what Christ the Master ordained and did. For we know that the bread was given separately and the wine given separately by the Lord Himself; which custom we therefore teach and command to be always observed in the holy Church, save in the case of infants and of very infirm people, who cannot swallow bread."¹

But that which was denounced by Pascal II. early in the eleventh century as a "human and novel institution," and a "departure" from Christ's ordinance, in the course of the next two centuries gradually spread throughout the West; and when the abuses of the Church began to attract general attention, and the cry for reformation of them made itself heard, there was none which was more severely denounced than this. It was one of the abuses for the reform of which much was hoped from the Council of Constance (1415). But instead of abolishing the practice of Communion in one kind, the Council not only ventured to assert that "though Christ instituted and gave this sacrament to His disciples under both kinds, yet the Church has the power of ordering that to the laity it be given under one kind only," but actually proceeded to exercise this "power" by positively forbidding Communion in both kinds to the lay people.² The troubles and bloodshed which were due to this decree are matters of history, on which it is

¹ *Ep.* 535.

² "Quod nullus presbyter sub poena excommunicationis communicet populum sub utraque specie panis et vini."—*Conc. Const.* Sessio xiii. Labbe and Cossart, vol. viii. p. 581.

unnecessary to enter here.¹ The restoration of the Cup to the laity was insisted on in the Confession of Augsburg (1530) in the first of the Articles concerning abuses;² and though in this country nothing could be done in this direction so long as Henry VIII. was alive, yet after his death one of the earliest Acts was to provide an English form for communicating the people in both kinds (1548), and to put an end to the abuse of "half-communion," which had grown up. As far as the history of the practice is concerned, it is only needful to add that at the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent (October 1551) the doctrine of "concomitance" (on which the theological defence of the practice of communicating in one kind is based) was distinctly asserted, and that at the twenty-first session held in July 1562, shortly before the promulgation of our own Article, the practice was more definitely considered by the Council.

¹ See Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, vol. ii. p. 37 *seq.*

² "*De utraque specie.* Laicis datur utraque species sacramenti in cœna Domini, quia hic mos habet mandatum Domini, Matt. xxvi. *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, ubi manifeste præcepit Christus de poculo, ut omnes bibant, et ne quis possit cavillari, quod hoc ad sacerdotes tantum pertineat, Paulus ad Corinth. exemplum recitat, in quo apparet totam ecclesiam utraque specie usam esse. Et diu mansit hic mos in ecclesia, nec constat quando aut quo auctore mutatus sit, tametsi Cardinalis Cusanus recitet, quando sit approbatus. Cyprianus aliquot locis testatur populo sanguinem datum esse. Idem testatur Hieronymus, qui ait, sacerdotes eucharistiæ ministrant, et sanguinem Christi populis dividant. Imo Gelasius papa mandat ne dividatur sacramentum, Dist. II. de consecratione, cap. Comperimus. Tantum consuetudo non ita vetus aliud habet. Constat autem, quod consuetudo, contra mandata Dei introducta, non sit probanda, ut testantur canones, Dist. VIII. cap. Veritate, cum sequentibus. Hæc vero consuetudo non solum contra Scripturam, sed etiam contra veteres canones et exemplum ecclesiæ recepta est. Quare si qui maluerunt utraque specie sacramenti uti, non fuerunt cogendi, ut aliter facerent cum offensione conscientiæ.

"Et quia divisio sacramenti non convenit cum institutione Christi, solet apud nos omitti processio, quæ hactenus fieri solita est."—*Conf. August.* Pars II. art. i. *Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 135.

It was determined to uphold the existing custom ; but it was an awkward one to defend, and the decrees of the Council concerning it are more remarkable for the boldness of their assertions than for any arguments offered in support of them. At the outset it is laid down dogmatically " that laymen and clergy when not consecrating, are not obliged by any Divine precept to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds ; and that it cannot be by any means doubted, without injury to faith, that Communion in either kind is sufficient for them unto salvation ; for although Christ the Lord, in the last Supper, instituted and delivered to the Apostles this venerable sacrament in both kinds, of bread and wine, yet that institution and delivery do not therefore reach so far as that all the faithful of the Church be bound by the Lord's institution to receive both kinds."¹ It is added that no inference can rightly be drawn from S. John vi. 53 *seq.* that our Lord enjoined Communion in both kinds. It is next declared that in the dispensation of the sacraments, so long as their substance remains untouched, the Church has power to ordain or change whatever things might be deemed expedient, according to the variety of circumstances, times, and places ; and that, therefore, " holy mother Church, knowing this her authority in the administration of the sacraments, although the use of both kinds has, from the beginning of the Christian religion, not been unfrequent, yet in

¹ "Sancta ipsa Synodus . . . declarat ac docet, nullo divino præcepto laicos, et clericos, non conficientes, obligari ad Eucharistiæ sacramentum sub utraque specie sumendum ; neque ullo pacto, salva fide, dubitari posse quin illis alterius speciei Communio ad salutem sufficiat. Nam etsi Christus Dominus in ultima cœna venerabile hoc sacramentum in panis et vini speciebus instituit, et apostolis tradidit, non tamen illa institutio et traditio eo tendunt, ut omnes Christi fideles statuto Domini ad utramque speciem accipiendam astringantur."—*Conc. Trid.* Sess. xxi. cap. i.

process of time that custom having already been widely changed—has, induced by weighty and just reasons, approved of this custom of communicating under one kind, and decreed that it should be held as a law, which it is not lawful to reprobate or change at pleasure, without the authority of the Church itself.”¹ To this is added a reassertion of the doctrine of “Concomitance,”² as well as the following three canons on the subject:—

i. “If any one shall say that by the precept of God, or by necessity of salvation, all and each of the faithful of Christ ought to receive both kinds of the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist: let him be anathema.”

ii. “If any one shall say that the holy Catholic Church was not induced by just causes and reasons to communicate, under the species of bread only, laymen and clergy when not consecrating; or has erred therein: let him be anathema.”

iii. “If any one shall deny that Christ, whole and entire, the fountain and author of all graces, is received under the one species of bread, because, as some falsely assert, He is not received according to the institution of Christ Himself under both kinds: let him be anathema.”³

¹ “Præterea declarat, hanc potestatem perpetuo in ecclesia fuisse, ut in sacramentorum dispensatione, salva illorum substantia, ea statueret vel mutaret, quæ suscipientium utilitati, seu ipsorum sacramentorum venerationi pro rerum, temporum et locorum varietate, magis expedire judicaret . . . quare agnoscens Sancta Mater Ecclesia hanc suam in administratione sacramentorum auctoritatem, licet ab initio Christianæ Religionis non infrequens utriusque speciei usus fuisset; tamen progressu temporis latissime jam mutata illa consuetudine, gravibus et justis causis adducta, hanc consuetudinem sub altera specie communicandi approbavit, et pro lege habendam decrevit: quam reprobare, aut sine ipsius ecclesiæ auctoritate pro libito mutare non licet.”—Cap. ii.

² Cap. iii.

³ “Si quis dixerit, ex Dei præcepto, vel necessitate salutis, omnes et singulos Christi fideles utramque speciem sanctissimi Eucharistiæ sacramenti sumere debere: anathema sit.

“Si quis dixerit, Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam non justis causis et

But, finally, at the close of the canons a section is added, holding out a promise that on "the earliest opportunity that shall present itself," the Council will further consider whether some relaxation of her rules might be permitted, and the use of the chalice conceded in some nations or kingdoms under certain conditions.¹

It only remains to add that though exceptions have been made by special privilege, yet, as far as the great body of the faithful are concerned, this "opportunity" appears never to have come, and that the Roman Church remains to the present day bound by the Tridentine decrees upon the subject.

II. *The Arguments by which the Practice has been justified.*

These are of two kinds, (a) theological, and (b) practical.

(a) The theological ones are two in number, (1) the doctrine of concomitance, and (2) the Church's power to decree rites or ceremonies. The former of these, the doctrine of concomitance, is the belief which was definitely laid down at the thirteenth session of the Council of

rationibus adductam fuisse ut laicos, atque etiam Clericos non conficientes, sub panis tantummodo specie communicaret, aut in eo errasse: anathema sit.

"Si quis negaverit, totum et integrum Christum omnium gratiarum fontem et auctorem, sub una panis specie sumi, quia, ut quidam falso asserunt, non secundum ipsius Christi constitutionem sub utraque specie sumatur: anathema sit."

¹ "Duos vero articulos, alias propositos, nondum tamen excussos, videlicet, an rationes, quibus sancta Catholica Ecclesia adducta fuit, ut communicaret laicos, atque etiam non celebrantes sacerdotes, sub una tantum panis specie, ita sint retinendæ, ut nulla ratione calicis usus cuiquam sit permittendus: et, an, si honestis et Christianæ charitati consentaneis rationibus concedendus alicui vel nationi vel regno calicis usus videatur, sub aliquibus conditionibus concedendus sit: et quænam sint illæ: eadem sancta Synodus in aliud tempus, oblata sibi quamprimum occasione, examinandos, atque definiendos reservat."

Trent, that "as much is contained under either kind as under both, for Christ whole and entire is under the species of bread, and likewise whole Christ is under the species of wine, and under its parts."¹ It must be said, however, that this doctrine, that "whole Christ," both body and blood, is received under either kind, is theologically most uncertain. There is no trace of any belief in it in the early Church. It only makes its appearance in connection with the growth of the doctrine of Transubstantiation,² and comes into prominence when a theological justification for the practice of Communion in one kind is wanted. There is but a single passage of Scripture which can with any show of reason be quoted in its favour: "Whosoever shall eat the bread *or* drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body *and* the blood of the Lord" (1 Cor. xi. 27). But it is rash in the extreme to infer the doctrine from this text, when the words of the institution are remembered, as well as S. Paul's comment upon them: "Jesus took bread . . . and said, Take, eat; this is My *body*. And He took a cup . . . and gave it to them saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is My *blood*" (S. Matt. xxvi. 26, 27). "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the *blood* of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the *body* of Christ?" (1 Cor. x. 16).

¹ "Verissimum est tantundem sub alterutra specie atque sub utraque contineri; totus enim et integer Christus sub panis specie, et sub quavis ipsius speciei parte; totus item sub vini specie, et sub ejus partibus existit."—*Conc. Trid.* Sess. xiii. cap. iii. Cf. canon 3: "Si quis negaverit in venerabili sacramento Eucharistiæ sub una quaque specie, et sub singulis ejuscumque speciei partibus, separatione facta, totum Christum contineri: anathema sit."

² Hildebert of Tours (1124) is "perhaps the first to affirm that the entire Christ is in either *species* taken by itself." Gore, *Dissert.* p. 266, where is quoted *De Coena Domini*: "In acceptione sanguinis totum Christum, verum Deum et hominem, et in acceptione corporis similiter totum." Migne, vol. clxxi. p. 535.

Where the gifts are so carefully distinguished by our Lord and His Apostle, it seems the height of presumption to assert that "whole Christ" is so contained under either species that "they who receive one kind alone are not defrauded of any grace necessary to salvation."¹

Next, with regard to the Church's power to decree rites or ceremonies, we cannot admit that it extends to the alteration of a Divine command. Our Lord's words are express: "Drink ye *all* of it" (S. Matt. xxvi. 27). The limitations to the Church's legislative power have been already stated under Article XX. It was there shown that she may not "ordain anything contrary to God's word written"; and, with every desire to be charitable, it must be said that to order the celebrant alone to partake of the Eucharistic chalice *is* to ordain something that is directly contrary to Scripture.

(b) If the theological arguments thus fall to the ground, no weight whatever can be assigned to the practical ones. These are drawn mainly from convenience, the fear of accidents, and the desire, from motives of reverence, to do all that can be done to minimise the possibility of their occurring. As a matter of fact, we deny that the dangers are really serious. With due care

¹ "Insuper declarat, quamvis Redemptor noster ut antea dictum est in suprema illa cœna hoc sacramentum in duabus speciebus instituerit, et Apostolis tradiderit, tamen fatendum esse, etiam sub altera tantum specie totum atque integrum Christum, verumque sacramentum sumi; ac propterea, quod ad fructum attinet, nulla gratia, necessaria ad salutem, eos defraudari, qui unam speciem solam accipiunt."—*Conc. Trid.* Sess. xxi. cap. iii. In connection with this the admission of Vasquez (quoted in Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 631) should be noted. "The opinion of those who say that greater fruit of grace is acquired from both species of this sacrament than from one only, has always appeared to me the more probable. . . . We grant that, according to this our opinion, the laity, to whom one species is denied, are defrauded of some grace indeed, yet not of any necessary to salvation; and that the Council did not mean to deny this."—*Com. in Thom. Aq.* P. III. q. lxxx. dist. cexv. c. ii. iii.

they can in almost every case be guarded against. But even if they were far more important than they are, we could not admit that they would justify the Church in departing from a plain direction of her Lord ; for, if Holy Scripture is to have any weight with us, it is most certain that **both the parts of the Lord's sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.**

ARTICLE XXXI

*De unica Christi oblatione in
Cruce perfecta.*

Oblatio Christi semel facta, perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio, et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus quam actualibus. Neque præter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio. Unde missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur, Sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ aut culpæ pro vivis et defunctis, blasphema figmenta sunt, et perniciosæ imposturæ.

*Of the one oblation of Christ
finished upon the cross.*

The offering of Christ once made, is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses; in the which it was commonly said that the Priests¹ did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.

THE alterations which have been made in this Article since it was first put forth in 1553 are insignificant and immaterial. In 1553 the English of the title was “of the *perfect* oblation of Christ *made* upon the Cross”; and in the last clause of the Article the “sacrifices of Masses” were said to be “*forged* fables,” while “culpa” was translated “sin” instead of “guilt,” and there was nothing in the Latin corresponding to the word “blasphema,” which was only introduced in 1563.

The wording of the Article as a whole does not seem to be actually based on any earlier document; but some expressions in it may be traced to a draft Article prepared by Cranmer for the Conference of Anglicans and Lutherans in 1538, but not actually accepted by the

¹ In the majority of modern editions of the Articles this is incorrectly printed as “priest.”

divines who then met together. This is headed "De missa privata," and in it occurs the following passage:—

"Damnanda est igitur impia illa opinio sentientium usum Sacramenti cultum esse a sacerdotibus applicandum *pro aliis, vivis et defunctis*, et mereri illis vitam æternam et *remissionem culpæ et pænæ* idque ex opere operato."¹

The expressions here placed in italics reappear, it will be noticed, almost word for word in our own Article. Besides this, as will be shown presently, the general thought, if not the actual words, of the Article may be abundantly illustrated by language that had been previously used.

The object of the Article is by a restatement of the doctrine of the perfection of Christ's atonement to condemn current theories of the Eucharistic sacrifice which seriously conflicted with it, and which led to grave practical abuses. The subjects treated of in it are thus two in number:

1. The sufficiency of the sacrifice of the Cross.
2. The condemnation of the "sacrifices of Masses."

I. *The Sufficiency of the Sacrifice of the Cross.*

The offering of Christ once made, is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. It is clear from the position of this Article in the series, as well as from the connection of the two clauses, the second of which is introduced by **wherefore**, that the doctrine of the Atonement is only here introduced in order to assert

¹ See Jenkyns' *Cranmer's Remains*, iv. p. 292; and cf. the *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xlii. p. 39.

emphatically the ground on which the "sacrifices of Masses" are condemned. This first sentence, therefore, need not detain us long. Its language, which is very similar to that used in the opening of the Prayer of Consecration in the Order of the Holy Communion,¹ is in entire harmony with the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which special attention may be drawn to the following passages:—

vii. 26, 27: "For such a high priest became us, holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, like those high priests, to offer up sacrifices, first for His own sins, and then for the sins of the people: for this He did once for all (ἐφάπαξ), when He offered up Himself."

ix. 11–14: "But Christ having come a high priest of the good things to come, through the greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this creation; nor yet through the blood of goats and calves, but through His own blood, entered in once for all into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption. For if the blood of goats and bulls, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling them that have been defiled, sanctify unto the cleanness of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without blemish unto God, cleanse your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God?"

ix. 24–28: "Christ entered not into a holy place made with hands, like in pattern to the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear before the face of God for us: nor yet that He should offer Himself often; as the

¹ "Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of Thy tender mercy didst give Thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world."

high priest entereth into the holy place year by year with blood not his own; else must He often have suffered since the foundation of the world: but now once (ἅπαξ) at the end of the ages, hath He been manifested to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. And inasmuch as it is appointed unto men once to die, and after this cometh judgment; so Christ also, having been once offered to bear the sins of many, shall appear a second time, apart from sin, to them that wait for Him, unto salvation."

x. 10-14: "By which will we have been sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all (ἐφάπαξ). And every priest indeed standeth day by day ministering, and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, the which can never take away sins: but He, when He had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever,¹ sat down on the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till His enemies be made the footstool of His feet. For by one offering He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."

These passages are absolutely conclusive as to the perfection of the sacrifice once offered on Calvary. The language of the Article is entirely covered by them, and exception to this first clause in it could hardly be taken by any well-instructed theologian. But if so much is admitted, an important consequence follows, for the words are entirely destructive of any notion that in the Eucharist there can be any sacrifice suppletory or additional to the sacrifice made "once for all" on the Cross. They prove, therefore, that (to borrow the words of a most careful theologian) "the Eucharistic sacrifice, even in its highest aspect, must be put in one line (if we may so say), not with what Christ did once for all on the

¹ On the punctuation of these words, see Bp. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 314.

Cross, but with what He is continually doing in heaven ; that as present naturally in heaven and sacramentally in the Holy Eucharist, the Lamb of God exhibits Himself to the Father and pleads the Atonement as once finished in act, but ever living in operation ; that in neither case does He repeat it or add to it.”¹

But since the Article is not concerned with the statement of the true doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, which has been called “commemorative, impetrative, applicative,”² the subject need not be further considered here. We may therefore pass at once to the second part of the Article.

II. *The Condemnation of “the Sacrifices of Masses.”*

The sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said (vulgo dicebatur) that the Priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits (blasphemia figmenta sunt, et perniciosæ importunæ).

Public attention has been recently directed to this statement, and an altogether unreasonable amount of importance has been attached to it in connection with controversies on the validity of Anglican Orders. A desperate attempt has been made in some quarters to represent it as a denial of the Eucharistic sacrifice, whereas the terms in which it is drawn ought to have made it clear to every reader that this could never have been its object. Had it been the intention of its compilers broadly to deny this doctrine, nothing would have been easier than for them to use words which would have conveyed their meaning without any ambiguity.

¹ Bright's *Ancient Collects*, p. 144, note.

² Archbp. Bramhall, *Works* (Anglo-Catholic Library), vol. i. p. 54.

As a matter of fact, however, it is not even "the sacrifice of the Mass" which is condemned, but *the sacrifices of Masses* (missarum sacrificia), and in connection with them a current theory ("in which it was *commonly* said," quibus vulgo dicebatur) rather than a formal statement of doctrine.

What those who are responsible for the Article had before them was the whole system of private Masses, and the "opinion" which gave such disastrous encouragement to them (besides being the fruitful parent of other superstitions), that "Christ satisfied by His Passion for original sin, and instituted the Mass, in which might be made an oblation for daily sins, both mortal and venial."¹ Whether this dreadful perversion of the truth was ever authoritatively taught or seriously maintained by theologians of repute is not the question, though it has been attributed to more than one.² The words just cited from the Confession of Augsburg are fair evidence that the error was sufficiently widely spread to demand notice;³ and it alone will account for the emphasis

¹ "Accessit opinio quæ auxit privatas missas in infinitum, videlicet quod Christus sua passione satisfecerit pro peccato originis, et instituerit missam, in qua fieret oblatio pro quotidianis delictis, mortalibus et venialibus."—*Conf. August.* Pars II. art. iii. De missa. *Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 139.

² *E.g.* a Spanish theologian, Vasquez (1551–1604), attributes it to Catharinus, one of the Tridentine divines; and, as is pointed out on p. 149, the error is contained in a series of sermons attributed to Albertus Magnus. It has been replied that Catharinus has been misrepresented (see the *Tablet* for 1895, referred to in the *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xlii. p. 41); and it now appears that the sermons *De S. Eucharistiæ Sacramento* are not the work of Albertus Magnus (see the references as above, and Vacant, *Histoire de la Conception du Sacrifice de la Messe*, p. 40). The *authorship*, however, of the sermons matters little. There they are; and nothing could be plainer than their language on the subject, as quoted on p. 149. It conveys proof positive that the error was taught; and that is sufficient.

³ Cf. Gardiner's language, which can only have been called out by existing false teaching: "For when men add unto the Mass an opinion

which is laid twice over¹ in the Articles on the fact that the death of Christ is the perfect satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, *both original and actual*. The Tridentine decrees upholding private Masses, and laying down that the sacrifice of the Mass is "truly propitiatory (vere propitiatorium) both for the living and the dead,"² were certainly not present to the minds of

of satisfaction or of a new redemption, then do they put it to another use than it was ordained for."—Dixon, vol. iii. p. 264; and cf. Latimer's *Sermons*, pp. 72, 73 (Parker Soc.); and the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiast.*, *De Hæres.* c. 10: "Quapropter alia conquirunt sacrificia, quibus perpurgari possint, et ad hanc rem missas exhibent in quibus sacrificium Deo Patri credunt oblatum esse."

¹ Cf. Article II.

² *Conc. Trident.* Sess. xxii. cap. ii.: On these decrees see Mozley, *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, p. 216: "The popular belief of later times exaggerated the Eucharistic sacrifice till it became, to all intents and purposes, a real one, and 'the priest offered up Christ on the altar for quick and dead, to have remission of pain and guilt'; that is to say, offered Him up as a Victim in a sense which could not be distinguished from that in which He was offered up by Himself on the Cross. It is true that the decree of the Council of Trent just saves itself by cautious, not to say dissembling language, from the extreme and monstrous conclusion that the sacrifice of the Mass is the same with that upon the Cross. It distinguishes between a bloody and an unbloody oblation; and it states that the fruits or consequences of the bloody oblation or the sacrifice on the Cross are 'received through the unbloody one' (oblationis cruentæ fructus per hanc incruentam percipiuntur); but at the same time it asserts that the sacrifice of the Mass is a really *propitiatory sacrifice—vere propitiatorium*. Now undoubtedly there are two senses in which an act may be said to be propitiatory. The act of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross had an original propitiatory power; that is to say, it was the cause of any other act, or any act of man, or any rite being propitiatory, that is, appeasing God's anger, and reconciling Him to the agent. We may allow that in common language a man may do something which will reconcile God to Him, and restore him to God's favour; but then all the power that any action of man can have for this end is a derived power, derived from Christ's sacrifice, from which any other sacrifice, the Eucharistic one included, borrows its virtue, and without which it would be wholly null and void. There is, then, an original propitiation and a borrowed propitiation, a first propitiation and a secondary one. Why then did the Fathers of Trent, when they had

those who formulated the Article, for they were not in existence, as the subject was only considered at Trent in the autumn of 1562, nearly ten years later. And it has been recently pointed out that these decrees are "the beginning, not the end, of a discussion which has been going on ever since," for "it is remarkable how little attempt there is in the Middle Ages to formulate the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Eucharist, and how little theological interest is spent upon it."¹ It was the popular teaching alone which the Reformers had before them; and no one who knows anything of the history of the Reformation can doubt that the gravest abuses were connected with the whole system of private Masses, and that its "practical outcome . . . was to intensify the belief that Christ's once perfected oblation had to be reiterated and supplemented."² The system had fallen, swept away by the Acts for the suppression of Chantries passed in 1545 and 1547. It only remained to guard against any revival of the erroneous teaching on which it largely rested, and this was effectually done by the promulgation of the Article which has now been considered.

all human language at their command, deliberately choose to call the sacrifice of the Mass *vere propitiatorium*? They may have said that it was *vere propitiatorium* in the secondary sense; but no one can fail to see the misleading effect of such language, and that nothing could have been easier to the divines of Trent, had they chosen, than to draw a far more clear distinction than they did between the sacrifice of the Mass and the sacrifice on the Cross. It is evident that, as ecclesiastical statesmen, they were afraid of interfering with the broad popular established view of the Mass, while, as theologians, they just contrived to secure themselves from the responsibility of a monstrous dogmatic statement."

¹ F. E. Brightman in *Church Historical Society Lectures*, Series I. pp. 193, 194.

² *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xlii. p. 45. The whole discussion of this Article in the Review (pp. 38-49) is well worth consulting. See also B. J. Kidd's *Later Mediaeval Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice*.

ARTICLE XXXII

De conjugio Sacerdotum.

Episcopis, Presbyteris et Diaconis, nullo mandato divino præceptum est, ut aut cœlibatum voveant, aut a matrimonio abstin-eant. Licet igitur etiam illis, ut cœteris omnibus Christianis, ubi hoc ad pietatem magis facere judi-caverint, pro suo arbitrato matri-monium contrahere.

Of the Marriage of Priests.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by God's law either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage. Therefore it is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

IN its present form this Article only dates from 1563, when it was entirely rewritten by Parker. The corresponding Article in the series of 1553, as originally drafted, ran as follows:—

“Cœlibatus ex verbo Dei præcipitur nemini.

“Episcopis, Presbyteris, et Diaconis non est man-datum ut cœlibatum voveant, neque jure divino coguntur matrimonio abstinere, *si donum non habeant, tametsi voverint, quandoquidem hoc voti genus verbo Dei repugnat.*”

It is found in this form in the MS. signed by the six royal chaplains; but before publication the last clause (placed above in italics), with its deliberate encouragement to priests to break the vows which they had taken, was omitted, so that the Article in English was simply this:

*“The State of Single Life is commanded to no Man by
the Word of God.*

“Bishops, priests, and deacons are not commanded to

vow the state of single life without marriage, neither by God's law are they compelled to abstain from matrimony."

The language of the Article has not been traced to any earlier source, though there is a very lengthy Article on the same subject headed like our own, "De conjugio Sacerdotum," in the Confession of Augsburg;¹ and the prohibition of matrimony to the clergy is condemned as a suggestion of the devil in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.²

There are two main statements in the Article, each of which requires separate treatment.

1. There is no prohibition of the marriage of the clergy in Scripture.

2. It is lawful for the clergy to marry if they think it advisable.

I. There is no Prohibition of the Marriage of the Clergy in Scripture.

Bishops, priests, and deacons are not commanded by God's law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage.

This subject admits of the briefest treatment, for the statement made in the Article will scarcely be denied by the most ardent advocate of the rule of clerical celibacy; nor has the Roman Church ever committed herself to the assertion that it is more than an ecclesiastical law. There is certainly no single passage of Holy Scripture which can be cited as containing any command to the clergy either to "**vow the estate of single life,**" or to "**abstain from marriage.**" On the contrary, the injunctions of S. Paul distinctly contemplate the ordination of married men, and contain no hint that they are

¹ *Confessio Augustana*, Pars II. art. ii.

² *Ref. Legum Ecclesiast.*, *De Hæres.* c. 20.

expected to abstain from the use of marriage: "The bishop must be without reproach, *the husband of one wife*, temperate, sober-minded," etc. (1 Tim. iii. 2). "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest . . . appoint elders in every city, as I gave thee charge: if any man is blameless, the husband of one wife, having children that believe," etc. (Titus i. 5, 6). "Let the deacons be husbands of one wife, ruling their children and their own houses well" (1 Tim. iii. 12). So elsewhere he claims for himself "the right"—although he was content to forego the exercise of it—"to lead about a wife that is a believer, even as the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas" (1 Cor. ix. 5). These texts are conclusive. There is plainly nothing unscriptural in the existence of a married clergy; and we may pass on to the consideration of the next subject.

II. *It is lawful for the Clergy to marry if they think it advisable.*

It is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

For the existence in early days of a married clergy there is abundant evidence. But in considering it, two distinct questions present themselves which require separate treatment. (*a*) Was the use of marriage permitted to those clergy who had married before their ordination? and (*b*) was marriage *after* ordination permissible? The two questions must be examined separately; for it is not fair to quote, as is sometimes done, passages which imply the existence of a married clergy, as if they necessarily involved the fact that marriage was permitted to those who had previously entered into holy orders

(a) There is no room whatever for doubting that during the first three centuries the use of marriage was freely allowed, and many allusions to the existence of a married clergy might be cited. *E.g.* Clement of Alexandria says that S. Paul certainly admits the husband of one wife, "whether he be presbyter, or deacon, or layman, using marriage blamelessly";¹ and the sixth of the "Apostolical Canons" forbid bishops, presbyters, and deacons to separate from their wives upon the pretext of piety, on pain of excommunication and deposition.² In the fourth century, for the first time, we find objection to this raised in the West, especially in Spain, which has throughout taken the lead in advocating strictness. Thus, at the Council of Elvira, at which Hosius was present (A.D. 306), the clergy were positively forbidden to live in wedlock with their wives.³ A canon enforcing the same prohibition was pressed (not improbably by Hosius himself) on the Council of Nicæa (325) for its acceptance as a rule of the universal Church. It was, however, rejected at the earnest entreaty of the Bishop Paphnutius, himself an unmarried man, and the stricter rule has never received the sanction of the whole Church.⁴ In spite of this, we trace a growing feeling in various quarters against the ministrations of a married clergy. The Council of Gangra (350) endeavoured to check it by condemning those who held aloof from the ministrations of such.⁵ But in the West the feeling made rapid progress, and before the close of the fourth century

¹ Ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν τῆς μιᾶς γυναίκος ἄνδρα πᾶν ἀποδέχεται καὶ πρεσβύτερος ἢ καὶ διάκονος καὶ λαϊκὸς ἀνεπιλήπτως γάμῳ χρώμενος.—*Stromateis*, III. xii. 90.

² *Apost. Can. vi.*: Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβαλλέτω προφάσει εὐλαβείας· ἐὰν δὲ ἐκβάλλῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένων δὲ, καθαιρείσθω.

³ *Conc. Illib. Can. xxxiii.*; cf. Dale, *Synod of Elvira*, p. 197.

⁴ Socrates, *H. E.* I. c. xi.; Sozomen, *H. E.* I. c. xxiii.

⁵ Canon iv. See Hefele, *Councils*, vol. ii. p. 329 (Eng. tr.).

began to obtain official sanction from the Church. A Council held at Carthage, under Genethlius, in 387 or 390, commands the bishops, priests, and deacons to separate from their wives;¹ and later Councils in Spain² and France³ insist upon the same rule. In the East, with partial exceptions, the stricter rule was never enforced. Socrates tells us that in the fifth century the custom of the Church in Greece, Macedonia, and Thessaly was peculiar, as those clergy who continued the use of marriage after ordination were degraded; whereas elsewhere in the East there was no rule against this, and "there have been among them many bishops who have had children by their lawful wives during their Episcopate."⁴ In process of time this liberty was no longer conceded to *bishops*, but for priests and deacons it has remained intact to the present day. The Council in Trullo (692) speaks strongly on the subject, and notes the divergence between the East and West in this matter. "As we know that the Roman Church has ruled that candidates for the diaconate or the presbyterate are to make profession that they will no longer live with their wives, we, observing the ancient canon of apostolical perfection and order, declare that the marriages of all in holy orders are to be henceforth accounted valid, and we refuse to forbid cohabitation, and will not deprive them of conjugal intercourse at proper times. Therefore, if a man is found fit to be ordained subdeacon, deacon, or priest, he is not to be refused on the ground of living with his wife. Nor at the time of ordination is any one to be required to profess that he will abstain from inter-

¹ Canon ii. Hefele, *op. cit.* p. 390.

² I. Toledo (Canon i.) in 400, Hefele, p. 419; and IX. Toledo (Canon x.) in 655, Hefele, iv. p. 473.

³ II. Arles (Canon xliv.) in 452, and I. Mâcon (Canon xi.), Hefele, p. 404.

⁴ Socrates, *H. E. V. c. xxii.*

course with his lawful wife; lest we thus do dishonour to marriage, which was instituted by God and blessed by His presence. . . . If, then, any one, in despite of the apostolic canons, be induced to forbid priests, deacons, and subdeacons to live with their lawful wives and hold intercourse with them, let him be deposed. And likewise, if any priest or deacon dismisses his wife on the pretext of piety, let him be excommunicated; and if he be obstinate, let him be deposed.”¹ The present custom in the East is for bishops to be always selected from the ranks of the monks and unmarried clergy. But to others, both priests and deacons, marriage before ordination is freely conceded.

(b) With regard to the second question raised above, Was marriage *after* ordination regarded as permissible in the early Church? it must be candidly admitted that there is very little evidence for an answer in the affirmative, and that the prohibition of marriage to the clergy appears in very early days. The fierce attack of Hippolytus upon Callistus (c. 220) shows that early in the third century it was not usual to permit those already ordained to marry; for Hippolytus says that Callistus determined that “if any one of the clergy should marry, he might remain in the clergy as not having sinned,” evidently implying that it was the first time that such a thing had been allowed.² The apostolical canons permit marriage only to readers and singers.³ The Council of Ancyra (314) allows deacons to marry, provided that they had given notice of their intention to do so at the time of their ordination.⁴ That of Neo-Cæsarea provides that “if a priest marry, he shall be removed from the

¹ Canon xiii. See Hefele, vol. v. p. 226.

² *Ref. Omn. Hær.* ix. 12.

³ Canon xxv. See Hefele, vol. i. p. 468.

⁴ Canon x. See Hefele, vol. i. p. 210.

ranks of the clergy";¹ and the rule of the Roman Synod under Innocent (402) is absolute: "Bishops, priests, and deacons must remain unmarried."²

In spite, however, of these canons, and of the growing feeling against the ministrations of a married clergy, a strict rule of clerical celibacy was found very difficult of enforcement, and in the eleventh century married clergy were still common. Gregory VII. set his face vigorously against them, and under his influence more stringent rules than ever were made. At a Synod held in Rome in 1074 he passed a decree which "in its inexorable provisions went beyond the sternest of his predecessors," absolutely forbidding the laity to avail themselves of the ministrations of married priests.³ The rigour of Gregory's rule was somewhat mitigated in England by the good sense of Lanfranc, as the Council of Winchester (1076), while absolutely forbidding marriage to the capitular clergy, ordered that the married priests who were scattered up and down the country in towns and villages should not be compelled to dismiss their wives, though for the future no married men were to be ordained.⁴ A few years later, under Anselm, a stricter law was framed at the Council of Westminster (1102), and an absolute rule of celibacy "became for the first time the universal law of the English Church."⁵

But it was one thing to frame rules on this subject and quite another to enforce them, and there is much

¹ Canon i. See Hefele, vol. i. p. 223.

² Canon iii. See Hefele, vol. ii. p. 429.

³ Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv. p. 21: "Uxoratos sacerdotes a divino officio removit, et laicis missam eorum audire interdixit, *novo exemplo*, et (ut multis visum est) inconsiderato prejudicio contra sanctorum patrum sententiam," etc. Sigeberht (Pertz, vol. vi. p. 362).

⁴ Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 367; cf. Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv. p. 423.

⁵ Freeman, vol. v. p. 223; and see Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 382.

painful evidence that "the newly-devised rigour only led to laxity of a worse kind than any which it was intended to stop."¹ Clerical concubinage was only too common, and was often secretly permitted by ecclesiastical authority.² And the evil results of the stringent rules were so patent that in the sixteenth century Reformers of various schools of thought were all agreed on the necessity for some relaxation of them; and even before any alteration had been made in the law on the subject, clerical marriages were by no means uncommon.³ Thus Cranmer himself, whose first wife had died before his ordination in 1523, contracted a second marriage in 1532, very shortly before his elevation to the Archiepiscopate. It is impossible to defend such an act on his part, since at this time there had been no relaxation made by the ecclesiastical authorities in the law of the national Church; and naturally Cranmer was involved in considerable difficulties by his act. In 1539 Convocation, in answer to questions submitted by Cromwell, asserted that "priests, after the order of priesthood received, as afore, may not marry by the law of God,"⁴ and the statement was embodied in the statute of the Six Articles ("the whip with six strings") of the same year. The "Bishops' Book" of 1537 had passed over the subject in silence; but in the "King's Book" of 1543 it was stated that the estate of matrimony "is not commanded as necessary to any particular man, but left at liberty to all men, *saving priests*, and to others, which of their free liberty, by vow advisedly made, have chosen the state of continency, who, according to their free

¹ Freeman, *ubi supra*.

² See the horrible story told by Gascoygne in the fifteenth century, *Liber Veritatis*, p. 35 (ed. Rogers).

³ See Strype's *Cranmer*, Bk. I. c. xviii.

⁴ Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 845; cf. Dixon, ii. p. 133.

choice, must freely and willingly continue in the same.”¹ Shortly afterwards, however, a change was made in the law on this matter. In 1547, soon after the accession of Edward VI., a large majority of the Convocation agreed to the following: “That all such canons, laws, statutes, decrees, usages, and customs, heretofore made, had or used, that forbid any person to contract matrimony, or condemn matrimony already contracted by any person, for any vow or promise of priesthood, chastity, or widowhood, shall from henceforth cease, be utterly void, and of none effect.”² At the same time the statute of the Six Articles was repealed. Two years later, in 1549, any doubts as to the legality of the marriage of the clergy were set at rest by an Act of Parliament which repealed all the positive laws and canons which stood against it, and declared all to be free to marry, provided that it was according to the rites of the new Prayer Book;³ and in 1553, and again in 1563, the decision of the Church as to the freedom of the clergy to marry was embodied in the series of Articles. There is no need to pursue the subject further.⁴ It is quite clear from what has been said above that there is no law of God which forbids the marriage of the clergy. Any prohibition of their right to marry which may be cited (and it has been shown that such can be quoted from comparatively early days) is merely a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, and belongs to those “traditions of the Church” which “may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men’s manners, so that nothing be ordained against God’s word” (Art. XXXIV.). The experience of several

¹ *Formularies of Faith*, p. 293.

² Strype’s *Cranmer*, Bk. II. c. iv.

³ 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 21; cf. Dixon, vol. iii. p. 6 *seq.*

⁴ Mention may be made of Elizabeth’s “Injunctions” of 1559, which require the clergy to obtain the bishop’s permission before marriage.—Cardwell’s *Documentary Annals*, vol. i. p. 224.

centuries had shown to our Reformers the grave evils that flowed from the rigid rule which had been customary; and they were perfectly justified in holding that the national Church was competent to settle the matter for herself, and that she was well within her rights in altering her rule.¹

¹ It may be added that the subject was considered at Trent in the twenty-fourth session (November 1563), when the following canon was passed: "Si quis dixerit Clericos in sacris ordinibus constitutos, vel Regulares, castitatem solemniter professos, posse matrimonium contrahere, contractumque validum esse, non obstante lege Ecclesiastica, vel voto, et oppositum nil aliud esse, quam damnare matrimonium, posseque omnes contrahere matrimonium, qui non sentiunt se castitatis, etiam si eam voverint, habere donum, anathema sit: cum Deus id recte petentibus non denegat, nec patiatur nos supra id, quod possumus, tentari."—*Conc. Trid.* Sess. xxiv. c. ix. According to this, any one who says that the clergy in holy orders can marry is to be anathema. This makes it very difficult for Rome ever to review her position, or for Roman ecclesiastics to hold any opinion favourable to a relaxation of their existing rule. See the *Church Historical Lectures*, Series i. p. 68.

ARTICLE XXXIII

De Excommunicatis vitandis.

Qui per publicam Ecclesiæ denunciationem rite ab unitate Ecclesiæ præcisus est et excommunicatus, is ab universa fidelium multitudine, donec per penitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit, arbitrio Judicis competentis, habendus est tanquam Ethnicus et Publicanus.

Of excommunicate persons, how they are to be avoided.

That person which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a judge that hath authority thereto.

EXCEPT for a slight alteration in the form of the title,¹ there has been no change in this Article since it was first published in 1553. There is nothing to suggest this Article in the Confession of Augsburg, and though the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* contains a long section of sixteen chapters—"De Excommunicatione"—there is nothing in it corresponding to the language of the Article before us, and its provisions are only of historical interest, as they never obtained any legal force. The object of the Article is to assert the right of the Church to exercise discipline, and to exclude unworthy members from the body. Such a right is inherent in a visible society such as the Church claims to be. Indeed the very notion of a definite society, with its rules and officers, implies the existence of a

¹ Excommunicati vitandi sunt. Excommunicate persons are to be avoided. 1553 and 1563.

power to decide upon the terms of membership, and to expel disloyal and improper persons. This power we find was exercised by the Jewish Church. It is foreshadowed in the words used when first circumcision is established as the sign of the covenant: "The uncircumcised man-child . . . shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken My covenant" (Gen. xvii. 14). The same threat is repeated in connection with the command to observe the Sabbath in Ex. xxxi. 14, and there is coupled with a command to inflict capital punishment on the transgressor.¹ As might be expected, a more definite reference to something like a formal sentence of excommunication is found after the return from the Captivity, when Ezra made proclamation "that whosoever would not come within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and elders, all his substance should be forfeited (יָחַר, ἀναθεματισθήσεται), and himself separated from the congregation of those that had been carried away" (Ezra x. 8). And from this time onwards exclusion from the congregation (ἐκκλησία) took its place among the Jews as a recognised method of enforcing discipline. As such it is frequently referred to in the New Testament. See S. Luke vi. 22 (ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς); S. John ix. 22 (ἀποσυνάγωγος γένηται), xii. 42, xvi. 2.² And that our Lord intended

¹ See also Ex. xii. 15, 19, xxx. 33, 38; Lev. vii. 20, etc. Its proper meaning, according to Delitzsch, is the "being snatched away by direct Divine judgment" (*New Commentary on Genesis*, vol. ii. p. 36). Temporary exclusion from the congregation was, however, definitely ordered by the law in certain cases, e.g. in the case of Miriam, Num. xii. 14; 15, ἀφορισθήτω ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς, and in the case of the leper, Lev. xiii. 5 seq. (ἀφοριεῖ).

² It is generally stated that there were three stages of Jewish excommunication (to which our Lord's words, ἀφορίσωσιν, οὐνειδίσωσιν, ἐκβάλωσιν, in S. Luke vi. 22, are thought to correspond), viz. יָחַר, separation; יָחַר, or ἀνάθεμα, a severer sentence, involving additional penalties and accompanied by a solemn malediction; and כָּתַף, an entire cutting off

that such a power should be exercised by the Church which He came to found is shown by the very definite words which He Himself used in speaking of the erring brother, when He gave to His Church the power of binding and loosing.

“If thy brother sin against thee, go show him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the Church: and if he refuse to hear the Church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican” (S. Matt. xviii. 15-17).

This is the great passage on which the Church has always based her claim to exercise such discipline; and in close accordance with its terms she has always held that the sentence should not be inflicted without warning, and that the effect of private expostulation must first be tried.

Passing from the Gospels to the Epistles, we find various allusions to the existence of the power of excommunication in the Church, and two clear cases of the exercise of the power by the Apostle Paul. The first of these is that of the incestuous man at Corinth. In regard to him S. Paul writes as follows: “Ye are puffed up, and did not rather mourn, that he that had done this deed might be taken away from among you. For I verily, being absent in body but present in spirit, have already, as though I were present, judged him

from the congregation. Schürer, however, shows that this is a mistake, and that קָטָן and נָרִי are really synonymous, so that in reality only two kinds can be distinguished, נָרִי or temporary exclusion, and the קָטָן or permanent ban (*ἀνάθεμα*). *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Div. II. vol. ii. p. 60.

that hath so wrought this thing, in the name of our Lord Jesus, . . . to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Your glorying is not good. Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out, therefore, the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, even as ye are unleavened" (1 Cor. v. 2-7).

The whole passage is especially instructive. It not only shows us the infliction of a solemn judicial sentence of exclusion from the body of the faithful (the phrase "to deliver to Satan" is explained below), but it further explains the reasons for it. It was inflicted partly for the sake of the faithful generally, to save the body from the danger of the evil influence spreading further,¹ partly also for the sake of the individual, that the temporal judgments inflicted upon him might bring him to a better mind, and so "the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." The Second Epistle to the Corinthians is generally thought to contain the conclusion of the history. The offender was overwhelmed with sorrow, and brought to a true repentance. Accordingly S. Paul pronounces his punishment "sufficient," and writes to the Corinthians to "forgive him and comfort him, lest by any means such a one should be swallowed up with his overmuch sorrow," adding these words: "To whom ye forgive anything, I forgive also: for what I also have forgiven, if I have forgiven anything, for your sakes have I forgiven it in the person of Christ" (2 Cor. ii. 5-11).²

¹ Godet, however, denies altogether that vers. 6-8 bear on the subject of the incestuous man. *Comment. in loc.*, and see Ellicott, *in loc.*

² It ought to be said that some writers hold that this passage refers to the case of an entirely different person from the man spoken of in 1 Cor. v. See Godet, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians*, vol. i. p. 259.

The other case of formal excommunication by S. Paul is that of Hymenæus and Alexander, who had "made shipwreck concerning the faith"; "whom," says the Apostle, "I delivered unto Satan, that they might be taught not to blaspheme" (1 Tim. i. 19, 20).¹

It will be noticed that in both these cases the same expression is employed—"to deliver to Satan." It has been doubted whether (1) this denotes simple excommunication, regarded as the reversal of that translation from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God, which had taken place when the persons referred to had been admitted into the Church, or whether (2) something more is implied, as the authoritative infliction of bodily disease or death. On the whole, remembering the language used elsewhere by S. Paul on the power of darkness which worketh in the children of disobedience,² there seems to be no sufficient reason to think that anything more than the penalty of excommunication is intended.³ But, however this may be, the later Church never ventured to adopt the formula in inflicting her sentences.⁴

Although these are the only two cases of actual excommunication mentioned in the New Testament, there are several apostolic precepts which bear directly upon the subject, and furnish ample warrant for the exercise of the power by the Church in later ages. Of these the most important are the following:—

¹ If the Hymenæus who taught that the resurrection was already passed (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18) be the same person, we should gather that in his case the sentence failed to bring him to repentance.

² See especially Col. i. 12, 13; Eph. ii. 1-6, vi. 12; Acts xxvi. 18.

³ It is possible, however, that such powers as those exercised by the Apostles on Ananias and Sapphira (Acts v. 1 *seq.*) and Elymas (xiii. 10) may be referred to.

⁴ See Bingham, *Antiquities*, Bk. xvi. c. ii.; and for patristic comments on the phrase, cf. Suicer *Thesaurus*, s.v. *Σατανᾶς*.

Rom. xvi. 17: "Mark them which are causing the divisions and occasions of stumbling, contrary to the doctrine which ye learned; and turn away from them."

2 Thess. iii. 14: "If any man obeyeth not our word by this epistle, note that man, that ye have no company with him, to the end that he may be ashamed."

Titus iii. 10: "A man that is heretical after a first and second admonition refuse; knowing that such a one is perverted, and sinneth, being self-condemned."

2 John 10: "If any one cometh unto you, and bringeth not this teaching, receive him not into your house, and give him no greeting: for he that giveth him greeting partaketh in his evil works."¹

To these should be added the passage in the Epistle to the Galatians in which S. Paul says of any one, whether angel or man, who should preach another gospel, "let him be accursed" (*ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*), Gal. i. 8, 9; and 1 Cor. xvi. 22: "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema. Maranatha"; for though the phrase refers to spiritual condition rather than to ecclesiastical censure, yet it certainly suggested the later ecclesiastical sense in which the word meant "excommunicated."²

With, then, the very definite command of her Lord before her, and guided by the practice and injunctions of the Apostle, it is no wonder that the Christian Church from the first felt it right to exclude unworthy members from Communion, and that gradually there grew up a method of formal excommunication, with an elaborate system of penitential discipline to be undergone before the excommunicated person could be restored to the peace of the Church. The well-known stories of S.

¹ It may be added that 3 John 10 possibly implies a power of excommunication, which was wrongly used by Diotrephes.

² See Lightfoot, *Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 77.

John fleeing from the bath when the heretic Cerinthus entered, with the exclamation that he feared lest the bath might fall in when Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, was within, and of Polycarp refusing to acknowledge Marcion except as "the first-born of Satan," testify to a determination to hold no communion with heretics.¹ In the third century S. Cyprian speaks expressly of those who were guilty of heinous sins being forbidden Communion, and separated from the body of Christ;² and the troubles which arose in connection with those who had lapsed during the Decian persecution brought the whole subject prominently before the Church, and compelled her to consider carefully the terms on which readmission to Church privileges might be granted. Rather later than this we come across indications of the division of penitents into distinct classes, with a separate discipline for each;³ and though the particular system has varied from time to time, being administered sometimes publicly,⁴ sometimes privately,⁵ the Church has, through all changes, claimed the right to decide on her

¹ Both stories are told in Irenæus, *Adv. Hæc.* III. iii.

² *De Oratone Dominica*, c. xviii.

³ Thus the Councils of Neo-Cæsarea (A.D. 314) and Ancyra (314) refer to the *βαθμοί* of penance as if they were well known, and allude to the stages by name (see Neo-Cæs. 5, Ancyra. 4, etc.). The four stages, according to the complete system, which was, however, seldom enforced, are these — (1) Mourners, *flentes, προσκλαίνοντες*; (2) hearers, *audientes, ἀκροούμενοι*; (3) kneelers, *substrati, ὑποπίπτοντες*; (4) bystanders, *consistentes, συνισταμένοι*. See the article "Penitence" in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 1591 *seq.*, with the references there given.

⁴ Thus from the time of the Novatian schism until the days of Nectarius, 391, there was at Byzantium a public officer termed the Penitentiary, whose duty it was to determine what offences excluded from Holy Communion, and what crimes were too scandalous for public acknowledgment. See Socrates, *H. E.* V. xix., and Sozomen, VII. xvi.

⁵ On the decline of public penance, and the introduction of the "Penitentials," see *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 1596.

terms of Communion, to reject the unworthy, and exclude them from fellowship, and also, on their repentance, to admit them once more and remove the sentence.¹ There is no need here to give the history of the penitential discipline of the Church, and of the various changes through which it passed.² It will be sufficient to notice how the claim to exercise it was preserved and reasserted in the Church of England in the sixteenth century. We have already seen how the right use of ecclesiastical discipline was generally mentioned among the notes of the Church in the various descriptions and definitions of it that were drawn up.³ Very clear is the statement of the Catechism which was issued with the Articles in 1553, and which gives as the last of the marks of the Church "brotherly correction and excommunication, or banishing those out of the Church that will not amend their lives. This mark the holy Fathers termed discipline."⁴ Equally clear is the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer.

Excommunications are to be publicly read out in church after the Nicene Creed.⁵ The Office for the Burial of the Dead is not to be used for those that die excommunicate;⁶ and precise rules are laid down direct-

¹ For the medieval forms of pronouncing excommunication and of reconciliation, see Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, Lib. III. c. iv. v.

² Reference may be made to the great work of Morinus, *De Disciplina in Administr. Sacram. Penit.*; Bingham's *Antiquities*, Bks. xvi. and xvii.; Marshall's *Penitential Discipline*; as well as to the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, arts. "Excommunication" and "Penitence."

³ See above, pp. 495, 496.

⁴ See *Liturgies of Edward VI.* (Parker Society) p. 513.

⁵ "Briefs, Citations, and Excommunications read." Rubric after the Nicene Creed, dating from 1662.

⁶ "Here is to be noted that the Office ensuing is not to be used for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or have laid violent hands upon themselves." Rubric before the order for the Burial of the Dead. Although this rubric was only inserted in 1662, it simply embodies the

ing the curate to refuse to admit to Communion any "notorious evil liver," as well as "those betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reign." These "disciplinary rubrics" have stood before the Order of Holy Communion since 1549, with the exception of the final clause in the latter of them, which was only added at the last revision in 1662: "Provided that every minister so repelling any, as is specified in this or the next preceding paragraph of this rubric, shall be obliged to give an account of the same to the Ordinary within fourteen days after at the furthest. And the Ordinary shall proceed against the offending person according to the canon." The canon here referred to is the 109th of the series of 1604: "Notorious crimes and scandals to be certified into Ecclesiastical Courts by presentment." Nor is this the only canon in the series which bears upon the subject before us. A large number of others speak of excommunication as due to (1) impugnors of the laws relating to the Church;¹ (2) schismatics;² and (3) offenders generally against religion, morality, and good order in church.³ The sixty-fifth requires "ministers solemnly to denounce recusants and excommunicates"; and the sixty-eighth prohibits the clergy from refusing to use the Burial Office, "except the party deceased were denounced excommunicated, *majori excommunicatione*, for some grievous and notorious crime, and no man able to testify of his repentance." Thus this canon explicitly recognises the distinction, which has come down from comparatively early days, between two kinds of excommunication. What is called *the lesser excommunication* deprives the offender of the use of sacraments and

ancient rule of the Church. Cf. the Council of Braga (563), Canons xv, xvi, xvii. See Hefele, vol. iv. p. 385.

¹ Canons ii, -viii.

² Canons ix, -xii.

³ Canon cix.

Divine worship. It is inflicted by a formal sentence passed by judges ecclesiastical on such persons as are guilty of obstinacy or disobedience in not appearing upon a citation, or not submitting to penance or other injunction of the Court. By *the greater excommunication*, inflicted for graver offences against morality and faith, the offender is not only deprived of the use of the sacraments and benefits of Divine offices, but is further excluded from the society of the faithful. And it is clearly to this that the Article before us is referring, for it says that the excommunicated person **ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an Heathen and Publican.** Such was and still remains the law of the Church; but the civil pains and penalties involved in excommunication, which rendered it so formidable a weapon, not only before but also after the Reformation, have been almost entirely extinguished. Matrimonial and other partly civil matters have been withdrawn from the Ecclesiastical Courts, and by Act of Parliament a summary process of signification for contempt of Court has been substituted for excommunication as a means of enforcing civil processes. But the Act which thus abolishes civil penalties attaching to excommunication says definitely that "nothing in this Act contained shall prevent any Ecclesiastical Court from pronouncing or declaring persons to be excommunicate in definitive sentences, or in interlocutory decrees having the force and effect of definitive sentences, such sentences and decrees being pronounced as spiritual censures for offences of ecclesiastical cognisance in the same manner as such Court might lawfully have pronounced or declared the same had this Act not been passed."¹ Thus the right of the Church to pronounce through her

¹ 53 George III. c. 127; and on the whole subject, so far as *legal* questions are concerned, see Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law*, p. 1417 *seq.*

proper courts and officers sentences of spiritual censure remains unimpaired, and though her disciplinary powers over the laity are but seldom exercised, yet circumstances may easily render a revival of them an absolute necessity. There is probably no desire on the part of any one that the *legal* consequences of excommunication should be revived, — it was largely owing to the disastrous confusion between things spiritual and secular that excommunication fell into such discredit,—but the restoration of something corresponding to the godly discipline of the primitive Church is, as we are reminded by the Communion Service every year, a thing that is “much to be wished.”

ARTICLE XXXIV

*De Traditionibus Ecclesiasticis.*¹

Traditiones atque cæremonias eadem, non omnino necessarium est esse ubique aut prorsus consimiles. Nam et variæ semper fuerunt, et mutari possunt, pro regionum, temporum, et morum diversitate, modo nihil contra verbum Dei instituitur.

Traditiones et cæremonias ecclesiasticas quæ cum verbo Dei non pugnant, et sunt autoritate publica institutæ atque probatæ, quisquis privato consilio volens et data opera publice violaverit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem ecclesiæ, qui lædit auctoritatem Magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut cæteri timeant, arguendus est.

Quælibet ecclesia particularis, sive nationalis, auctoritatem habet instituendi, mutandi, aut abrogandi cæremonias aut ritus Ecclesiasticos, humana tantum auctoritate institutos, modo omnia ad ædificationem fiant.

Of the traditions of the Church.

It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like, for at all times they have been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word. Whosoever through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that other may fear to do the like), as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

THE last paragraph of this Article ("Every particular or national Church," etc.) was added in 1563, as was also the single word "times" in the first sentence. With

¹ "Traditiones Ecclesiasticæ," 1553 and 1563.

these exceptions, it has remained unaltered since its first issue in 1553. Its language may be traced to a considerable extent to the fifth of the Thirteen Articles of 1538, in which we find the following paragraphs:—

“Traditiones vero, et ritus, atque ceremoniæ, quæ vel ad decorem vel ordinem vel disciplinam Ecclesiæ ab hominibus sunt institutæ, non omnino necesse est ut eædem sint ubique aut prorsus similes. Hoc enim et variæ fuere, et variari possunt pro regionum et morum diversitate, ubi decus, ordo, et utilitas Ecclesiæ videbuntur postulare:

“Hæ enim et variæ fuere, et variari possunt pro regionum et morum diversitate, ubi decus decensque ordo principibus rectoribusque regionum videbuntur postulare; ita tamen ut nihil varietur aut instituatur contra verbum Dei manifestum.”¹

The clause added in 1563 seems to have been taken from a Latin series of twenty-four Articles, apparently drawn up by Parker in 1559; but “whether, from motives of prudence, or from inability to gain the sanction of the Crown,”² not circulated among the clergy. In this document we are told that “quævis ecclesia particularis auctoritatem instituendi, mutandi et abrogandi ceremonias et ritus ecclesiasticos habet, modo ad decorem, ordinem et ædificationem fiat.”³

The main object of this Article is, as against the Romanists, to assert the right of the Church of England to make such changes as were carried out in her “traditions and ceremonies” in the sixteenth century; and a further object is to insist upon the duty of loyalty on the part of all members of the Church to those traditions

¹ See Hardwick, p. 264. We may be thankful that the characteristically Erastian reference to “princes and the rulers of countries” was not adopted in the Anglican formulary.

² Hardwick, p. 118.

³ See Strype, *Annals*, i. p. 216.

and ceremonies which were ordained and approved by common authority. This was rendered necessary, not only by the entire rejection of all authority by the Anabaptists, but by the way in which some among the English clergy, who were very far from sympathising doctrinally with these fanatics, were prepared to take the law into their own hands, and discard such ceremonies as they disapproved of.¹ These men were the ecclesiastical ancestors of the "Nonconformists" of Elizabeth's reign—men who would not secede, and who denounced the "separatists," but claimed to set at defiance the laws and regulations of the Church in which they ministered²

There are three principal positions maintained in the Article—

1. There is no need for traditions and ceremonies to be everywhere alike.

2. Those persons are deserving of censure who break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which are ordained by common authority.

3. Every particular or national Church is competent to arrange her own ceremonies and rites.

Of these the first and third statements have been already considered in connection with Article XX., and it will be sufficient to refer the reader to what was there said. Nor does the second appear to require any lengthy proof. The position of the Church of England with regard to "ceremonies, why some be abolished and some

¹ Of these men Hooper was the leader. His objection to the Episcopal habit, and the difficulty about his consecration in consequence, is well known (see Dixon, vol. iii. p. 213 *seq.*); and it must be owned that considerable encouragement was given to this party by Ridley's utterly illegal onslaught upon "altars" in 1550. See Dixon, vol. iii. p. 200 *seq.*

² In the Lower House of Convocation a vigorous attempt was made in 1563 to have the terms of this Article softened in the interests of the Puritans, and the attempt only narrowly escaped being successful. See Strype, *Annals*, i. p. 335 *seq.*

retained," is clearly stated in the section with this heading at the beginning of the Book of Common Prayer (dating from 1549). In this we read that "although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing, yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God. *Let all things be done among you, saith Saint Paul, in a seemly and due order*: the appointment of the which order pertaineth not to private men; therefore no man ought to take in hand, nor presume to appoint or alter any publick or common order in Christ's Church, except he be lawfully called and authorised thereunto."

It is obvious that unless such a position as this is conceded, nothing can result except confusion and disorder. No better example of this can be given than the extraordinary state of things which existed in Elizabeth's reign before the vigorous efforts of Parker, and subsequently of Whitgift, had succeeded in enforcing a certain degree of order and conformity to law.¹ Naturally this

¹ See the contemporary Paper prepared for Cecil in 1564, now among the Lansdowne MSS., vol. viii. art. 7: "Variatees in y^e service, and ye administracion used."

"*Service and Prayrs*.—Some say y^e service and prayrs in y^e chauncell, others in y^e body of y^e church, some say y^e same in a seate made in y^e church; some in y^e Pulpitt, wth y^r faces to y^e people.

"Some kepe precysly y^e order of y^e booke, othrs intermeddle Psal. in meter.

"Some say wth a surpless, others w^{thout} a surplesse.

"*Table*.—The Table standeth in y^e body of y^e church in some places, in others hit standeth in y^e chauncell.

"In some places the Table standeth Alterlyke distant from y^e walle a yarde, in some others in y^e midst of y^e chauncell north and south.

"In some places the Table ys joyned, in others hit standeth uppon Trestells.

"In some y^e Table hath a carpet, in others hit hath none.

"*Administration of ye Co[m]munion*.—Some wth surpless and copes, some with surpless alone, others with none.

Thirty-fourth Article was not much to the mind of the Nonconforming party, although they were able to evade its force, and to reconcile their conscience to the act of subscription to it by pleading that everything which they disliked was "repugnant to the word of God."¹

This is not the place to enter into the history of the controversy, which is really chiefly important because it was the occasion of Hooker's magnificent work. Nor does it appear necessary to say more here than to remind the reader of the four propositions which Hooker claims to have granted "concerning matters of outward form in the exercise of true religion."

"(1) In the external form of religion such things as are apparently or can be sufficiently proved, effectual and generally fit to set forward godliness, either as betokening the greatness of God, or as beseeeming the dignity of religion, or as concurring with celestial impressions in the minds of men, may be reverently thought of; some few, rare, casual and tolerable, or otherwise curable, inconveniences notwithstanding.

"(2) In things the fitness whereof is not of itself apparent, nor easy to be made sufficiently manifest unto all, yet the judgment of antiquity concurring with that which is received may induce them to think it not unfit

"Some wth chalice, some wth a Co[m]mun[i]on Cuppe, others wth a como[n] Cuppe.

"Some wth unleavened Bread, some wth leavened.

"*Receaving*.—Some receive kneeling, others standing, others sytting.

"*Baptising*.—Some baptise in a fount, some in a Bason.

"Some signed wth y^e signe of y^e Crosse, others not signed.

"Some minister in a surpless, others without.

"*Apparell*.—Some with a square Cappe, some with a round Capp. Some wth a Button Cappe, some wth a Hatte.

"Some in Schol^{rs} Clooke, some in others."

The document is printed in full in Parker's *Postscript to a Letter to Lord Selborne*, p. 148.

¹ See Hardwick, *Articles*, p. 110.

who are not able to allege any known weighty inconvenience which it hath, or to take any strong objection against it.

“(3) Where neither the evidence of any law Divine, nor the strength of any invincible argument otherwise found out by the light of reason, nor any notable public inconvenience, doth make against that which our own laws ecclesiastical have although but newly instituted for the ordering of these affairs, the very authority of the Church itself, at least in such cases, may give so much credit to her laws, as to make their sentence touching fitness and conveniency weightier than any bare and naked conceit to the contrary; especially in them who can owe no less than childlike obedience to her that hath more than motherly power.

“(4) In cases of necessity, or for common utility’s sake, certain profitable ordinances some time may be released, rather than all men always be strictly bound to the general rigour thereof.”¹

These propositions, Hooker fairly claims, are “such as no man of moderate judgment hath cause to think unjust or unreasonable”; and if they be admitted, they appear to be fully sufficient to establish the position taken up in the Article before us.

¹ *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. V. c. vi.-ix.

ARTICLE XXXV

De Homiliis.

Tomus secundus Homiliarum, quarum singulos titulos huic Articulo subjunximus, continet piam et salutarem doctrinam, et his temporibus necessariam, non minus quam prior Tomus Homiliarum quæ editæ sunt tempore Edwardi sexti. Itaque eas in ecclesiis per ministros diligenter et clare, ut a populo intelligi possint, recitandas esse judicamus.

Catalogus Homiliarum.

De recto ecclesiæ usu.
Adversus Idolatriæ pericula.
De reparandis ac purgandis ecclesiis.
De bonis operibus.
De jejunio.
In gulæ atque ebrietatis vitia.
In nimis sumptuosis vestium apparatus.
De oratione sive precatone.
De loco et tempore orationi destinatis.
De publicis precibus ac Sacramentis, idiomate vulgari omnibusque noto, habendis.
De sacrosancta verbi divini auctoritate.
De eleemosina.
De Christi Nativitate.
De dominica passione.
De resurrectione Domini.

Of Homilies.

The second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth: and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers diligently, and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.

Of the Names of the Homilies.

1. Of the right use of the Church.
2. Against peril of Idolatry.
3. Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.
4. Of good works, first of fasting.
5. Against gluttony and drunkenness.
6. Against excess of apparel.
7. Of prayer.
8. Of the place and time of prayer.
9. That common prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known tongue.
10. Of the reverend estimation of God's word.
11. Of almsdoing.
12. Of the Nativity of Christ.
13. Of the Passion of Christ.
14. Of the Resurrection of Christ.

De digna corporis et sanguinis dominici in cœna Domini par- ticipatione.	15. Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.
De donis Spiritus Sancti.	16. Of the gifts of the Holy Ghost.
In diebus, qui vulgo Rogationum dicti sunt, concio.	17. For the Rogation Days.
De matrimonii statu.	18. Of the state of Matrimony.
De otio seu socordia.	19. Of repentance.
De pœnitentia.	20. Against idleness.
	21. Against rebellion.

SLIGHT verbal alterations of no importance were introduced into the English of this Article in 1571, when the mention of the twenty-first Homily "Against rebellion" (which had only just been issued), was added. But except for these the Article dates from 1563. The corresponding Article in the series of Edward's reign, of course, only referred to the *first* book, and without giving a list of them, merely stated that "The Homilies of late given, and set out by the King's authority, be godly and wholesome, containing doctrine to be received of all men, and therefore are to be read to the people diligently, distinctly, and plainly."

In considering this Article it will be well to consider separately—

1. The history of the Homilies.
2. The nature of the assent demanded to them.

I. *The History of the Homilies.*

The earliest mention of the Homilies is in 1542, when a certain number of them were introduced in Convocation with the design of having them promulgated and set forth by authority.¹ The design miscarried, and we hear nothing more of them until after the death of Henry VIII. But in the first year of Edward VI. the scheme was taken up again, and what is now known as

¹ Strype's *Cranmer*, bk. II. c. iii.

the first Book of the Homilies was printed and authorised by Royal authority, being ordered to be read in churches every Sunday after High Mass. The book contained twelve Homilies, with the following titles:—

- (1) A fruitful Exhortation to the Reading of Holy Scripture.
- (2) Of the Misery of all Mankind.
- (3) Of the Salvation of all Mankind.
- (4) Of the True and Lively Faith.
- (5) Of Good Works.
- (6) Of Christian Love and Charity.
- (7) Against Swearing and Perjury.
- (8) Of the Declining from God.
- (9) An Exhortation against the Fear of Death.
- (10) An Exhortation to Obedience.
- (11) Against Whoredom and Adultery.
- (12) Against Strife and Contention.

The authorship of the whole number has not been ascertained, but probably the first, on the Reading of Holy Scripture, and certainly the third, fourth, and fifth, of Salvation, of Faith, and of Good Works, come from the pen of Cranmer. The sixth, on Charity, is by Bonner; the second, on the Misery of Mankind, by his chaplain, Hartsfield; and it is said that the eleventh is by Becon.

In 1549, in order to render them more acceptable to the people, they were subdivided into thirty-two parts, and the Prayer Book, which had just been published, directed that “after the Creed ended, shall follow the Sermon or Homily, or some portion of one of the Homilies, as they shall be hereafter divided.” That the book was only intended as an instalment, is shown by the following note which stood at the close of it: “Hereafter shall follow Sermons of Fasting, Praying, Alms deeds; of the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our

Saviour Christ; of the due receiving of His blessed body and blood under the form of bread and wine; against Idleness, against Gluttony and Drunkenness, against Covetousness, against Envy, Ire, and Malice; with many other matters as well fruitful as necessary to the edifying of Christian people and the increase of godly living." Accordingly the rubric in the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. (1552) said that "After the Creed, if there be no Sermon, shall follow one of the Homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth by common authority." The death of the king, however, occurred before anything more was done. Shortly after the accession of Elizabeth the Book of the Homilies was reprinted (1560), and in 1563 a second book was added to it, presented to Convocation, and after some considerable delay authorised by the Sovereign.¹ Meanwhile, as we have seen, the Article was rewritten, and made to refer to the second book as well as the first. The direction in it, that **they are to be read in churches by the ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people**, should be noticed. It was rendered necessary by the dislike with which the Homilies were regarded by many of the clergy, who revenged themselves by reading them unintelligibly. The dislike was not confined to one party in the Church, for we find that in the "Admonition to Parliament" in 1571 one of the demands of the Puritans is this: "Remove *Homylies*, Articles, Injunctions."²

The second book, which contains twenty-one Homilies in forty-three parts, professes to supply "Homilies of such matters as were promised and entituled in the former part of Homilies"; but, as a matter of fact, those

¹ See Parker's *Correspondence*, p. 177.

² For the Puritan objections to the reading of Homilies in church, see Rogers *On the XXXIX. Articles*, p. 326 (Parker Society).

actually provided do not correspond exactly to the list of those promised at the close of the first book. Thus there are no Homilies expressly treating of Covetousness, Envy, Ire, and Malice; while there are several which were seemingly not contemplated when the first book was issued. The writer who is supposed to have had the chief hand in the preparation of the book is Bishop Jewel, but a considerable number of the Homilies were only translations or adaptations of works that had previously been issued. Thus those on the Passion and Resurrection are taken from Taverner's Postils, which had appeared so early as 1540. That on Matrimony is taken half from Veit Dietrick, of Nuremberg, half from S. Chrysostom; and two-thirds of the first part of that on Repentance are translated from Randolph Gualther. The Preface, or "Admonition to all ministers ecclesiastical," was from the pen of Bishop Cox. It should be added that the last Homily, viz. that against Disobedience and wilful Rebellion, was only added in 1571; the occasion which called it forth being the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, which had taken place shortly before (1569), and to which the Homily itself clearly alludes.

II. *The Nature of the Assent demanded to the Homilies.*

The statement of the Article is that the Book of Homilies **doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times.** It is obvious from this that the assent demanded to them is of a very general character, and cannot be held to bind us to the acceptance of every statement made in them. Nothing whatever is said about the *historical* statements contained in them, some of which are highly questionable, or even demonstrably false. And as to the doctrine, all

that is asserted is that they “*contain* a godly and wholesome doctrine.” On one subject certainly their teaching appears to be invested with a peculiar authority, viz. that of justification, owing to the express reference to them in Article XI. But on other matters a wide discretion is left to the individual, and he cannot fairly be called upon to maintain any particular view simply because it is taught in the Homilies. The formal doctrinal teaching of the Church of England is found in the Articles and the Book of Common Prayer; and so far as the Homilies agree with these, and bring out the sense of their teaching, they are authoritative. But that is all. So much is confessed by all parties, and it has been frequently pointed out that it is impossible to tie persons down rigidly to the acceptance of every doctrinal proposition contained in these thirty-three sermons.¹ The matter is well put by Bishop Montague in his *Appello Cæsarem*, published in 1625—

“I willingly admit the *Homilies* as containing certain *godly* and *wholesome exhortations* to move the people to honour and worship Almighty God; but not as the *public dogmatical resolutions* confirmed of the Church of England. The XXXVth Article giveth them to contain *godly* and *wholesome Doctrine*, and *necessary for these times*: which they may do, though they have not *dogmatical positions*, or *doctrine* to be *propugned* and *subscribed* in all and every point, as the Books of *Articles* and of *Common Prayer* have. They may seem, secondly, to speak somewhat too hardly, and stretch some sayings beyond the use and practice of the Church of *England*, both then and now; and yet what they speak may receive a fair, or at least a tolerable construction and mitigation enough.”²

Still more important, as being of the nature of a

¹ See especially *Tracts for the Times*, Nos. lxxxii. and xc.

² *Appello Cæsarem*, p. 260.

judicial decision upon this very point, is the statement of Sir Herbert Jenner Fust in his judgment in the Arches Court of Canterbury on Nov. 19, 1838. The question before him was whether the Church of England regarded praying for the dead as an illegal practice; and the authority of the Homilies had been quoted against it.¹ The judge entered fully into the matter, and decided that "it seemed clearly to have been the intention of the composer of the Homily to discourage the practice of praying for the dead; but it does not appear that in any part of the Homily he declares the practice to be an unlawful one." And then he adds the following important statement: "But supposing he had been of opinion that such prayers were unlawful, it is not to be necessarily inferred that the Church of England adopted every part of the doctrines contained in the Homilies."²

¹ See the third part of the *Homily Concerning Prayer*, p. 355 (S.P.C.K. ed.).

² The judgment is given in full in Lee's *Christian Doctrine of Prayer for the Departed*, Appendix XII.

ARTICLE XXXVI

De Episcoporum et Ministrorum Consecratione.

Libellus de Consecratione Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum et de ordinatione Presbyterorum et Diaconorum æditus nuper temporibus Edwardi sexti, et auctoritate Parlamenti illis ipsis temporibus confirmatus, omnia ad ejusmodi consecrationem et ordinationem necessaria continet, et nihil habet quod ex se sit aut superstitiosum aut impium. Itaque quicumque juxta ritus illius libri consecrati aut ordinati sunt ab anno secundo prædicti Regis Edwardi, usque ad hoc tempus, aut in posterum juxta eosdem ritus consecrabuntur aut ordinabuntur rite, ordine, atque legitime, statuimus esse et fore consecratos et ordinatos.

Of consecration of Bishops and ministers.

The book of Consecration of Archbishops, and Bishops, and ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering: neither hath it anything, that of itself is superstitious or ungodly. And therefore, whosoever are consecrate or ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the aforesaid King Edward, unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

IN its present form this Article dates from 1563, when it was entirely rewritten. The corresponding Article in the Edwardian Series was of a much more general character, referring to the Book of Common Prayer as a whole, and not only to the Ordinal.

Of the Book of Prayers and Ceremonies of the Church of England.

“The Book which of very late time was given to the Church of England by the King’s authority and the

Parliament, containing the manner and form of praying, and ministering the sacraments in the Church of England, likewise also the book of Ordering Ministers of the Church, set forth by the foresaid authority, are godly, and in no point repugnant to the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel, but agreeable thereunto, furthering and beautifying the same not a little; and therefore of all faithful members of the Church of England, and chiefly of the ministers of the word, they ought to be received, and allowed with all readiness of mind, and thanksgiving, and to be commended to the people of God.”¹

As originally drafted and signed by the royal chaplains, it had contained some words referring expressly to the *ceremonies* of the book as in no way repugnant to the liberty of the Gospel, but rather agreeable to it, and tending to promote it. To this serious objection was taken by John Knox, whose dislike of the ceremonies ordered in the book was perhaps not unnatural; and it is probable that it was in consequence of his remonstrances that all that part which referred especially to the ceremonies was omitted before publication.²

¹ “De libro precationum et cæremoniarum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Liber qui nuperrime autoritate Regis et Parliamenti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ traditus est, continens modum et formam orandi, et sacramenta administrandi in Ecclesia Anglicana: Similiter et libellus eadem autoritate editus de ordinatione ministorum ecclesiæ, quoad doctrinæ veritatem, pii sunt, et salutari doctrinæ Evangelii in nullo repugnant sed congruunt, et eandem non parum promovent et illustrent, atque ideo ab omnibus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ fidelibus membris, et maxime a ministris verbi cum omni promptitudine animorum et gratiarum actione, recipiendi, approbandi, et populo Dei commendandi sunt.”

² The clause in question appears in this form in the MS. signed by the royal chaplains: “*Et quoad cæremoniarum rationem salutari Evangelii libertati, si ex sua natura cæremoniæ illæ cæstimentur*, in nullo repugnant, sed *probe congruunt*, et eandem *in complurimis inprimis* promovent, atque ideo,” etc. The words in italics were altogether omitted or modified in the published Article. For the part taken by Knox in securing the change, see p. 14, with the references there given.

As it now stands, the object of the Article is to assert emphatically the validity of Anglican Orders, and this against objections raised from two opposite quarters. On the one hand, the "Nonconformist" and Puritan party denounced the Ordinal as containing in it things that were of themselves **superstitious or ungodly**; on the other hand, the disaffected Romanists might deny that the form used could be said to **contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering**. And thus, as against both parties, it was deemed advisable to assert definitely that **whosoever are consecrate or ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the aforementioned King Edward, unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered**.

The principal subjects, then, to be treated of here are these—

1. The objections of the Puritans.
2. The objections of the Romanists.

I. *The Objections of the Puritans.*

Since many of those who objected to the Ordinal, as containing that which was "superstitious and ungodly," objected not only to the special formula, "Receive the Holy Ghost," etc., used in conferring orders on the priesthood (which they denounced as "manifest blasphemy"), but also to Episcopacy itself, it seems desirable to consider here—

- (a) The question of the threefold ministry.
- (b) The formula of Ordination.

(a) *The question of the threefold ministry.*—The Preface to the "Form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons according

to the order of the Church of England" (1550), begins with the statement that "it is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture, and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." The evidence for the existence of the threefold ministry, *from the second century onwards*, is so full and complete, that it is not likely to be questioned, and need not be summarised here. All that the opponents of Episcopacy can do is to endeavour to show that there are in later times a few possible exceptions to the rule, and to deny that it is found in the New Testament, and can be traced back to "the Apostles' time." It will be well, therefore, to examine the evidence of the New Testament, and for this purpose it will be convenient to break up the Apostolic age into three distinct periods, each of which requires to be discussed separately.

(i.) The foundation of the Church. In this S. Peter is the most prominent figure, and the period is closed by his imprisonment and departure from Jerusalem in the year 44. Even at this early time we can discern the germs and beginnings of what afterwards grew into the threefold ministry. The Apostles are naturally the leaders and rulers of the Church, and at first its only ministers. But as the work grows under their hands some portion of it is delegated to the seven, who, though never called "deacons" in the Acts, are plainly the first representatives of that order, *selected* by the whole multitude of the faithful, but receiving their *appointments* from the Apostles (*οὓς καταστήσομεν*, "whom we may appoint," Acts vi. 3), and set apart for their office

¹ Of these the most important is the supposed exceptional constitution of the Alexandrian Church, on which see Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 134 *seq.*; and for supposed ordinations by presbyters in East and West, *ib.* p. 374.

with the imposition of hands and prayer (ver. 6).¹ Of the origin of what we term the *second* order of the ministry no account is given us, but by the end of this period we find it already in existence, for in Acts xi. 30 (just about the time of Peter's imprisonment or release) we read that the Christians at Antioch "determined to send relief unto the brethren that dwelt in Judæa; which also they did, sending it to *the elders* (πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους) by the hand of Barnabas and Saul." This is the earliest mention of an order of ministers which we shall find appointed everywhere during the next period. Since its origin is nowhere related in the Acts (our sole authority for this period), it can only be a matter of conjecture. Possibly it was suggested to the Christian Church by the organisation of the Jewish communities, in which "the elders" occupied a recognised position.² However this may be, the fact remains that in this first period we find something fairly corresponding to our three orders of ministers, viz. Apostles, with the oversight of the whole Church, and,

¹ The reasons for maintaining that the appointment of the "seven" gives the origin of the diaconate are briefly these: (1) Although the title *διάκονος* does not occur, yet the corresponding verb and substantive (*διακονεῖν* and *διακονία*) are both used (vers. 1, 2). (2) The functions are substantially those exercised by the later deacons (cf. Lightfoot *On Philippi*. p. 186). (3) From the position of the narrative in the Acts and the emphasis laid on it by the writer, it is clear that he regarded it "not as an isolated incident, but as the establishment of a new order of things in the Church" (Lightfoot, *ubi supra*). (4) Tradition is practically unanimous as to the identity of the two offices, and that from the earliest times. See further, Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. 2), vol. i. p. 739.

² So Lightfoot *On Philippi*. p. 189, and cf. Gore, p. 399. But it is important to remember that, though the *name* was certainly borrowed from the synagogue, yet the functions of the Christian presbyters, as found in the writings of the New Testament and the earliest Fathers, mark out the office as really a new one of a spiritual character. For these functions see 1 Pet. v. 2; 1 Tim. iii. 2, v. 17; Titus i. 9; S. James v. 14; Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* xlv.

locally, elders and deacons. Indeed, we may go a step further, and maintain that something approaching to the *local* Episcopate already obtained in Jerusalem; for the message of S. Peter after his release from prison, when read in the light of later notices, is highly significant, "Tell these things unto James, and to the brethren" (Acts xii. 17). Why "unto *James*"? The only explanation is that he already occupied the position which we find him holding at a later period, of *president* of the local Church (see Acts xv. 13–21, xxi. 18; Gal. ii. 9, 12), or, as the tradition of the Church has ever regarded him, first bishop of Jerusalem.

(ii.) The second period is that of the organisation and extension of the Church. In it the prominent figure is the Apostle Paul, whose missionary labours formed the main instrument for planting the Church in various regions. The period is perhaps best closed, not by the Apostle's death, but by the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70. Our authorities for it are the narrative in Acts xiii.–xxviii. and the apostolic Epistles. In it we trace the extension of the different orders of ministers as new Churches are founded.

For the *diaconate* we have the evidence of the Epistle to the Philippians (A.D. 60), which shows us two orders of resident ministers existing at Philippi, ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι (c. i. ver. 1). Still earlier (during S. Paul's second missionary journey), Rom. xvi. 1 shows us a woman deacon at Cenchreæ; and at a later period, after the Apostle's first imprisonment, 1 Tim. iii. 8 *seq.*, bears evidence of the extension of this order to the Church of Ephesus, though it is interesting to note that in the almost contemporary Epistle to Titus there is no mention of διάκονοι. It may, perhaps, be inferred from this that they were only appointed as the work grew, and the need for them was felt. In Ephesus, a Church which

had existed for some years (cf. Acts xx. 17), they were required. In the newly-founded Church in Crete the necessity for their help would not exist.

For the *second* order of the ministry as well the evidence during this period is full and complete. A representative passage is Acts xiv. 23: "When they had appointed for them elders in every Church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed." This refers to S. Paul's first missionary journey, but it clearly indicates a custom which he followed everywhere. Only, having once stated it, S. Luke does not concern himself with recording it in other cases. In view, however, of such passages as Acts xv. 6 (Jerusalem), xx. 17 (Ephesus), Titus i. 5 (Crete), S. James v. 14, 1 Pet. v. 1, we are justified in assuming the existence of *πρεσβύτεροι* everywhere as a permanent feature of ecclesiastical organisation, and Acts xx. 17 compared with ver. 28 ("he called to him the *elders* of the Church" . . . "the flock in the which the Holy Ghost hath made you *bishops*, *ἐπίσκοποι*), and Titus i. 5, 7 ("appoint *elders* in every city . . . if any man is blameless . . . for the *bishop*, *ἐπίσκοπος*, must be blameless"), enable us to identify the *πρεσβύτεροι* with the *ἐπίσκοποι*, whom we find mentioned, evidently as resident officers of the Church, in Phil. i. 1 and 1 Tim. iii. 1.¹

¹ There has recently been a tendency in some quarters to deny this identity, and maintain that the offices were distinct (So Réville, *Les Origines de l'Épiscopat*), but on quite insufficient grounds. It has not been thought necessary to enter into the questions which have been raised of late years with regard to the origin of the name *ἐπίσκοπος*, and the original character of the office, because throughout this work *the genuineness of the whole of the New Testament is assumed*, and if we admit as genuine the First Epistle of S. Peter, and the Pastoral Epistles, together with the discourse to the Ephesian elders in Acts xx., it appears to me simply impossible to deny that (whatever may have suggested the name, which is really of a very general and indefinite character) the office was

With regard to the *first* order of the ministry, it is evident that a general superintendence of the affairs of the Church was exercised by the Apostles themselves. S. Paul "went through Syria and Cilicia confirming the Churches" (Acts xv. 41). The "apostles and elders" were gathered together to consider the question of circumcision (Acts xv. 6). Letters of apostolic counsel and direction are written by them with superior authority, and by their hands ministers are set apart. But as the years passed Churches multiplied, and the original company of the Apostles became fewer in number, it became necessary to make provision for the future. Consequently, towards the close of this period we meet with men like Timothy and Titus exercising apostolic powers, commissioned to take the general oversight of Churches, to "set in order the things that are wanting, and appoint elders in every city" (Titus i. 5; cf. 1 Tim. i. 3). These men are plainly superior to the ἐπίσκοποι or πρεσβύτεροι over whom they exercise authority, and they are empowered to ordain others, whereas we never read of any such power being given to the elders.¹ But it would seem to be inaccurate to speak of Timothy and Titus as bishops of Ephesus and Crete, for in each case the Apostle directs them to return to him when they have accomplished the work for which he left them in these places (see 2 Tim. iv. 9; Titus iii. 12, with which cf. 2 Tim. iv. 10, which shows that after Titus rejoined a spiritual one from the first. The use of the name in 1 Pet. ii. 25, as applied to Christ, "the shepherd and *bishop* of your souls," is surely decisive as to this. On the theories in question reference may be made to Gore, as above.

¹ It is instructive to compare the address to the Ephesian elders in Acts xx. with the apostolic charges to Timothy in the two Epistles addressed to him. While to Timothy is given the power to ordain others, together with instructions concerning the qualifications of those on whom he shall "lay hands," there is no indication in the address to the elders that any such power had been intrusted to them.

the Apostle, instead of returning to Crete he was sent elsewhere, to Dalmatia). All that can be claimed for them is a “*moveable* Episcopate”;¹ nor need we at this early period expect to find more. Time was required for the full ecclesiastical system to grow up into its present form; and the *diocesan system*, with its territorial bishops with definite regions assigned to each, was a later growth. In the period now under consideration we find no trace of it outside Jerusalem, where, as we have seen, it existed from the beginning. But the order of bishops as chief ministers of the Church may be distinctly traced to the Apostles. Men like Timothy and Titus form the link between the later regionary bishops and the Apostles themselves. It is probable also that with them we should include the “prophets” of the New Testament as exercising similar powers, for not only are they mentioned in various places as occupying positions of importance, and sometimes joined very closely with the Apostles (see Acts xi. 27, xiii. 1, xv. 32, xxi. 10; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11); but also in the *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, while the *ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι* are the two orders of resident ministers (exactly as in the New Testament), *ἀπόστολοι καὶ προφῆται* appear as itinerant ministers, exercising a general superintendence, and superseding the local officers from time to time.

We may, then, sum up the results of our investigations so far. At the close of the second period two orders of resident ministers (*ἐπίσκοποι* or *πρεσβύτεροι* and *διάκονοι*) are found in fully organised Churches; and superior to them are Apostles and apostolic men, who visit their Churches from time to time, set in order things that are wanting, and appoint local officers as they are needed. But so far the precedent set at

¹ The phrase is due to Bishop Lightfoot.

Jerusalem has not been followed elsewhere, and beyond this Church the diocesan system is not yet in existence.

(iii.) The third period lasts from the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) to the close of the century and the death of the last surviving Apostle, S. John (A.D. 100). For this period our authorities are much less full than for the period immediately preceding it. But sufficient remains to enable us without any hesitation to assign to this time the change from the general to the local ministry, with the introduction of an approximation to the diocesan system, if not everywhere, at least in some of the Gentile Churches; and since the change falls in the lifetime of S. John, there can be no doubt that it was made under his guiding influence. The proof that the change was made during these years may be put in this way. We have seen that in A.D. 70 there was no such thing as the diocesan system except in Jerusalem. At the beginning of the second century we find from the Epistles of Ignatius that this system is *already in existence*, and firmly planted in the Churches to which he writes.¹ This necessarily throws back its origination to the first century, and to the period subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem in 70. There are other slight indications which confirm this, and show us the change in progress.²

¹ Nothing can be stronger than the language of Ignatius on the position of the bishop as superior to the presbyters, and the necessity of doing nothing without him. There is scarcely one of his Epistles in which this is not insisted on. See *Eph.* i. ii. iv.; *Magn.* ii. iii. iv. vi. vii. xiii.; *Trall.* i. ii. iii. vii.; *Philad.* i. iii. iv. vii. viii.; *Smyrn.* viii. ix.

² No reference is made in the text to the "angels" of the seven Churches of Asia (Rev. i.-iii.), because of the uncertainty which there is concerning the meaning of the term. If the *early* date of the Apocalypse be accepted, it is scarcely possible to identify the "angels" with the "bishops." If, however, the *later* date be adopted, the objection against the identification falls to the ground. Cf. Lightfoot *On Philipp.* p. 197.

(a) The *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, which has been previously referred to, may perhaps belong to the early part of this period.¹ As has been already mentioned, it bears witness to the existence of the earlier state of things with two orders of resident ministers, *ἐπίσκοποι* and *διάκονοι*, and superior to them the *ἀπόστολοι καὶ προφῆται*.²

(b) The Epistle of S. Clement to the Corinthians was written about the year 96. It contains an important passage on the Christian ministry, c. xl.-xliv. The passage requires to be quoted at some length. Clement starts by saying that "we ought to do all things in order, as many as the Master hath commanded us to perform at their appointed seasons. Now the offerings and ministrations He commanded to be performed with care, and not to be done rashly or in disorder, but at fixed times and seasons. And where and by whom He would have them performed He Himself fixed by His supreme will: that all things being done with piety according to His good pleasure, might be acceptable to His will. They, therefore, that make their offerings at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed: for while they follow the institutions of the Master they cannot go wrong. For unto the high priest his proper services have been assigned, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and upon the Levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinance."³ It would be impossible to state the general principle of ecclesiastical order more strongly

¹ The exact date is quite uncertain, but it would probably be correct to place it sometime between 70 and 120.

² See c. xi. xiii. xv., and cf. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 276 *seq.*

³ C. xl. The translation is Bishop Lightfoot's, *Apost. Fathers*, Part I. vol. ii. p. 292. The original Greek may be seen on p. 121.

than is here done by Clement; and even if (with Bishop Lightfoot¹) we decline to press the analogy of the *threefold* ministry, yet still it remains true that a general comparison of the Christian ministry with that of the Jews is made, and that Clement regards the ministry as a necessary and Divine institution. Further, in the following passage, a portion of which has been already quoted under Article XXIII.,² he proceeds to state with equal clearness the principle of the succession: "The Apostles received the gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God, and the Apostles are from Christ. Both, therefore, came of the will of God in the appointed order. Having, therefore, received a charge, and having been fully assured through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and confirmed in the word of God with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth with the glad tidings that the kingdom of God should come. So preaching everywhere in country and town, they appointed their first-fruits when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe.³ . . . And our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause, therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterwards they provided a continuance,⁴ that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministrations. Those, therefore, who were appointed by them, or afterward by other men of repute with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered unblameably to the flock of Christ . . . these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 123.

² See above, p. 578.

³ C. xlii.

⁴ *Ἐπιμονήν*, see the note on p. 578.

from their ministrations. For it will be no light sin for us, if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblameably and holily. Blessed are those presbyters who have gone before," etc.¹

These words need but little by way of comment, since they clearly insist on the importance of the succession with an appointment from the Apostles in the first instance, and afterwards from others *in accordance with their arrangement*. The only possible question is whether Clement recognises what is called monarchical episcopacy as existing at Corinth. His own position as "bishop" (in the modern sense) of the Church of Rome is thoroughly well established, but the passage just cited shows that ἐπίσκοποι and πρεσβύτεροι are with him still convertible terms, and there is no reference in his Epistle to any one person as ruling over the Church of Corinth above the presbyters. It is possible, then, that the local and diocesan system had not as yet been adopted at Corinth.² But on the principles of ecclesiastical order, and the need of a valid commission and succession, S. Clement's evidence is perfectly clear.

(c) To a later date belongs S. Clement of Alexandria's treatise, *Quis Dives Salvetur* (c. 180). But it may here be mentioned, because the narrative contained in it concerning S. John and the robber bears such manifest tokens of reflecting the genuine state of things in the apostolic days. In it ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος are still convertible terms; but the position of the bishop as presiding over the Church seems to be implied; and, moreover, the organisation of the Churches is expressly attributed to S. John, who is said to have come from Patmos to Ephesus, and to have gone also "when called, to the neighbouring regions of the Gentiles; in some to

¹ C. xliv.

² Cf. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 322.

appoint bishops, in some to institute entire new Churches, in others to appoint to the ministry some one of those indicated by the Holy Ghost.”¹ This exactly fits in with what we find elsewhere; and taken together we may say that the *Δίδαχὴ*, the Epistle of S. Clement of Rome, and the narrative preserved by Clement of Alexandria, give us glimpses of the change that was passing over the system of the Church during the last quarter of the first century,—the change, that is, whereby the chief pastor became permanently resident as the highest officer in each Church, and the name of bishop or *ἐπίσκοπος* was attached exclusively to him. The Epistles of Ignatius, as referred to above, show us the change complete: and there is no necessity to pursue the history further here.

Against the view which has here been taken, that to the Apostles and their successors alone belonged the right of ordaining others, transmitted by them to the *ἐπίσκοποι* of the later Church, two passages of Scripture have sometimes been urged.²

(i.) The incident in Acts xiii. 1–3, where Paul and Barnabas are “separated for the work” by some who were not Apostles. The answer to this is twofold: *first*, it may be urged that if this is to be regarded as their actual ordination, it is still not an instance of *Presbyterian* any more than of *Episcopal* ordination; for if bishops are not mentioned, no more are presbyters. Those who are spoken of are called “prophets and teachers,” and, as has already been shown, the position of the prophets seems

¹ Quoted in Eusebius, *H. E.* III. xxiii.

² It seems unnecessary to refer further to the view sometimes urged, that as *ἐπίσκοποι* and *πρεσβύτεροι* are convertible terms in the New Testament, their subsequent distinction is an invention of a later date, for the facts already summarised go to show that the “bishops” of the second century and later are the successors of the Apostles and of men like Timothy, rather than of the New Testament *ἐπίσκοποι*.

to correspond more nearly with that of the later bishops than with that of the second order of the ministry. But, *secondly*, it is very doubtful whether it was an ordination at all. Indeed, the arguments against regarding it as one seem overwhelming. To begin with, both Paul and Barnabas are included among the "prophets and teachers," and Barnabas actually heads the list. Therefore, whatever ministerial authority those who laid their hands on them possessed, Paul and Barnabas already possessed the same. Moreover, S. Paul always claimed that his apostolic commission came to him direct from Christ Himself, and "not from men, neither through men" (Gal. i. 1); and though on this view there is no actual mention of the ordination of S. Barnabas, yet it is worthy of note that on a previous occasion he appears as the delegate and representative of the Church of Jerusalem, invested with powers which it may fairly be said presuppose a formal commission from the Church (see Acts xi. 22, *ἐξαπέστειλαν Βαρνάβαν*). It appears, then, to be practically certain that the incident narrated in Acts xiii. was no ordination, but only a setting apart of the two Apostles to the Gentiles for their special work, done according to ancient custom, with prayer and imposition of hands.

(ii.) It is said that Timothy is spoken of as having been ordained "with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery" (1 Tim. iv. 14). Yes; but if the text is referred to, it will be seen that the expression employed is this, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy (*διὰ προφητείας*), with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery" (*μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου*). It came to him, then, primarily *through* (*διὰ*) prophecy, and only with the accompaniment of (*μετά*) the laying on of the hands of the presbyters present: and "prophecy," it must be

repeated, is closely connected with the Apostolate; besides which, in 2 Tim. i. 6 S. Paul speaks of the gift as being in Timothy “*through* the laying on” of his own hands (διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου). Clearly, therefore, he himself took the chief part in the ordination of his disciple, and the presbyters present were probably joined with him, as they are to this day when men are set apart for the priesthood.

We conclude, then, that the statement in the Preface to the Ordinal is strictly true, and that “from the Apostles’ times there have been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons”; and thus the “Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and ordering of Priests and Deacons,” cannot be said to contain anything that is of itself superstitious or ungodly, because it recognises and retains the Episcopal order. Before passing on to the next objection, it may be well to add a few words concerning the mind of the Church of England on the *necessity* of Episcopacy. Certainly all that the actual terms of the Article now under consideration bind us to is this: that Episcopacy is not in itself superstitious or ungodly. This amounts to no more than saying that it is *an allowable form of Church government*, and leaves the question open whether it is the only one. This question is not decided for us elsewhere in the Articles; for even where we might have reasonably expected some light to be thrown upon it, we are met with a remarkable silence. Thus there is no mention of Episcopacy in the Article on the Church; and in that “De vocatione ministrorum,” as was pointed out in the remarks upon it, there is a singular vagueness in the description of those who “have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord’s vineyard.” The Articles, then, leave us without any

real guidance on the question whether Episcopacy is to be regarded as *necessary*. Nor need we feel surprise at this, for at the time when they received their final form English Churchmen were standing on the defensive, and engaged in a severe struggle with a strong Presbyterian party, who objected to Episcopacy altogether. As against these men they were mainly concerned to defend the Episcopal form of Government as *allowable*, and with this they were content.¹ For the deliberate judgment of the Church of England we must look elsewhere. We find it in the Book of Common Prayer, which received its final form nearly a hundred years later than the Articles. The statements there made in the Preface to the Ordinal are conclusive as to the view taken by the Church. They may be summed up as follows:—

- (i.) The threefold ministry has been the rule of the Church from the Apostles' days; and no one has ever been allowed to exercise that ministry without a proper commission from lawful authority.
- (ii.) It is to be continued in the Church of England.
- (iii.) And therein no one is to be accounted a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon, without Episcopal ordination.

The formal and deliberate assertion of this last fact dates from the final revision of 1662. The other two statements come down to us from the first Prayer Book

¹ It is possible to see indications of a change of view in Hooker. In book III., though he maintains that government by bishops "best agreeth with the Sacred Scripture" (xi. § 16), yet he does not press for it as necessary. In book VII. c. xiv., a much stronger position appears to be maintained by him. A strong position is also taken up in Bishop Bilson's *Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*, published in 1593; and Bishop Hall, in *Episcopacy by Divine Right* (1639), directly maintains that Episcopacy . . . is not only an holy and lawful, but a Divine institution, and therefore cannot be abdicated without a manifest violation of God's ordinance. *Works*, vol. ix. p. 160.

of Edward VI. (1549), and belong to a time when the question of Presbyterian orders had scarcely been seriously raised in this country. Had the question never been raised they might have been deemed sufficient. When, however, it had been raised, and attempts had been made by certain persons (as they were in Elizabeth's reign) to minister in the Church of England without an Episcopal commission, it was well that their right to do so should be more expressly denied, and this is what is done by the addition to the Preface of the words referred to above. Thus the Church of England, as judged by her formal documents, recognises none but Episcopal orders. But even so, it is interesting to notice how she treats the subject entirely from a practical point of view, pronouncing on it, not as an abstract theological question, but only as it concerns herself. She is not called upon to judge others. But her own position she is called upon to make clear: nor does she shrink from the responsibility. She sees that Episcopacy has been the Church's rule from the days of the Apostles. She in the providence of God has retained it, and it is her duty to hand it on without breach of continuity. It may be "charity to think well of our neighbours." It is certainly "good divinity to look well to ourselves";¹ and therefore she feels compelled to insist upon Episcopal ordination in every case, and can recognise no other.

(b) *The formula of Ordination*.—Besides objecting to Episcopacy in itself, the Puritans denounced as superstitious and ungodly the words used by the bishop in conferring the order of the priesthood: "Receive the Holy Ghost [for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of

¹ Archbishop Bramhall. So Thorndike "neither justifies nor condemns" the orders of the foreign Protestants. See Haddan's *Apostolical Succession*, p. 168 seq.

our hands].¹ Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His holy Sacraments; in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." The words appeared to them "ridiculous and blasphemous," and they maintained that the bishop might "as well say to the sea, when it rageth and swelleth, Peace, be quiet, as say, Receive," etc.² Their objections led Richard Hooker to consider the form very fully, and with his vindication of it we may well rest content. The main points in his defence of it are these: (1) The term "the Holy Ghost" is often used to signify the gifts of the Spirit as well as the Person of the Holy Ghost. (2) Authority and power for the ministry is a spiritual gift. (3) He, then, through whom the power is given may surely say, "Receive." (4) If our Lord, in ordaining, used the words (S. John xx. 22), why may not His ministers, seeing that the same power is now given? (5) The use of the words teaches and acts as a constant reminder that, "as disposers of God's mysteries, our words, judgments, acts, and deeds are not ours, but the Holy Ghost's."³

Of course, if it be held that no special spiritual power is given to Christ's ministers, and that they are not "sent" by Him, as He was "sent" by the Father, the words may well appear not only ridiculous, but blasphemous. But by those who hold that such powers have been granted for the benefit of the Church, and transmitted in the line of the regular ministry, no serious

¹ The words in brackets were only added in 1662. They were therefore, as a matter of fact, not before the Puritans of Elizabeth's reign.

² Admonition to Parliament, and "T.C." quoted in Hooker, bk. V, c. lxxvii. 5.

³ Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, bk. V. c. lxxvii.

difficulty can be raised concerning the use of this particular imperative form of words, although it cannot be considered as *essential*, since it is of comparatively late introduction into the Church, not being found in the older Pontificals and Ordination Services.¹

II. *The Objections of the Romanists.*

The Roman objections to the validity of Anglican orders have been singularly varied; those which at one time were most confidently relied on being at another quietly discarded in favour of fresh ones which a diligent search had been able to discover. They may be divided into two classes: (*a*) historical difficulties as to the succession; and (*b*) alleged insufficiency of the form, and lack of "intention." Apparently at the present time the tendency is to rely exclusively on the latter. But the former have been urged with such persistency that it is necessary to recapitulate them here, and give a brief outline of the answer returned to them.

(*a*) *Historical difficulties as to the succession.*—Shortly after the accession of Elizabeth, objections were taken by the Romanists to the *legal* status of the newly-consecrated bishops, partly in consequence of the fact that at Parker's consecration it had been found impossible to comply with the terms of an Act of Parliament of Henry VIII.'s reign, requiring a metropolitan to be consecrated by an archbishop and two bishops, or else by four bishops in the occupation of sees;² partly because the Act of Mary's reign which repealed the Prayer Book had mentioned

¹ See Martene, *De Antiquis Eccl. Ritibus*, vol. ii. p. 22; and cf. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. ii. p. 231 (ed. 2).

² 25 Henr. VIII. c. 20. See the account of Bonner's objections to Horn's jurisdiction in Strype, *Annals*, i. p. 377; and cf. Denny and Lacey, *De Hierarchia Anglicana*, p. 9.

the Ordinal separately, whereas Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, which brought back the legal use of the Prayer Book, had not done so.¹ All such objections were, however, disposed of by Act of Parliament in 1566,²—an Act which is only referred to here because it has sometimes been alleged as if it involved a practical confession of the invalidity of our orders. More serious are the allegations subsequently raised, that the succession of bishops really failed at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign. Shortly after her accession no fewer than ten of the twenty-seven sees were vacant by death, including Canterbury, and as fifteen bishops had been deprived, it is natural that this should appear the weakest point in the chain of our succession. Accordingly Roman controversialists have strained their energies to the utmost to prove that the chain was broken, and that Parker, through whom the great majority of subsequent English bishops have derived their orders,³ was never validly consecrated. It is, however, a very remarkable fact that no such objection was ever heard of during his lifetime. The earliest rumour of it appears in 1604, forty-five years after Parker's consecration, and twenty-five after his death. In this year the notorious "Nag's Head fable" was set afloat by an exiled Roman priest named Holywood, who asserted that Parker had been "consecrated" by a mock ceremony at the Nag's Head tavern. The story is so palpably ridiculous, and its falsehood so glaring, that it is now almost universally discredited,⁴ and Romans themselves have been forced to

¹ Denny and Lacey, *ubi supra*.

² 8 Eliz. c. 1.

³ It must, however, be remembered that the Italian and Irish successions also met in Laud, and that, therefore, the validity of our orders is not really entirely dependent on the due consecration of Parker. See Denny and Lacey, p. 6, and Appendix I.

⁴ Denny and Lacey, however, give instances where the story has been treated as true by recent Roman Catholic controversialists, see p. 215.

admit that "it is so absurd on the face of it that it has led to the suspicion of Catholic theologians not being sincere in the objections they make to Anglican orders."¹ In refutation of it, it may be sufficient to point out the following facts:—

(1) According to the original author of the story, it merely rested on hearsay, for Holywood asserted in 1604 that he had *heard* it from one Neal, one of Bonner's chaplains, who had died in 1590.

(2) As Fuller quaintly puts it, "rich men do not steal." There was no possible reason for Parker to submit to such a ceremony. He was a man with a clear head, well aware of the difficulties of his position, and no possible motive can be suggested why he should have consented to be a party to such a transaction.

(3) There is abundant contemporary evidence of his consecration in due form in diocesan registers, in contemporary letters, in Machyn's Diary, in the diary of Parker himself, and in a MS. memorandum in the handwriting of his own son.

(4) The official records in the Registry of Canterbury, and MSS. given by Parker himself to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, attest his consecration in due form at Lambeth (December 17, 1559) by Barlow (previously Bishop of Bath and Wells, and at that time elect to Chichester), assisted by Scory (late of Chichester), Coverdale (late of Exeter), and Hodgkins (suffragan of Bedford).²

The lie, for it is nothing else, concerning the mock ceremony at the Nag's Head was nailed to the counter when it first appeared, and, finding that it was hopelessly

¹ Estcourt, *The Question of Anglican Ordinations discussed*, p. 154.

² For the full refutation of the story reference may be made to Lingard, vol. vi. note DD; Haddan's *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England*, p. 180 *seq.*; and Denny and Lacey, p. 211 *seq.*

discredited, Roman Catholic controversialists very soon changed their ground, and in 1616 impugned the validity of Parker's consecration by raising the question whether Barlow, the principal consecrator, had ever been himself consecrated. The facts with regard to Barlow are these. He was nominated first to the see of S. Asaph in Henry VIII.'s reign as early as 1536. In the same year to S. David's. In 1547 he was translated to Bath and Wells. In Mary's reign he was deprived, and at Elizabeth's accession appointed to Chichester. There are several documents which speak of his "election" and "confirmation." But the registers make no mention of his consecration; and consequently it has been asserted that Barlow, whose views of the Episcopal office were certainly somewhat lax, had never submitted to it, and therefore was never really a bishop at all. Now, it must be noticed that even if Barlow had never been really consecrated, it would not affect the validity of Parker's consecration, and therefore of orders derived through him, because we are expressly told that all the four bishops said the words of consecration and laid their hands on Parker's head.¹ But, as a matter of fact, there is really no sort of reason for questioning Barlow's due consecration. Once more a bare summary of the argument is all that can here be given.

(1) The registrar during Cranmer's Episcopate has omitted *eight* other consecrations (which have never been doubted) out of a total of forty-five; and the records of consecrations have been omitted or lost in other Archiepiscopates as well, in particular in Warham's just before, and Pole's just after Cranmer's. These facts show that the registers were very carelessly kept, and that therefore no stress can be laid on the absence of the registration in Barlow's case.

¹ Cf. Brightman in *Church Historical Society Lectures*, vol. i. p. 171.

(2) By law, consecration was to follow confirmation within twenty days, under penalty of *præmunire*. For what possible reason could Barlow have subjected himself to the risk of incurring such a penalty?

(3) There is abundant evidence that he was regarded as a bishop by his contemporaries; even Gardiner styles him "bishop," and his "brother of S. David's."

(4) He acted in various ways which of necessity presuppose consecration, *e.g.* he sat in the House of Lords and the Upper House of Convocation, assisted at the consecration of other bishops, and *administered his diocese for years without a single person demurring to his jurisdiction.*

(5) Not the smallest doubt was thrown upon his consecration until forty-eight years after his death (1616), when the Nag's Head fable had broken down.¹

These are the only instances in which it has been possible for the most vigilant eyes to detect any possibility of doubting the succession of Anglican orders; and the attack seems only to have brought out the strength of our case. In the latest Roman Catholic utterance this seems tacitly admitted, for all such objections, which for more than two centuries and a half had been so persistently urged, are quietly ignored. Not a word is said of them in the Papal Bull, *Apostolicæ Curæ* (1896); and we may therefore hope that we have heard the last of them. There remains the second class of objections previously referred, on which the whole case against our orders appears to be based at present, *viz.*—

(b) Alleged insufficiency of form, and lack of "intention."

In regard to the "form" of ordination, the grounds of complaint have varied from time to time. At one time it was asserted that Anglican orders were invalid because

¹ See Denny and Lacey, p. 26 *seq.*

of the disuse of the ceremony of the *porrectio instrumentorum*, or delivery of the sacred vessels to all who are consecrated to the priesthood.¹ It is well known that Pope Eugenius IV., in his decree to the Armenians (1439), made the "form" of the Sacrament of Orders consist in this ceremony;² and if the Pope was right in this, there can be no question that not only Anglican orders are invalid, but also the orders of the whole Church, for it is absolutely certain that this ceremony did not exist till after many centuries of Christianity had elapsed. This is abundantly proved by Morinus, who shows that the ceremony is wanting in all the older ordination services of the Church;³ and consequently the objection at the present day takes a somewhat different shape. It is no longer said that the ceremony in itself is essential; but that the form is inadequate and insufficient because everything which implies the *sacerdotium*, and the power of offering sacrifice, has been eliminated from the rite. The special omissions which are said to establish this are two. *Firstly*, from 1550 up to the last revision of the Ordinal in 1662 there was no special mention in the formula of Ordination of the office for which the aid of the Holy Ghost was sought. The form was simply this: "Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou dost forgive," etc.; and for the consecration of a bishop: "Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is in thee, by

¹ In the first reformed English Ordinal the ceremony was retained, though the words referring to the power of sacrificing were omitted. "The bishop shall deliver to every one of them the Bible in the one hand, *and the chalice or cup with the bread in the other hand*, and say: Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the holy sacrament in this congregation." The words placed in italics were, however, entirely omitted in 1552.

² Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. ix. p. 434.

³ Morinus, *De Ordinatione*. Pars III. exercit. vii.; cf. Denny and Lacey, p. 107.

imposition of hands: for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and love, and of soberness." Not till 1662 were the words "for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands," and the corresponding words in the consecration of a bishop, "for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God now committed unto thee," etc., inserted. *Secondly*, when the English Ordinal was put forth in 1550, the words which definitely speak of the power of sacrificing were dropped: "Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis." It is said that these omissions involve an entire change in the whole conception of orders, and thus invalidate the form. In answer to this, it may be pointed out that the words omitted are confessedly of late introduction, and therefore cannot be regarded as essential.¹ What was done in 1550 was to *revert to a scriptural formula in each case*, and to say that to do this invalidates the form is to prove too much. In the case of priests, the form used is the very one used by our Lord Himself, and therefore must be sufficient to confer whatever powers were conferred by it in the first instance; and we ask to confer no more. In the case of bishops, the words of S. Paul referring to the consecration of Timothy (2 Tim. i. 7) are employed, and the whole context makes it perfectly clear that it is for the office and work of a bishop that the gift of the Holy Ghost is sought. Moreover, in this case the corresponding form in the Latin Pontifical is equally indeterminate, as there, too, there is no specific mention of the office and work of a bishop. Further, with regard to the omission of the words which confer the power of sacrificing, it must be remembered that the formula of ordination as used in the Church of England includes,

¹ See further, Denny and Lacey, p. 72 *seq.*

and has always included, a commission to minister the sacraments; and this must necessarily include a commission to "offer" the Eucharistic sacrifice, in whatever sense the Eucharist be a sacrifice. It has been truly said that "the sacrifice of the Eucharist is not something superadded to the sacrament. It cannot be more than is included in 'Do this in remembrance of me.' Whatever it is or is not, it cannot be more than is covered by 'the perpetual memory of that His precious death until His coming again.' In conferring the authority to celebrate the Eucharist, the Church cannot help conferring the power of sacrifice, even if she would."¹ But, as was shown under Article XXXI., there is not the slightest ground for thinking that the Church of England ever wished to deny the Eucharistic sacrifice when rightly understood. "The Sacrifices of Masses," as often taught in the sixteenth century, she was rightly concerned to deny. And in her desire to repudiate what was false and heretical, it may be that she went further than was necessary in omitting reference to the Eucharistic sacrifice. But this is the utmost that can be fairly said; and it is a simple matter of fact that the commission to offer the Eucharist must be included in the "authority . . . to minister the holy sacraments in the congregation," which is given to every Anglican priest at the time of his ordination.

There remains the objection that our orders are invalid through lack of "intention." It has been said that "the Church does not judge about the mind and intention in so far as it is by its nature internal; but in so far as it is manifested externally, she is bound to judge concerning it. When any one has rightly and seriously made use of the due form and the matter requisite for effecting or conferring the sacrament, he is considered by the

¹ Brightman in *Church Historical Society Lectures*, vol. i. p. 189.

very fact to do what the Church does. On this principle rests the doctrine that a sacrament is truly conferred by the ministry of one who is a heretic or unbaptized, provided the Catholic rite be employed."¹ This utterance of the highest authority in the Roman Church relieves us from the necessity of considering the private opinions of Barlow or Cranmer, or any others. If the due form be rightly and seriously made use of, that is all that is required. A parody or unseemly jest would not be a valid sacrament, even if the proper matter and form of words were used, because the lack of intention would be "externally manifest"; but where the ceremony is performed *as a Church ceremony*, there the intention of the Church is present, even if the minister be himself heretical. As Hooker puts it: "Inasmuch as sacraments are actions religious and mystical, which nature they have not unless they proceed from a serious meaning, and what every man's private mind is, as we cannot know, so neither are we bound to examine; therefore in these cases the known intent of the Church generally doth suffice, and where the contrary is not manifest, we may presume that he which outwardly doth the work hath inwardly the purpose of the Church of God."²

That then with which we are concerned is not the "private mind" of any of the Reformers, but the form of the rite as expressing the mind of the Church of England; and if it could be proved that the rite was changed "with the manifest intention of introducing another rite not approved by the Church, and of rejecting what the Church does, and what by the institution of Christ belongs to the nature of the sacrament,"³ then

¹ The Papal Bull, *Apostolicæ Curæ*.

² Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. V. c. lviii. 3.

³ The Papal Bull, *Apostolicæ Curæ*.

indeed, it might be fairly held that defect of intention was established. But, as a matter of fact, the Church of England has been particularly careful to express her intention, and to make it perfectly clear that it was no new rite which she introduced in the sixteenth century, but that *her intention was to continue the ancient orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, which had come to her from the days of the Apostles themselves*. In witness to this, appeal may be made to the Preface, which since 1550 has stood in the forefront of the Ordinal.¹ It is there stated that "it is evident unto all men diligently reading holy Scripture, and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there hath been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church—bishops, priests, and deacons, which offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man by his own private authority might presume to execute any of them except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same; and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto. And therefore, *to the intent these orders should be continued*, and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England, it is requisite that no man (not being at this present bishop, priest, nor deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following." It is hard to conceive what more could be asked for, since it would be difficult to frame words which should express with greater clearness that the intention of the Church was not to make a new ministry, but to continue that which already existed. But if further proof of the mind of the Church be demanded, it may be found not only in the form of

¹ A few verbal changes were introduced in 1662, as may be seen by comparing the Preface as it stands in a modern Prayer Book with the form here given in the text.

service used which throughout speaks of "priests" and "bishops," but also in the fact that the Church of England recognises the priesthood of the Church of Rome; and while she takes the utmost care to guard her altars from unauthorised ministrations, yet whenever a Roman priest joins the Anglican Communion, he is recognised as a priest at once, and is in virtue of his ordination in the Church of Rome admitted to celebrate the sacraments. This could not be, unless the office were intended to be the same as that which he had already received. We conclude, then, that the objection on the score of *defect of intention* fails, as the other objections previously enumerated have failed; and that there is nothing to make us feel a shadow of doubt as to the validity of our orders, or as to the statement of the Article, that **the Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and ordering of priests and deacons . . . doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering . . . and therefore whosoever are consecrate or ordered according to the rites of that book . . . all such [are] rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.**¹

¹ It has been impossible in the space available to give more than the briefest outline of the objections that have been raised against the validity of Anglican Orders, and of the answers returned to them. Fuller information must be sought in some of the many excellent treatises which exist upon the subject. Among older books, A. W. Haddan's *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England* may be mentioned; and reference should also be made to Denny and Lacey, *De Hierarchia Anglicana*, which brings the subject fully up to date, and considers the objections in the latest form in which they have been presented. See also *The Bull Apostolicæ Curæ and the Edwardine Ordinal*, by F. W. Puller; and for the practice of the Roman Church as to the reordination in Mary's reign of those who had been ordained according to the Edwardian Ordinal, see W. H. Frere, *The Marian Reaction in its relation to the English Clergy*. See also Moberly's *Ministerial Priesthood*, an important work which has appeared since the above note was written.

ARTICLE XXXVII

De civilibus Magistratibus.

Regia Majestas in hoc Angliæ Regno ac cæteris ejus Dominiis, summam habet potestatem, ad quam omnium statuum hujus Regni sive illi ecclesiastici sunt sive non, in omnibus causis suprema gubernatio pertinet, et nulli externæ jurisdictioni est subjecta, nec esse debet.

Cum Regiæ Majestati summam gubernationem tribuimus, quibus titulis intelligimus animos quorundam calumniatorum offendi: non damus Regibus nostris aut verbi Dei aut sacramentorum administrationem, quod etiam Injunctiones ab Elizabetha Regina nostra nuper æditæ, apertissime testantur: sed eam tantum prærogativam, quam in sacris Scripturis a Deo ipso omnibus piis Principibus, videmus semper fuisse attributam, hoc est, ut omnes status atque ordines fidei suæ a Deo commissos, sive illi ecclesiastici sint, sive civiles, in officio contineant, et contumaces ac delinquentes, gladio civili coerceant.

Romanus Pontifex nullam habet jurisdictionem in hoc regno Angliæ.

Leges Civiles possunt Christianos propter capitalia et gravia crimina morte punire.

Christianis licet et ex mandato

Of the Civil Magistrates.

The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word, or of Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen, doth most plainly testify: But that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God Himself, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England.

The laws of the Realm may

Magistratus arma portare et justa¹
bella administrare.

punish Christian men with death,
for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at
the commandment of the Magis-
trate, to wear weapons, and serve in
the wars.

VERY important alterations were made in this Article in 1563, when the first paragraph was entirely rewritten, and the second, referring to Elizabeth's Injunctions, introduced for the first time. Instead of the very careful and guarded statement of the Royal supremacy now contained in these two paragraphs, the Edwardian Article had bluntly stated that "the King of England is supreme head in earth, next under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland." It also contained a clause (omitted in 1563) after that referring to the Bishop of Rome, stating in Scriptural language that "the civil magistrate is ordained and allowed of God: wherefore we must obey him, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience' sake" (cf. Rom. xiii. 1, 5).

The object of the Article is (1) to explain and justify the tenet of the Royal supremacy, (2) to assert formally the repudiation of the jurisdiction of the Pope, and (3) to condemn the attitude of the Anabaptists with regard to the obedience due to the magistrate, and the lawfulness of capital punishment and of serving in war. With regard to this last point it may be noted that so formidable was the spread of the Anabaptists, that they were expressly excluded from the pardon granted by Henry VIII. in 1540; and among their errors the following are particularly mentioned: "That it is not lawful for a Christian man to bear office or rule in the Common-

¹ It is not easy to say why there is nothing corresponding to this word in the English. In the series of 1553 "justa bella" was represented by "lawful wars."

wealth,"¹ and "that no man's laws ought to be obeyed."²

The subjects brought before us in this Article may best be treated of under the following heads:—

1. The Royal supremacy.
2. The Papal claims.
3. The lawfulness of capital punishment.
4. The lawfulness of war.

I. *The Royal Supremacy.*

The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

¹ Cf. the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, *De Hæres.* c. 13.

² 32 Henr. VIII. c. 49, § 11. See Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 843, and cf. the Confession of Augsburg, Art. XVI.: "*De rebus civilibus.* De rebus civilibus docent, quod legitimæ ordinationes civiles sint bona opera Dei, quod Christianis liceat gerere magistratus, exercere judicia, judicare res ex imperatoriis, et aliis præsentibus legibus, supplicia jure constituere, jure bellare, militare, lege contrahere, tenere proprium, jusjurandum postulantibus magistratibus dare, ducere uxorem, nubere. Damnant Anabaptistas, qui interdicunt hæc civilia officia Christianis," etc. To the same effect, the twelfth of the Thirteen Articles of 1538: "Licet insuper Christianis universis ut singuli quique pro suo gradu ac conditione juxta divinas ac principum leges et honestas singularum regionum consuetudines, talia munia atque officia obeant et exerceant, quibus mortalis hæc vita vel indiget, vel ornatur, vel conservatur. Nempe ut victum quærant ex honestis artibus, negociantur, faciant contractus, possideant proprium, res suas jure postulent, militent, copulentur legitimo matrimonio, præsent jusjurandum et hujusmodi"; and in Hermann's Consultation, among the errors of the Anabaptists the following is noted: "That to administre the cōmon weale, to exercise cōmon iugementes, to punishe yll doers, be offices and workes contrarie to the preceptes of Christe, whiche a Christian man ought not to do."—English translation (1548), fol. cxi.

In considering the history of the formal assertion of the Royal supremacy, it will be well to mark out clearly two stages—(a) the recognition of the Sovereign as “Supreme Head,” and (b) his recognition as “Supreme Governor.”

(a) The formal recognition of the Sovereign as “Supreme Head” begins in the year 1531. In this year Henry VIII., who was now bent upon obtaining his divorce, with a view to obtaining the ready submission of the clergy when the question should be brought before them, insisted on the introduction of a new form of the king’s title into the preamble of an Act of Convocation by which a grant of money was to be made to the Crown. As originally presented to the Convocation, the form of the title spoke of “the English Church and clergy, of which the king alone is protector and supreme head.” It was, however, only accepted by the clergy with the qualifying clause, “as far as the law of Christ permits.”¹

The following year was marked by the “submission of the clergy,” whereby the Convocation formally acknowledged that the Royal licence was necessary for Convocation to meet, and to make Canons, and also agreed that the existing Canon Law should be reviewed by a Commission appointed by the Crown.²

Meanwhile Parliament had begun to pass a series of

¹ “Ecclesiæ, et cleri Anglicani, ejus singularem protectorem unicum et supremum dominum, et quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput ipsius majestatem recognoscimus.” For the history of this see Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 62 seq. The text of this and the other formal Acts by which the Royal supremacy was recognised are conveniently collected together in the *Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission*, vol. i. p. 70.

² Dixon, vol. i. p. 110, *Eccl. Courts Commission*, p. 71. It was this agreement that the Canon Law should be reviewed which led to the appointment of the various Commissions from which the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* emanated. As, however, was mentioned on p. 28, it never received any authority whatever.

Acts to restrain the Papal jurisdiction in this country, such as the Act for restraint of Appeals (1533), and thus to secure the supremacy of the Crown over all persons and causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil; and in 1534, not only was the submission of the clergy embodied in an Act of Parliament,¹ but an Act was passed asserting the supreme headship of the Crown, and defining its character.²

In this it was stated that, "albeit the king's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy of this realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate errors, heresies, and other enormities, and abuses heretofore used in the same: be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament that the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia, and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm as well the title and stile thereof as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they may be, which by any manner spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may lawfully be reformed,

¹ 25 Henr. VIII. c. 19.

² 26 Henr. VIII. c. 1. See *Ecc. Courts Commission*, p. 72.

repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm, any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding."

The title "supreme head" was thus formally taken by Henry VIII. Its use was continued by Edward VI., and (at her accession) by Mary, who used it in the early proclamations of her reign.¹ She, however, is the last English sovereign who has ever claimed it. It was dropped by her on her marriage with Philip of Spain in 1554. The "Supreme Head Act," cited above, was legally repealed, *and has never been re-enacted*. But for twenty years, from 1534 to 1554, the "supreme headship" was a tremendous reality. It "involved a claim on the part of the Crown to exercise spiritual jurisdiction,² and not merely to see that the spiritual authorities exercised their jurisdiction, and was a wholly new and unprecedented claim." "For twenty years the independent jurisdiction of the Church, exercised by her own officers—the ordinaries—and in her own courts according to her own law, was superseded by the authority of the Crown, and the ordinaries became only the officers of the Government, in virtue of the powers said to be vested in the Crown by the recognition of its supreme headship."³

¹ Jewel makes good use of this fact as against the Romanists more than once. See his *Works* (Parker Society ed.), vol. i. p. 61, and iv. p. 974.

² Henry VIII. actually claimed to delegate the exercise of this spiritual jurisdiction to whomsoever he would, and in 1535 appointed Thomas Cromwell to be his vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters.

³ Wakeman, *Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, pp. 318, 320, where there is an admirable sketch of the whole subject.

The Church, it must be admitted, after her first protest, acquiesced in and submitted to this tyranny, and during this period many utterly irregular and unconstitutional things were done. Happily the period of the supreme headship was of no long duration, and there is no need to enter further into the history of it here.

(b) On the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, Mary's Act abolishing the old Act of Supremacy remained unrepealed; but a new Act was passed, claiming for the Crown the title of "supreme governor" instead of "supreme head."¹ And although the Act of Parliament conceded to the Crown large powers, and claimed for it, as Henry's Act did, spiritual jurisdiction, yet, when some of the clergy scrupled to take the oath enjoined by the Act, the sovereign put forth an explanation of it in "an Admonition to simple men deceived by malicious," which was appended to the Injunctions of 1559. This explanation is not altogether consistent with itself, for it claims the authority challenged and used by Henry VIII., but then proceeds at once to define and very materially limit its meaning, describing it as "of ancient time due to the Imperial Crown of this realm, that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them." And it is added that "if any person, that hath conceived any other sense of the form of the said oath, shall accept the same oath with this interpretation, sense, or meaning; Her Majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf as her good and obedient subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of penalties contained in the

¹ Eliz. c. 1. See *Eccl. Courts Commission*, p. 73.

said Act against such as shall peremptorily or obstinately refuse to take the same oath.”¹

The explanation thus given is of the utmost importance. It forms an authoritative commentary upon and interpretation of the Act of Parliament, and, taken in connection with the alteration of style and the adoption of the title of “supreme governor” in place of that of “supreme head,”² it indicates a real and substantial change in the conception of the Royal supremacy. It reduces it within reasonable limits, and gives it a far more constitutional character, and one more in accordance with ancient precedents, than could be claimed for the form it had assumed under Henry VIII. Further, it should be noted that Elizabeth’s acts entirely bore out the interpretation which she gave in her Injunctions. Her *government* of the Church was a very real thing, but she was most careful to maintain that it is “the Church,” and not the Crown, which “hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and hath authority in controversies of faith;” and the powers which she claimed and exercised were visitorial and corrective, a right of supervision rather than of ordinary administration such as Henry VIII. and Edward VI. with his Council had exercised. It is, then, in this limited and qualified sense that the Royal supremacy was accepted by the Church at the accession of Elizabeth, and all subsequent documents that can claim to speak with any authority whatever upon the subject concur in regarding it in this light. Ignorant people have often spoken of the sovereign as “head” of the Church, but entirely without warrant.

¹ See Cardwell’s *Documentary Annals*, vol. i. p. 232.

² “The Queen is unwilling to be addressed, either by word of mouth or in writing, as the head of the Church of England. For she seriously maintains that this honour is due to Christ alone, and cannot belong to any human being soever.”—Jewel to Bullinger, *Zurich Letters*, vol. i. p. 33.

“Concerning the title of ‘supreme head of the Church, we need not to search for Scripture to excuse it. For, first, we devised it not; secondly, we use it not; thirdly, our princes at this present claim it not.” So wrote Jewel in 1567,¹ and his words remain true still. The interpretation given in the Injunctions was expressly referred to in the Articles of 1563, so that, after claiming for the sovereign the chief *government* of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, the Article proceeds to explain with great care in what this consists.

Where we attribute to the Queen’s Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended: we give not to our princes the ministering either of God’s word or of sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen doth most plainly testify: But that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in holy Scriptures by God Himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

To the same effect in the proclamation issued on the occasion of the northern rebellion in 1569, Elizabeth expressly declared that she pretended “no right to define Articles of faith, to change ancient ceremonies formerly adopted by the Catholic and Apostolic Church, or to minister the word or the sacraments of God; but that she conceived it her duty to take care that all estates under her rule should live in the faith and obedience

¹ *Defence of the Apology, Works*, vol. iv. p. 974.

of the Christian religion; to see all laws ordained for that end duly observed; and to provide that the Church be governed and taught by archbishops, bishops, and ministers.”¹

Once more, in the “Royal Declaration” prefixed to the Articles in 1628, the sovereign is made to say that—

“Being at God’s ordinance, according to our just title, *Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Governor of the Church, within these our Dominions*, we hold it most agreeable to this our kingly office, and our own religious zeal, to conserve and maintain the Church committed to our charge in unity of true religion, and in the bond of peace; and not to suffer unnecessary disputations, altercations, or questions to be raised, which may nourish faction both in the Church and Commonwealth. We have therefore, upon mature deliberation, and with the advice of so many of our bishops as might conveniently be called together, thought fit to make this declaration following:

“That we are Supreme Governor of the Church of England: and that if any difference arise about the external policy, concerning the *Injunctions, Canons*, and other *Constitutions* whatsoever thereto belonging, the clergy in their Convocations is to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under our broad seal so to do: and we approving their said ordinances and constitutions, providing that none be made contrary to the laws and customs of the land.”

These documents are all-important ones, as showing how the supremacy was explained to and accepted by the Church. Something more, however, may here be added in justification of it.

The Article claims that it is only the “prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly

¹ Quoted in Hook’s *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. vi. p. 55.

princes in holy Scriptures by God Himself." This is the view of it which was strongly pressed in the sixteenth century, when an appeal was frequently made to the position occupied by the head of the State in the system of the Jews under the Old Covenant. So Jewel writes that "Queen Elizabeth doth as did Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, Josias, Jehoshaphat."¹ But the position of the Jewish Commonwealth was so peculiar that it may be doubted whether the appeal was altogether a fair one, or whether the position of the sovereign is perfectly analogous to that occupied by the Hebrew monarchs. It is better to refer rather to those passages of the New Testament which support the claims of established authority to loyal obedience, as Rom. xiii. and 1 Pet. ii. 13–17. The Church, it must be remembered, exists as a spiritual society under the conditions of civil life. Its members must therefore be subject to the law of the State as to conduct and the enjoyment of the civil rights. Thus in very early days appeals were made even to heathen emperors by the Church where cases of property and civil rights were concerned.² And if Cranmer was right in asserting that no more is given to the sovereign by the assertion of the Royal supremacy than was conceded to Nero, who was "head" of the Church in S. Paul's day, or might be conceded to the Grand Turk, who in the same way is "head" of the Church in his dominions,³ certainly

¹ Jewel, *Works*, vol. iv. p. 1145.

² *E.g.* in the case of Paul of Samosata, who refused to give up the bishop's house after his deposition by the Council of Antioch in 269. After the defeat of Zenobia, the aid of Aurelian was invoked to give effect to the sentence of the Synod, and in 272, by the help of the civil power, Paul was ejected. See Eusebius, *H. E.* VII. xxx.

³ "Every king in his own realm and dominion is supreme head. . . . Nero was head of the Church, that is, in worldly respect of the temporal bodies of men, of whom the Church consisteth; for so he beheaded Peter

nothing more than a general reference to the language of the Apostles on the obedience due to constituted authority is required to justify it. It cannot, however, be seriously maintained that this is *all* that is intended by it. The conversion of the empire introduced a new state of things, and put the emperor into a new relation towards the Church. From this time forward a vague authority in the affairs of the Church was considered to be vested in him over and above his ordinary jurisdiction over all men. He was supposed to be in perfect harmony with the Church. His duty was to see its laws carried out; and to him it appertained to summon General Councils.¹ In later days, under the "Holy Roman Empire," the same thing is seen. It may be seen in the laws of Charles the Great, which "illustrate the action of a strong monarch. When a case could not be settled before the bishop or the metropolitan, he directed that it should be brought finally before himself. The Synods referred their decisions to him that they might be supplemented, amended, and confirmed. He claimed for himself the right and the duty of following the example of Josiah in endeavouring to bring back to God the kingdom committed to him, by visitation, correction, admonition, in virtue of his royal office."²

It is something of the same position and power which has been conceded to the sovereign in the Church of England; and the formal documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which claim it as the "*ancient jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical*,"³ are perfectly

and the Apostles. And the Turk, too, is head of the Church of Turkey."
—Examination at Oxford, 1555; *Remains*, p. 219.

¹ Cf. *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission*, p. xv.

² *Ib.* p. xvi., where see references.

³ Canon 1 of 1604. In the third Canon it is maintained that the sovereign has "the same authority in causes ecclesiastical that the godly kings had amongst the Jews, and Christian emperors of the primitive Church."

justified in their claim. "The early English laws prove that similar powers [to those claimed by Charles the Great] were exerted by the sovereigns before the Conquest; and throughout the medieval period the English king never surrendered his supreme visitorial power, the power of determining finally, on his own responsibility and at his own discretion, the ecclesiastical relations of his subjects."¹ Or, as Mr. Wakeman puts it, "the constitutional character of the supremacy of the Crown . . . does not differ in principle from that exercised by William I. or Edward I., being in its essence the right of supervision over the administration of the Church, vested in the Crown as the champion of the Church, in order that the religious welfare of its subjects may be duly provided for."² Thus we maintain that, while its formal assertion in the sixteenth century grew out of the necessity for national resistance to foreign claims, yet the supremacy itself was no new thing. Questions of the utmost importance and delicacy may, of course, arise in connection with it; and in the present day, when the powers formerly exercised by the Crown have so largely passed from the personal control of the sovereign to the Parliament, a wholly new state of things has arisen. This has been greatly complicated by the unfortunate Act of 1833 (to say nothing of later legislation), which abolished the ancient Court of Delegates, in which the Crown appointed the members of the final Court of appeal in ecclesiastical causes, and transferred its powers to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. But into the vexed question of the Ecclesiastical Courts there is no necessity to enter here. All that we are at present concerned with is this, viz. that since the Royal supremacy as explained to and accepted by the Church

¹ *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, ubi supra.*

² *Introduction to the History of the Church of England, p. 321.*

is for all practical purposes identical with that anciently enjoyed by the Crown in this country, there is no sort of reason why its formal assertion in and since the sixteenth century should be thought to cause a difficulty to loyal Churchmen. The "supreme headship" is not claimed. The extraordinary powers exercised by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. are no longer in force. These the Church repudiates as arbitrary and unconstitutional. The supreme governorship, as defined and limited in the formal documents cited above, she loyally accepts.¹

II. *The Papal Claims.*

The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The statement of the Article sums up as briefly as possible the position taken up by the Church of England in the sixteenth century. It is, of course, well known that during the previous centuries, although a Papal jurisdiction was freely admitted, yet resistance to the claims of Rome was not infrequent, and various Acts were passed to limit the powers of the Pope in this country. But the summary rejection of Papal jurisdiction, as a whole, belongs to the sixteenth century. The account of the steps taken by the Church and State, including the formal declaration by Convocation in 1534, that "the Pope of Rome hath no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God in holy Scripture, in this

¹ It has been impossible to do more than give the briefest outline in regard to the very important subject discussed in this section. Reference has been frequently made in the notes to the *Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission*, as well as to Mr. Wakeman's valuable note on the subject. To these the reader is referred for fuller details; and with them mention should be made of Mr. Gladstone's famous letter to Bishop Blomfield, "*The Royal Supremacy as it is defined by reason, history, and the Constitution.*"

kingdom of England, than any other foreign bishop,"¹ belongs to the province of ecclesiastical history, and there is no need to summarise the details here. What is required is to show that the action of the Church of England can be justified, and that the statement of the Article is true. If it be a fact that our Lord conferred upon S. Peter a position and power superior to that of the other Apostles, and that this has been transmitted to his successors in the see of Rome, so that the Pope is by Divine appointment head of the universal Church, then clearly the Church of England was in the wrong in asserting her freedom from his jurisdiction. What is necessary for us here, then, is to consider (*a*) the Scriptural grounds on which the Papal claims are based, and (*b*) the evidence from the early Church concerning these claims; for if it can be established that no position of "supremacy" involving universal jurisdiction was granted by our Lord to S. Peter, and no such position conceded to the bishops of Rome in primitive times, then it would seem to follow that the assertion of the Papal claims in later days was an unwarrantable usurpation, and that the Church of England was perfectly justified in the formal repudiation of them which it made in the sixteenth century.²

(*a*) *The Scriptural grounds on which the Papal claims are based.*

Three passages of the New Testament are quoted by

¹ See Dixon's *History of the Church of England*, vol. i. pp. 227, 238.

² The decree of the Vatican Council (1870), "Pastor Æternus," is so drawn as really to put out of court any appeal to theories of "development" in connection with the Roman claims, for it boldly asserts that the tradition received *a fidei Christianæ exordio* attests (1) the right of the bishop of Rome to a universal jurisdiction, plenary, supreme, ordinary, and immediate; and (2) his infallibility when defining *ex cathedra* a doctrine on faith and conduct as to be held by the Church universal. Cf. Bright's *Roman See in the Early Church*, p. 2.

modern Papalists—(1) the promise to S. Peter in S. Matthew xvi. ; (2) our Lord's words to him in S. Luke xxii. 32 ; and (3) the threefold commission in S. John xxi. Of these the first is far the most important.

“I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church ; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.”

In considering this passage, it should be noticed that the words concerning “binding” and “loosing,” here addressed to S. Peter, are afterwards spoken to the Apostles generally (c. xviii. 18). Consequently whatever power was conferred by them upon S. Peter was afterwards granted equally to the others. But the earlier part of the promise refers to S. Peter alone. Admitting, however, for the sake of argument that the “rock” is Peter himself, yet it still remains that the promise appears to be a strictly *personal* one. There is no indication whatever in it of any headship capable of transmission to a series of successors in his see. It is far more natural to take the words as referring by anticipation to the historical position taken by S. Peter in the foundation of the Church, and to see its fulfilment in the early chapters of the Acts, where S. Peter takes the lead throughout, but nowhere claims for himself any powers not enjoyed by the other Apostles, nor acts apart from them. In order to establish the Roman interpretation of the passage, which is certainly not suggested by its terms, it would be necessary to show that from the very first there had existed a strong tradition in the Church thus interpreting it, and referring to it as establishing the Papal claims to headship. *But*

*this is absolutely wanting.*¹ And if this passage breaks down it will scarcely be contended that anything can be proved in favour of the Papacy from S. Luke xxii. 32, or from S. John xxi. The former of these ("I have made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not; and do thou, when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren") is apparently never applied in favour of the Papal claims before the seventh century;² and when the threefold denial of S. Peter is remembered, the threefold commission of S. John xxi. ("Feed My lambs . . . Feed My sheep . . . Feed My sheep") becomes at once his natural restoration to his office, and cannot be regarded as investing him with any position of superiority to the other Apostles.³ But if the appeal is made to Scripture, we must not be content with the consideration of these three passages alone. There are other passages besides these which really bear on the question of the Papal claims, for the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles show us the real position historically occupied by the Apostle, and make it clear it was very far from being one of "headship" in the sense of authority over the whole Church. Certainly in the early chapters of the Acts S. Peter takes the lead in action. But to take the lead in action is one thing; to claim to be supreme head is quite another. And against the notion that his position was one of such authority must be set such facts as these. His conduct is called in question by others, and he vindicates it before the Church (Acts xi. 1-4). S. Paul on one occasion does not hesitate to "resist him to the face, because he stood condemned" (Gal. ii. 11). He is "sent" together with John by the Apostles to Samaria

¹ See Salmon's *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 327 *seq.*, where the passage is fully considered; and cf. Lightfoot's *S. Clement of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 481 *seq.*

² Salmon, *op. cit.* p. 336.

³ *Ib.* p. 339.

(Acts viii. 14). At the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv.) he is not even president: this position being occupied by S. James, who sums up the debate and gives his decision (*διὸ ἐγὼ κλίνω*, ver. 19). This of itself seems conclusive, for it is inconceivable that if our Lord had invested S. Peter with any such authority as that now claimed by the Pope as his successor, any but he could have presided on such an occasion. We may, then, safely say that, while a primacy of repute and honour may be rightly conceded to S. Peter among the Twelve,¹ there is not a shred of evidence in the New Testament that he was ever more than *primus inter pares*, or that even this primacy was capable of being transmitted to others.²

(b) *The evidence of the early Church concerning the Papal claims.*—Let it be admitted that the evidence for S. Peter's visit to Rome, and for regarding him as co-founder with S. Paul of the Church there, is sufficient; and that the succession of bishops in that see may be traced back to him. Yet it does not follow that S. Peter was ever "bishop" of Rome in the modern sense, any more than S. Paul was "bishop" of the various Churches which he founded, or, indeed, of Rome itself. But even if his Episcopate could be proved, we should still be

¹ The position of S. Peter's name as standing *first* in all the lists of the Apostles given in the New Testament, together with the fact that in the list in the Gospel according to S. Matthew the word *πρῶτος* is attached to it (c. x. 2), would seem to point to something like a *primacy* belonging to him. But primacy is not supremacy.

² It must be remembered that we have S. Peter's own Epistles, as well as the accounts of his proceedings and speeches in the Acts; and it is a simple fact that nowhere does he give "the faintest hint of any consciousness of such office as Papalism assigns to him. This is not a mere argument *ex silentio*; if S. Peter had been, by Christ's commission, His unique Vicar, the monarch and oracle of the growing Church, a polity so simple and intelligible must have found expression in Apostolic writings, and could not have been ignored by the 'Vicar' himself."—Bright's *Roman See in the Early Church*, p. 8.

justified in asking for evidence that subsequent bishops inherited from him a position of headship involving universal jurisdiction. And this is just what is not forthcoming. While in later times there is abundant evidence of lofty claims made by the Popes, and (sometimes) admitted by others, in the earlier centuries such language is markedly absent. Attention has recently been drawn to this part of our subject, and the question has been investigated afresh with the greatest care, with the result that it has been conclusively shown, in Dr. Bright's *Roman See in the Early Church*, and in the Rev. F. W. Puller's *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, that during the early centuries nothing whatever was known of the claims made for the Papacy in later times. From the first the Roman Church was invested with a position of great importance in Christendom. Rome was the capital of the world. It was the meeting place for Christians of different nationalities. To it, as to a natural centre, men gravitated from all countries.¹ And thus its bishop came to occupy a position of ever-increasing importance. But history shows us quite clearly that in

¹ Something of this kind is evidently intended by Irenæus in the famous passage in his works (unfortunately only existing in the Latin translation). "Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorē (v.l. potiorem) principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique conservata est ea quæ est ab apostolis traditio" (III. iii.). Irenæus does not mean that every Church "must" as a matter of duty "agree with" the Roman Church on account of its "potentior principalitas"; but that the faithful from all parts "are sure to" (*necesse est*, it is a matter of course) "come together" there. "It is inevitable, S. Irenæus means, that Christians from all other parts of the empire should, from time to time, for various reasons, visit the Church in the great centre of the empire: this is a process which is always going on, which cannot but go on" (Bright, *Roman See*, p. 32). The "superior pre-eminence" belongs, it will be noticed, not to the *bishop*, but to the *Church*, or possibly to the *city*. See Salmon's *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 375 seq. (c. xx.), and Puller's *Primitive Saints*, p. 19 seq. (ed. 3), and cf. Bright, as above.

the second century it was the *Church*, not the *bishop*, to which a kind of primacy was given. The Papal theory inverts this, and makes the importance of the Church depend upon that of the bishop.¹ It is only towards the close of the second century that for the first time we meet with an attempt on the part of a bishop of Rome to assert his authority outside his own proper sphere.² This, however, altogether failed. The action of Victor in attempting to procure a general excommunication of the Quartodeciman Churches of Asia did not commend itself to the other bishops of the West, who (we are told) "rather sharply rebuked him,"³ an expression which could not by any possibility have been used by the historian had the notion of the Papal headship been then in existence.

In the third century the correspondence of S. Cyprian and the history of the controversies in which he was engaged afford us considerable insight into the position then occupied by the bishop of Rome. There is no question that S. Cyprian regarded the see of Rome as the symbol and centre of unity; but his actions,⁴ as well as his words,⁵ make it clear that in his view "the function

¹ The well-known decree of Constantinople (381), which raised the see of that city to the second place in Christendom "because it is the new Rome," shows very plainly the origin of the importance of the bishop of Rome. The canon was confirmed at Chalcedon (451), when it was laid down that the first place belonged to the see of Rome "because that is the imperial city." On the protests of the Roman legates, and the refusal of Leo I. to recognise this, see Salmon's *Infallibility*, p. 416.

² The account is given in Eusebius, V. xxiv. xxv.

³ Φέρονται δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν φωναί, πληκτικώτερον καταπατμένων τοῦ Βίκτορος, Euseb. *l.c.*

⁴ Mention may be made of (1) his persistent opposition to the Roman view of the validity of heretical baptism, and (2) his attitude in regard to appeals, as shown in the case of the Spanish bishops, Basilides and Martial, where he set aside altogether the judgment of Pope Stephen, *Ep.* lxvii.

⁵ For Cyprian's view of S. Peter's position reference should be made to *Ep.* xxxiii., xlv. 1, xlviii. 3, lix. 14, lxx. 3, lxxiii. 7; and *De*

of the Roman see in relation to unity was ideal and typical; it carried with it no jurisdiction, no right to dictate."¹

During the early years of the fourth century the history of the Donatist schism supplies an incidental witness that Rome was not the final authority, for, after the question had been referred by the emperor to Melchiades, bishop of Rome, with a few others, the decision of the Council held by him was reviewed by a larger Council held at Arles, in order that a more authoritative settlement of the question might be arrived at.²

Not until we come to the Council of Sardica, in 343, do we find any *legal* rights beyond those of other bishops granted to the bishops of Rome; and even then the right of hearing appeals in certain cases was a strictly limited one, and was granted by the Council as a new thing, as a matter of ecclesiastical order, and not based on any Divine right or inherent authority of the see of Rome.³ In after years the canon was frequently, though wrongly, appealed to as "Nicene,"⁴ and the confusion was undoubtedly advantageous to the interests of Rome. To this canon may be traced the *beginning* of whatever legal rights of jurisdiction over other Churches were afterwards acquired by the see of

Unit. iv. Cf. Bright's *Roman See*, p. 39 *seq.*; and for the famous interpolation in the last of these passages see *The Pope and the Council*, by "Janus," p. 127.

¹ Robertson in *Church Historical Society Lectures*, vol. ii. p. 230.

² "On papal principles [the Emperor] ought, of course, to have upheld, as by Divine right final, a judgment affirmed by the Roman see. But nothing of the kind occurred to him, or to any one else at the time." —Bright, p. 63, where see the whole account of the incident.

³ The canon in question (Canon iii.) may be seen in Hefele, *Councils*, vol. ii. p. 112; and on it see Bright, p. 85 *seq.*, and Puller, p. 140 *seq.* (ed. 3).

⁴ They were so quoted by Zosimus in the case of Apiarius (Bright, p. 136), as also by Leo I. and others.

Rome. In earlier days, while there is ample evidence of the importance of the *Church*, and of the growing influence of the *bishop*, it is only moral influence, and not legal right of jurisdiction, that can be found. Into the history of the extension of the legal jurisdiction, and the growth of the temporal power (resting largely on forgeries¹), there is no necessity to enter here. In what has been already said it has been sufficiently indicated how there is a complete lack of evidence in the early centuries for the claims subsequently made, and how the power was a matter of gradual growth. The barest outline of the argument has been all that space permitted. Details must be sought in the able works referred to in the text and the footnotes.

III. *The Lawfulness of Capital Punishment.*

The laws of the realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

This subject admits of the briefest treatment. No question can be raised as to the lawfulness of capital punishment under the Old Covenant. Not only was it expressly commanded in various cases under the Mosaic law: but even before the law was given, it was laid down by Divine command that "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed" (Gen. ix. 6). The New Testament nowhere contains an express reversal of this rule. Consequently it can scarcely be maintained that capital punishment is forbidden by the law of God: and no more than this is required. All that the Article asserts is that "the laws of the realm *may* punish Christian men with

¹ On the "false decretals" and the "donation of Constantine," see *The Pope and the Council*, pp. 94 and 131.

death" in certain cases. Into the question whether capital punishment is *advisable* or not there is no need to enter. That is a matter on which opinions may differ, and with which we are not here concerned, for subscription to this statement of the Article will remain unaffected, however it be decided.

IV. *The Lawfulness of War.*

It is lawful for Christian men, at the command of the Magistrate, to wear weapons and serve in the wars (*justa bella administrare*). Once more brevity must be studied, although the question now before us is involved in much greater perplexity than that which has just been considered. All that can here be said is this. Christianity accepted society and social institutions as it found them; but laid down principles which were intended gradually to alter and abolish what was wrong in them. So slavery was accepted by the gospel. There is not one word in the New Testament which directly condemns it. But the principle of brotherhood was proclaimed, and this has so wrought in the hearts of men that it has at length brought about the abolition of slavery in Christian communities. In the same way Christianity accepted war. Our Lord and His Apostles never urged soldiers to give up their calling.¹ But it is hard to resist the conclusion that the principles which are laid down in the gospel *ought*, if they had honestly been applied on a wide scale, to have led long ago to the disuse of war, at least between Christian nations. What is required is that the principles of Christianity should so leaven society that war should become an impossibility. But

¹ See also the directions of the Baptist to the "men on the march" who asked him what they should do, in S. Luke iii. 14.

until this happy result is brought about, in the face of the absence of any directions in the New Testament to soldiers requiring them to forsake their calling, it can scarcely be maintained that it is *not* "lawful for Christian men to wear weapons and serve in the wars." It may be added that the numerous allusions to the military life as affording instructive lessons and analogies to the life of the Christian, appear not only to be based on the supposition that the life thus referred to is in itself a lawful one, but also to indicate that it is especially favourable to the development of certain very essential moral qualities.¹

¹ Reference should be made to the masterly sermon on "War" in Mozley's *University Sermons*, No. V., as well as to the late Aubrey Moore's paper on the same subject in the *Report of the Portsmouth Church Congress*.

ARTICLE XXXVIII

*De illicita bonorum Communica-
tione.*

Facultates et bona Christianorum non sunt communia quoad jus et possessionem, ut quidam Anabaptistæ falso jactant. Debet tamen quisque de his quæ possidet, pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus eleemosynas benigne distribuere.

*Of Christian men's goods which
are not common.*

The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding every man ought of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

THERE has been no alteration whatever in this Article (except in the form of the title¹) since it was first drawn up in 1553. The error of the Anabaptists condemned in it is described more fully in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, from which we learn that the opinion of the community of goods was in some cases pushed to such an extent that it was made to include and justify a community of wives.²

¹ Christianorum bona non sunt communia. Christian men's goods are not common. 1553 and 1563.

² *De Hæres.* c. 14: "*De communitate bonorum et uxorum.* Excludatur etiam ab eisdem Anabaptistis inducta bonorum et possessionum communitas, quam tantopere urgent, ut nemini quicquam relinquat proprium et suum. In quo mirabiliter loquuntur, cum furta prohiberi divina Scriptura cernant, et eleemosynas in utroque Testamento laudari videant, quas ex propriis facultatibus nostris elargimur; quorum sane neutrum consistere posset, nisi Christianis proprietas bonorum et possessionum suarum relinqueretur. Emergunt etiam ex Anabaptistarum lacunis quidam Nicolaitæ, inquinatissimi sane homines, qui foeminarum, imo et uxorum disputant usum per omnes promiscue pervagari debere.

The two subjects of which the Article speaks are these—

1. The community of goods.
2. The duty of almsgiving.

I. *The Community of Goods.*

The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast.

The notion of the Anabaptists here condemned probably originated in a misunderstanding of S. Luke's words in the Acts of the Apostles. Two passages have often been cited in proof of the assertion that Communism proper was the system that originally prevailed in the Apostolic Church, and from them it has been concluded that the same system ought to be practised now, and that consequently the possession of private property by individuals is contrary to the spirit of Christianity.

The passages in question are the following:—

Acts ii. 44, 45: "All that believed were together, and had all things common; and they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, according as any man had need."

C. iv. 32: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul; and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common" (*ἦν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα κοινά*).

Quæ feæda illorum et conscelerata libido primum pietati contraria est et sacris literis, deinde cum universa civili honestate, et naturali illa incorruptaque in mentibus nostris accensa luce vehementur pugnat." Cf. also the quotations given above on p. 761; and see Hermann's *Consultation* (Eng. tr.), fol. cxi.

These passages, however, do not stand alone; and a careful consideration of the whole account given by S. Luke of the early Church in Jerusalem, shows conclusively that what he is here describing is not so much an institution as a temper and spirit. Most certainly the rights of private property were not superseded. Mary the mother of John Mark still retained her own house (Acts xii. 12); while the words of S. Peter to Ananias prove that no necessity was laid upon him to sell his property, "Whilst it remained, did it not remain thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thy power?" Moreover, as will be shown below, there are various injunctions to liberality in almsgiving in the Apostolic Epistles which are incompatible with Communism, for where a strict system of this kind is practised, and the rights of property are superseded, personal almsgiving becomes an impossibility. There are no "rich" to be charged to be "ready to give and glad to distribute."

It may be added, that while there there is no trace elsewhere of any system of Communism adopted by the Church, yet expressions are used by later writers¹ which afford striking parallels to those employed by S. Luke, and show us that no violence is done to his words if they are understood of the eager, enthusiastic spirit of love which so prevailed among the early Christians as to lead them to regard whatever they possessed as at the disposal

¹ Thus in the *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* we read: "If thou have in thine hands, thou shalt give for ransom of thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, neither shalt thou grudge when thou givest: for thou shalt know who is the recompenser of the reward. Thou shalt not turn aside from him that needeth, but *shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own*; for if ye are fellow-sharers in that which is imperishable, how much more in the things that are perishable," c. iv. Tertullian also writes as follows: "One in mind and soul, we do not hesitate to share our earthly goods with one another. *All things are common among us, but our wives*," Apol. xxxix.

of their brethren; and not of any formal or systematic plan of Communism.¹

II. *The Duty of Almsgiving.*

Every man ought of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

That almsgiving is a Christian duty scarcely needs formal proof. It is sufficient to refer to—

(1) Our Lord's words in the Sermon on the Mount, where He does not command it, but rather *takes for granted* that His followers will practise it, and gives directions concerning the manner of doing it, as He does also with regard to the two other duties of prayer and fasting (S. Matthew vi. 1 *seq.*; cf. also S. Luke xii. 33).

(2) The directions concerning it in the Apostolic Epistles,² *e.g.* "Charge them that are rich in this present world . . . that they do good, that they be rich in good works, that they be ready to distribute, willing to communicate; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on the life which is life indeed," 1 Tim. vi. 17–19.

¹ On the position of some modern Communists, who affirm that Communism was the natural outcome of the Law of Equality implied in Christ's teaching, and maintain that "Jesus Christ Himself not only proclaimed, preached, and prescribed Communism as a consequence of fraternity, but practised it with His Apostles" (Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, p. 567); see Kaufmann's *Socialism and Communism*, c. i.; and on the relation between Religion and Socialism, see Flint's *Socialism*, c. xi.

² The Second Book of the Homilies contains a plain Homily on the subject of "almsdeeds and mercifulness towards the poor and needy," in which the Scriptural directions on the subject from the Old Testament (including the Apocrypha), as well as from the New, are collected together, p. 406 (S.P.C.K.).

“To do good and to communicate forget not:
for with such sacrifices God is well pleased,” Heb.
xiii. 16.

Cf. also Rom. xii. 13; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; 2 Cor. ix. 7;
1 John iii. 17, etc.

ARTICLE XXXIX

De jurejurando.

Quemadmodum juramentum vanum et temerarium a Domino nostro Jesu Christo, et Apostolo ejus Jacobo Christianis hominibus interdictum esse fatemur: ita Christianam religionem minime prohibere censemus, quin jubente Magistratu, in causa fidei et charitatis, jurare liceat, modo id fiat juxta Prophetæ doctrinam, in justitia, in judicio, et veritate.

Of a Christian man's oath.

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James His Apostle: so we judge that Christian religion doth not prohibit, but a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth.

LIKE the one just considered, this Article, which has remained without change since 1553, is aimed against a tenet of the Anabaptists, which is also condemned in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.

“Præterea nec juramentorum Anabaptistæ legitimum relinquunt usum, in quo contra Scripturarum sententiam et veteris Testamenti patrum exempla, Pauli etiam apostoli, imo Christi, imo Dei Patris procedunt; quorum juramenta sæpe sunt in sacris literis repetita,” etc.¹

There are two passages of the New Testament which have appeared to others besides the Anabaptists to forbid the taking of an oath in any case.² They are (a) our Lord's teaching in the Sermon on the Mount, and (b) the very similar words of S. James.

¹ *De Hæres.* c. 15. *De juramentis et participatione dominicæ Cænæ*, and cf. the quotations given above under Art. XXXVII. p. 761.

² Not only the Quakers of later days, but some among the Christian Fathers took this view.

(a) S. Matt. v. 33-37: "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths: but I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by the heaven, for it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of His feet; nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, for thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your speech be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay; and whatsoever is more than these is of the evil one."

(b) S. James v. 12: "Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by the heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay (*or*, 'let yours be the yea, yea, and the nay, nay,' R.V. *marg.*); that ye fall not under judgment."

These are evidently the passages to which the Article alludes, when it says that **we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James His Apostle.** And it is tolerably clear that in neither passage is the formal tendering of oaths in a law court under consideration. Such a solemn act is referred to in the Epistle to the Hebrews in terms which conclusively indicate that the writer of the Epistle saw nothing wrong in it. "Men swear by the greater: and in every dispute of theirs the oath is final for confirmation" (Heb. vi. 16). So S. Paul, several times in the course of his Epistles, makes a solemn appeal to God, which is a form of oath (2 Cor. i. 23, xi. 10, 31, xii. 19; Gal. i. 20; Phil. i. 8), and in one instance uses the expression *νῆ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν*, 1 Cor. xv. 31. And there are references to God as swearing by Himself, which it would be difficult to reconcile with the idea that there is anything essentially wrong in a solemn asseveration or oath, in order to gain credence for a statement (Heb. iii. 11, vi. 16, 17). But,

further, what seems quite decisive is the fact that when our Lord was solemnly adjured by the high priest, *i.e.* put on His oath, He did not refuse to answer. See S. Matt. xxvi. 62-64, “And the high priest stood up, and said unto Him, Answerest Thou nothing? What is it which these witness against Thee? But Jesus held His peace. And the high priest said unto Him, I adjure Thee by the living God (ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος) that Thou tell us whether Thou be the Christ, the Son of God? Jesus said unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, Henceforth ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven.” In this case, as in others, our Lord’s actions form the best commentary upon the meaning of His words, and prove decisively that the reference in the Sermon on the Mount is, as the Article takes it, to “vain and rash swearing.” S. James’ words are apparently directly founded on our Lord’s,¹ and there is nothing in them to lead us to think that he is contemplating anything more than ordinary conversation and the use of oaths in it. We conclude, therefore, that there is nothing in Holy Scripture which need raise any scruple in the minds of Christians as to the lawfulness of acquiescing when solemnly put upon their oath. Whether the use of oaths by the Legislature is advisable is another matter, on which we are not called upon to offer an opinion. A man may regret the custom, and feel that it brings with it grave dangers of the profanation of sacred things, and encourages the false idea of a double standard of truthfulness, and yet hold that **Christian religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to**

¹ This is made very plain if the marginal rendering of the Revised Version be adopted.

the prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth. The "prophet," whose "teaching" is here referred to, is the prophet Jeremiah, who says (iv. 2), "Thou shalt swear, As the Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness";¹ and if judicial oaths are permissible at all, it can only be on these conditions.

¹ "Et jurabis: Vivit Dominus in veritate, et in iudicio, et in iustitia" (Vulgate). The passage is quoted in the Homily "Against Swearing and Perjury" (p. 73, S.P.C.K.), where the whole question of the lawfulness of oaths is also argued.

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